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BOSTON

THE

JOHN B. RUSSELL.

1837.

THE

WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON;

BEING HIS

CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, MESSAGES, AND OTHER PAPERS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE,

SELECTED AND PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS;

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

By JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME XII.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN STATIONERS' COMPANY.
JOHN B. RUSSELL.

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PART FIFTH;

COMPRISING

SPEECHES AND MESSAGES

TO CONGRESS,

PROCLAMATIONS,

AND

ADDRESSES.

THE WRITINGS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

VOL. XII.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIFTH PART.

In the time of Washington's administration, it was customary for the President, at the opening of each session of Congress, to meet the two houses in person, and deliver a written speech. Each house returned an answer to this speech some days afterwards, by a committee, who waited on him for the purpose; and he at the same time made a brief reply. All his Speeches to Congress are contained in this volume, and all his replies to the answers of the two houses. The answers themselves may be found in the Journals of Congress.

The Messages were written communications on topics, which had not been introduced into the Speech, but which required the attention of Congress. They were sent at different times in the course of the session. Many of them were very short, being accompanied with illustrative and explanatory documents. All those, which are important for the matter or the sentiments they contain, have been selected for this work.

Such of the Proclamations, as have any permanent value, are here collected. The others, which merely announced the ratification of treaties, are brief and unimportant.

The public Addresses, received and answered by Washington, are very numerous. Those included in the period of his Presidency fill three manuscript volumes. A large number of them had an occasional and temporary interest only; and, as the plan of this work would not admit of the publication of the whole, a selection has been made of those, which are thought to have the highest claim. This selection is confined to his answers. Frequently the date is not recorded in the manuscript copy. But the addresses and answers appear to have been arranged in the order of time, and thus the dates have been fixed with considerable accuracy. When the year, month, and day are noted, the exact date is known; but, when the year and month, or the year only, are indicated, nothing more could be ascertained. These particulars it is thought proper to mention, as explaining the reason why the dates of the addresses in some instances are not given with more precision.

SPEECHES TO CONGRESS.

INAUGURAL SPEECH
TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
APRIL 30TH, 1789.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust, to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own

deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation,

seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And, in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances, under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye, which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests;

so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preëminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes, which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction, which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself, that,

whilst you carefully avoid every alteration, which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union

and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your address, in which the most affectionate sentiments are expressed in the most obliging terms. The coincidence of circumstances, which led to this auspicious crisis, the confidence reposed in me by my fellow-citizens, and the assistance I may expect from counsels, which will be dictated by an enlarged and liberal policy, seem to presage a more prosperous issue to my administration, than a diffidence of my abilities had taught me to anticipate. I now feel myself inexpressibly happy in a belief, that Heaven, which has done so much for our infant nation, will not withdraw its providential influence before our political felicity shall have been completed; and in a conviction, that the Senate will at all times coöperate in every measure, which may tend to promote the welfare of this confederated republic.

Thus supported by a firm trust in the great Arbiter of the universe, aided by the collected wisdom of the Union, and imploring the divine benediction on our joint exertions in the service of our country, I readily engage with you in the arduous but pleasing task of attempting to make a nation happy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

Your very affectionate address produces emotions, which I know not how to express. I feel, that my past endeavours in the service of my country are far overpaid by its goodness; and I fear much, that my future ones may not fulfil your kind anticipation. All that I can promise is, that they will be invariably directed by an honest and an ardent zeal. Of this resource my heart assures me. For all beyond, I rely on the wisdom and patriotism of those with whom I am to coöperate, and a continuance of the blessings of Heaven on our beloved country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 8TH, 1790.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity, which now presents itself, of congratulating you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received), the rising credit and respectability of our country, and the general and increasing good will towards the government of the Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty, with which we are blessed, are circumstances auspicious, in an eminent degree, to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good, you cannot but derive encouragement from the reflection, that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents, as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations, and to secure the blessings, which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach, will, in the course of the present important session, call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects, which will engage your attention, that of providing for the common defence will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require, that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent on others for essential, particularly for military supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops, which may be deemed indispensable, will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it, it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope, that the pacific measures, adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians, would have relieved the inhabitants of our southern and western frontiers from their depredations. But you will perceive, from the information contained in the papers, which I shall direct to be laid before you, (comprehending a communication from the commonwealth of Virginia,) that we ought to be prepared to

afford protection to those parts of the Union, and, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interest of the United States requires, that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfil my duty in that respect, in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good; and, to this end, that the compensations, to be made to the persons who may be employed, should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient, that the terms, on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens, should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures of the United States is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, by all proper means, will not, I trust, need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home; and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion, that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression

so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways; by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people; and by teaching the people themselves to know, and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be the best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the legislature.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I saw with peculiar pleasure, at the close of the last session, the resolution entered into by you, expressive of your opinion, that an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur. And to a perfect confidence in your best endeavours to devise such a provision as will be truly consistent with the end, I add an equal reliance on the cheerful coöperation of the other branch of the legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure, in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so ob-

viously and so deeply concerned, and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I have directed the proper officers to lay before you respectively such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union, which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed; and I shall derive great satisfaction from a coöperation with you in the pleasing though arduous task of insuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings, which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you for your address, and for the assurances, which it contains, of attention to the several matters suggested by me to your consideration.

Relying on the continuance of your exertions for the public good, I anticipate for our country the salutary effects of upright and prudent counsels.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with pleasure the assurances you give me, that you will diligently and anxiously pursue such measures as shall appear to you conducive to the in-

terests of your constituents; and that an early and serious consideration will be given to the various and weighty matters recommended by me to your attention.

I have full confidence, that your deliberations will continue to be directed by an enlightened and virtuous zeal for the happiness of our country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 8TH, 1790.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

In meeting you again, I feel much satisfaction in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favorable prospects, which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our country with plenty, and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad, as well as at home; and the revenues allotted for this and other national purposes have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing, as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit, and, let me add, as it bears an honorable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

In conformity to the powers vested in me by acts

of the last session, a loan of three millions of florins, towards which some provisional measures had previously taken place, has been completed in Holland. As well the celerity with which it has been filled, as the nature of the terms (considering the more than ordinary demand for borrowing, created by the situation of Europe,) gives a reasonable hope, that the further execution of those powers may proceed with advantage and success. The Secretary of the Treasury has my directions to communicate such further particulars as may be requisite for more precise information.

Since your last sessions, I have received communications by which it appears, that the district of Kentucky, at present a part of Virginia, has concurred in certain propositions contained in a law of that State, in consequence of which the district is to become a distinct member of the Union, in case the requisite sanction of Congress be added. For this sanction application is now made. I shall cause the papers on this very important transaction to be laid before you. The liberality and harmony, with which it has been conducted, will be found to do great honor to both the parties; and the sentiments of warm attachment to the Union and its present government, expressed by our fellow-citizens of Kentucky, cannot fail to add an affectionate concern for their particular welfare to the great national impressions under which you will decide on the case submitted to you.

It has been heretofore known to Congress, that frequent incursions have been made on our frontier settlements by certain banditti of Indians from the north-west side of the Ohio. These, with some of the tribes dwelling on and near the Wabash, have of late been particularly active in their depredations; and,

being emboldened by the impunity of their crimes, and aided by such parts of the neighbouring tribes as could be seduced to join in their hostilities or afford them a retreat for their prisoners and plunder, they have, instead of listening to the humane invitations and overtures made on the part of the United States, renewed their violences with fresh alacrity and greater effect. The lives of a number of valuable citizens have thus been sacrified, and some of them under circumstances peculiarly shocking, whilst others have been carried into a deplorable captivity.

These aggravated provocations rendered it essential to the safety of the western settlements, that the aggressors should be made sensible, that the government of the Union is not less capable of punishing their crimes, than it is disposed to respect their rights and reward their attachments. As this object could not be effected by defensive measures, it became necessary to put in force the act, which empowers the President to call out the militia for the protection of the frontiers; and I have accordingly authorized an expedition, in which the regular troops in that quarter are combined with such drafts of militia as were deemed sufficient. The event of the measure is yet unknown to me. The Secretary of War is directed to lay before you a statement of the information on which it is founded, as well as an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended.

The disturbed situation of Europe, and particularly the critical posture of the great maritime powers, whilst it ought to make us more thankful for the general peace and security enjoyed by the United States, reminds us at the same time of the circumspection with which it becomes us to preserve these blessings. It requires also, that we should not overlook the ten-

dency of a war, and even of preparations for a war, among the nations most concerned in active commerce with this country, to abridge the means, and thereby at least enhance the price, of transporting its valuable productions to their proper markets. I recommend it to your serious reflection, how far and in what mode it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies, by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moments most interesting to both of these great objects. Our fisheries, and the transportation of our own produce, offer us abundant means for guarding ourselves against this evil.

Your attention seems to be not less due to that particular branch of our trade, which belongs to the Mediterranean. So many circumstances unite in rendering the present state of it distressful to us, that you will not think any deliberations misemployed, which may lead to its relief and protection.

The laws you have already passed for the establishment of a judiciary system, have opened the doors of justice to all descriptions of persons. You will consider in your wisdom, whether improvements in that system may yet be made, and particularly whether a uniform process of execution on sentences issuing from the federal courts be not desirable through all the States.

The patronage of our commerce, of our merchants and seamen, has called for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. It seems expedient to regulate by law the exercise of that jurisdiction and those functions, which are permitted them, either by express convention, or by a friendly indulgence in the places of their residence. The consular convention, too, with

his Most Christian Majesty has stipulated, in certain cases, the aid of the national authority to his consuls established here. Some legislative provision is requisite to carry these stipulations into full effect.

The establishment of the militia, of a mint, of standards of weights and measures, of the post-office and post-roads, are subjects which (I presume) you will resume of course, and which are abundantly urged by their own importance.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The sufficiency of the revenues you have established, for the objects to which they are appropriated, leaves no doubt that the residuary provisions will be commensurate to the other objects for which the public faith stands now pledged. Allow me, moreover, to hope, that it will be a favorite policy with you, not merely to secure a payment of the interest of the debt funded, but, as far and as fast as the growing resources of the country will permit, to exonerate it of the principal itself. The appropriation you have made of the western lands explains your dispositions on this subject; and I am persuaded the sooner that valuable fund can be made to contribute, along with other means, to the actual reduction of the public debt, the more salutary will the measure be to every public interest, as well as the more satisfactory to our constituents.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

In pursuing the various and weighty business of the present session, I indulge the fullest persuasion, that your consultations will be equally marked with wisdom and animated by the love of your country. In whatever belongs to my duty, you shall have all the cooperation, which an undiminished zeal for its welfare

can inspire. It will be happy for us both, and our best reward, if, by a successful administration of our respective trusts, we can make the established government more and more instrumental in promoting the good of our fellow-citizens, and more and more the object of their attachment and confidence.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

These assurances of favorable attention to the subjects I have recommended, and of entire confidence in my views, make the impression on me, which I ought to feel. I thank you for them both, and shall continue to rely much for the success of all our measures for the public good on the aid they will receive from the wisdom and integrity of your counsels.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

The sentiments expressed in your address are entitled to my particular acknowledgment. Having no object but the good of our country, this testimony of approbation and confidence from its immediate representatives must be among my best rewards, as the support of your enlightened patriotism has been among my greatest encouragements. Being persuaded, that you will continue to be actuated by the same auspicious principle, I look forward to the happiest consequences from your deliberations during the present session.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

October 25th, 1791.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and House of Representatives,

I meet you upon the present occasion with the feelings, which are naturally inspired by a strong impression of the prosperous situation of our common country, and by a persuasion equally strong, that the labors of the session which has just commenced will, under the guidance of a spirit no less prudent than patriotic, issue in measures conducive to the stability and increase of national prosperity.

Numerous as are the providential blessings, which demand our grateful acknowledgments, the abundance, with which another year has again rewarded the industry of the husbandman, is too important to escape recollection.

Your own observations, in your respective situations, will have satisfied you of the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. In tracing their causes, you will have remarked, with particular pleasure, the happy effects of that revival of confidence, public as well as private, to which the constitution and laws of the United States have so eminently contributed; and you will have observed, with no less interest, new and decisive proofs of the increasing reputation and credit of the nation. But you, nevertheless, cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the confirmation of these circumstances, which will be disclosed in the several official communications, that will be made to you in the course of your deliberations.

The rapid subscriptions to the Bank of the United

States, which completed the sum allowed to be subscribed in a single day, is among the striking and pleasing evidences which present themselves, not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.

In the interval of your recess, due attention has been paid to the execution of the different objects, which were specially provided for by the laws and resolutions of the last session.

Among the most important of these, is the defence and security of the western frontiers. To accomplish it on the most humane principles was a primary wish.

Accordingly, at the same time that treaties have been provisionally concluded, and other proper means used to attach the wavering, and to confirm in their friendship the well-disposed tribes of Indians, effectual measures have been adopted to make those of a hostile description sensible, that a pacification was desired upon terms of moderation and justice.

These measures having proved unsuccessful, it became necessary to convince the refractory of the power of the United States to punish their depredations. Offensive operations have, therefore, been directed; to be conducted, however, as consistently as possible with the dictates of humanity. Some of these have been crowned with full success, and others are yet depending. The expeditions, which have been completed, were carried on, under the authority and at the expense of the United States, by the militia of Kentucky; whose enterprise, intrepidity, and good conduct are entitled to peculiar commendation.

Overtures of peace are still continued to the deluded tribes, and considerable numbers of individuals belonging to them have lately renounced all further opposition, removed from their former situations, and

placed themselves under the immediate protection of the United States.

It is sincerely to be desired, that all need of coercion in future may cease; and that an intimate intercourse may succeed, calculated to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.

In order to this, it seems necessary, that they should experience the benefits of an impartial dispensation of justice; that the mode of alienating their lands, the main source of discontent and war, should be so defined and regulated as to obviate imposition, and, as far as may be practicable, controversy concerning the reality and extent of the alienations which are made; that commerce with them should be promoted under regulations tending to secure an equitable deportment towards them, and that such rational experiments should be made for imparting to them the blessings of civilization, as may from time to time suit their condition; that the executive of the United States should be enabled to employ the means, to which the Indians have been long accustomed, for uniting their immediate interests with the preservation of peace; and that efficacious provision should be made for inflicting adequate penalties upon all those, who, by violating their rights, shall infringe the treaties and endanger the peace of the Union.

A system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the United States, would be as honorable to the national character as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.

The powers specially vested in me by the act laying certain duties on distilled spirits, which respect the

subdivisions of the districts into surveys, the appointment of officers, and the assignment of compensations, have likewise been carried into effect. In a matter, in which both materials and experience were wanting to guide the calculation, it will be readily conceived, that there must have been difficulty in such an adjustment of the rates of compensation, as would conciliate a reasonable competency with a proper regard to the limits prescribed by the law. It is hoped that the circumspection, which has been used, will be found in the result to have secured the last of the two objects; but it is probable, that, with a view to the first, in some instances a revision of the provision will be found advisable.

The impressions, with which this law has been received by the community, have been, upon the whole, such as were to be expected among enlightened and well-disposed citizens, from the propriety and necessity of the measure. The novelty, however, of the tax, in a considerable part of the United States, and a misconception of some of its provisions, have given occasion in particular places to some degree of discontent. But it is satisfactory to know, that this disposition yields to proper explanations and more just apprehensions of the true nature of the law. And I entertain a full confidence, that it will, in all, give way to motives, which arise out of a just sense of duty and a virtuous regard to the public welfare.

If there are any circumstances in the law, which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the

fullest evidence of a disposition, as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to lay the foundations of the public administration in the affections of the people.

Pursuant to the authority contained in the several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, has been fixed, and announced by proclamation; which district will comprehend lands on both sides of the river Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. A city has also been laid out agreeably to a plan which will be placed before Congress; and, as there is a prospect, favored by the rate of sales which have already taken place, of ample funds for carrying on the necessary public buildings, there is every expectation of their due progress.

The completion of the census of the inhabitants, for which provision was made by law, has been duly notified (excepting in one instance, in which the return has been informal, and another, in which it has been omitted or miscarried); and the returns of the officers who were charged with this duty, which will be laid before you, will give you the pleasing assurance, that the present population of the United States borders on four millions of persons.

It is proper also to inform you, that a further loan of two millions and a half of florins has been completed in Holland; the terms of which are similar to those of the one last announced, except as to a small reduction of charges. Another, on like terms, for six millions of florins had been set on foot, under circumstances that assured immediate completion.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

Two treaties, which have been provisionally concluded with the Cherokees, and Six Nations of Indians, will be laid before you for your consideration and ratification.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

In entering upon the discharge of your legislative trust, you must anticipate with pleasure, that many of the difficulties, necessarily incident to the first arrangements of a new government for an extensive country, have been happily surmounted by the zealous and judicious exertions of your predecessors in coöperation with the other branch of the legislature. The important objects, which remain to be accomplished, will, I am persuaded, be conducted upon principles equally comprehensive, and equally well calculated for the advancement of the general weal.

The time limited for receiving subscriptions to the loans proposed by the act making provision for the debt of the United States having expired, statements from the proper department will as soon as possible apprize you of the exact result. Enough, however, is known already to afford an assurance, that the views of that act have been substantially fulfilled. The subscription in the domestic debt of the United States has embraced by far the greatest proportion of that debt; affording at the same time proof of the general satisfaction of the public creditors with the system which has been proposed to their acceptance, and of the spirit of accommodation to the convenience of the government with which they are actuated. The subscriptions in the debts of the respective States, as far as the provisions of the law have permitted, may be said to be yet more general. The part of the debt

of the United States, which remains unsubscribed, will naturally engage your further deliberations.

It is particularly pleasing to me to be able to announce to you, that the revenues which have been established promise to be adequate to their objects, and may be permitted, if no unforeseen exigency occurs, to supersede for the present the necessity of any new burthens upon our constituents.

An object which will claim your early attention is a provision for the current service of the ensuing year, together with such ascertained demands upon the treasury as require to be immediately discharged, and such casualties as may have arisen in the execution of the public business, for which no specific appropriation may have yet been made; of all which a proper estimate will be laid before you.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I shall content myself with a general reference to former communications for several objects, upon which the urgency of other affairs has hitherto postponed any definitive resolution. Their importance will recall them to your attention; and I trust, that the progress already made in the most arduous arrangements of the government will afford you leisure to resume them with advantage.

There are, however, some of them, of which I cannot forbear a more particular mention. These are, the militia; the post-office and post-roads; the mint; weights and measures; a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

The first is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security, to the satisfaction of the community, or to the preservation of order. In connexion with this, the es-

tablishment of competent magazines and arsenals, and the fortification of such places as are peculiarly important and vulnerable, naturally present themselves to consideration. The safety of the United States, under divine protection, ought to rest on the basis of systematic and solid arrangements, exposed as little as possible to the hazards of fortuitous circumstances.

The importance of the post-office and post-roads on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased by the instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government; which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception. The establishment of additional cross posts, especially to some of the important points in the western and northern parts of the Union, cannot fail to be of material utility.

The disorders in the existing currency, and especially the scarcity of small change, a scarcity so peculiarly distressing to the poorer classes, strongly recommend the carrying into immediate effect the resolution already entered into concerning the establishment of a mint. Measures have been taken, pursuant to that resolution, for procuring some of the most necessary articles, together with the requisite apparatus.

A uniformity in the weights and measures of the country is among the important objects submitted to you by the constitution; and, if it can be derived from a standard at once invariable and universal, must be no less honorable to the public councils, than conducive to the public convenience.

A provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States is particularly urged, among other rea-

sons, by the important considerations, that they are pledged as a fund for reimbursing the public debt; that, if timely and judiciously applied, they may save the necessity of burthening our citizens with new taxes for the extinguishment of the principal; and that, being free to discharge the principal but in a limited proportion, no opportunity ought to be lost for availing the public of its rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

This manifestation of your zeal for the honor and the happiness of our country derives its full value from the share which your deliberations have already had in promoting both.

I thank you for the favorable sentiments, with which you view the part I have borne in the arduous trust committed to the government of the United States; and desire you to be assured, that all my zeal will continue to second those further efforts for the public good, which are insured by the spirit in which you are entering on the present session.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

The pleasure I derive from an assurance of your attention to the objects I have recommended to you, is doubled by your concurrence in the testimony I have borne to the prosperous condition of our public affairs. Relying on the sanctions of your enlightened judgment, and on your patriotic aid, I shall be the

more encouraged in all my endeavours for the public weal; and particularly in those, which may be required on my part for executing the salutary measures I anticipate from your present deliberations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1792.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

It is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that, in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity generally, I am not able to add to it information, that the Indian hostilities, which have for some time past distressed our northwestern frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn, with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours towards effecting a pacification have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquillity to the frontiers, to stop the further effusion of blood, to arrest the progress of expense, to forward the prevalent wish of the nation for peace, has led to strenuous efforts through various channels to accomplish these desirable purposes; in making which efforts I consulted less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable, or, if not attainable, to ascertain unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success thus far, will, I trust, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favorable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service. A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre the emissaries of peace; it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern to be informed, that, besides the continuation of hostile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennessee River, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped, that the treaty of Holston, made with the Cherokee nation in July, 1791, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations; but the event has not answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some banditti of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the United States in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto, defen-

sive precautions only have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the United States, or their citizens, is even alleged as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarter.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete; and pains have been taken to discipline and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information as a guide to the legislative consultations; and, among other things, will enable Congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be advisable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenues for the present year is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burthens on the community for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds upon the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostility.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier, and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside among them as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighbourhood. If, in addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments, which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the United States. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening, in local extent; and, as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But, symptoms of increased opposition having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged a special interposition on my part proper and advisable; and under this impression have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings having for their object, or tending, to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof, and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And Congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the just authority of the laws. In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full coöperation of the other departments of government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again into the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the Supreme Court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniences that are experienced. In the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which in some measure tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the courts of the United States, and supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the Union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which, furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign

powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dimes, the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondency with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law, which establishes the post-office, operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country. Should this, upon due inquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a constitution for the State of Kentucky has been notified to me. The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction, which arises from an event, interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that, since my last communication on the subject, and in further ex-

ecution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins; one at Antwerp at the annual interest of four and one half per cent, with an allowance of four per cent in lieu of all charges; and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per cent, with an allowance of five and one half per cent in one case and of five per cent in the other, in lieu of all charges. The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I entertain a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government. No measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan, which has been made for the Bank of the United States, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinaries as may require

provision, will demand, and I doubt not will engage, your early attention.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I content myself with recalling your attention, generally, to such objects not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to you.

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these, that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents; such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under Divine Providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

I derive much pleasure, Gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledgments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty

may call me, I shall not cease to count upon the firm, enlightened, and patriotic support of the Senate.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction, which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws, and the assurance which you, at the same time, give me of every constitutional aid and coöperation, that may become requisite on your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the House of Representatives; a perseverance in which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 3D, 1793.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Since the commencement of the term, for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While, on the one hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honored by my country; on the other, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives, and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage, which commanded me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavours for the general happiness.

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers, with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend, that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed, therefore, to be my duty to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to ob-

tain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the Proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of procedure; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognised, demand some further provisions.

Where individuals shall within the United States array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be

well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long-established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have *doubted*, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false color of being hostile property; and have *denied* their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last-mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of *our* duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from *them* the fulfilment of *their* duties towards *us*. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents, which will be presented to you, will show the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with pru-

dence be neglected, as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy, equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act "more effectually to provide for the national defence by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature, in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone.

The connexion of the United States with Europe has become extremely interesting. The occurrences, which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated,

the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence, which relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succours of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has been also demonstrated by the executive for peace with the Creeks and the Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violences committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes; and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labors, to render tranquillity with the savages permanent by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations on behalf of the United States is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit; but it will be enough for the United

States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation accord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect, that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United and individual States, concluded their important functions within the time limited by law; and the balances, struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an instalment of one million of florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent for the term of ten years; and the expenses of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of the loan of two millions of dollars from the bank of the United States has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent than the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt; on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenues hitherto has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commensurate with all the objects, which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made, consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible

of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions, to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, nothing can conduce more than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The several subjects, to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your deliberations, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; without harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candor; so shall not the public happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest coöperations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

The pleasure expressed by the Senate, on my re-election to the station which I fill, commands my sincere and warmest acknowledgments. If this be an event, which promises the smallest addition to the happiness of our country, as it is my duty, so shall it be my study, to realize the expectation.

The decided approbation, which the Proclamation now receives from your House, by completing the proof, that this measure is considered as manifesting a vigilant attention to the welfare of the United States, brings with it a peculiar gratification to my mind.

The other important subjects, which have been communicated to you, will, I am confident, receive a due discussion, and the result will, I trust, prove fortunate to the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

I shall not affect to conceal the cordial satisfaction, which I derive from the address of the House of Representatives. Whatsoever those services may be, which you have sanctioned by your favor, it is a sufficient reward, that they have been accepted as they were meant. For the fulfilment of your anticipations of the future, I can give no other assurance, than that the motives, which you approve, shall continue unchanged.

It is truly gratifying to me to learn, that the Proclamation has been considered as a seasonable guard

against the interruption of the public peace. Nor can I doubt, that the subjects which I have recommended to your attention, as depending on legislative provisions, will receive a discussion suited to their importance. With every reason, then, it may be expected, that your deliberations, under the Divine blessing, will be matured to the honor and happiness of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

NOVEMBER 19TH, 1794.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven, by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness, to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power, granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States, scarcely an objection was made to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they

were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men, who labored for an ascendency over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression, which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved; the arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals.

The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a more formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived, that every expectation from the tenderness, which had hitherto been pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was, therefore, delivered to the marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at *his* person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life,

to renounce the service of other process on the west side of the Allegany Mountain; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed, by fire, his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government; it being avowed, that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector, to withstand, by force of arms, the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me, that "in the counties of Washington and Allegany, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without control; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence or an apparent acquiescence; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen, to publish the dishonor of such excesses, to

encounter the expense and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readiness, that, if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men, or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent, however, that, without submission, coercion *must* be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of the executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by showing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted; all of those, who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive to recommend or warrant a further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain, with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy and the ease of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put in motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate in every view, and might perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; the governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion an opinion, which justified a requisition to the other States.

As Commander-in-chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion, that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable, as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends of peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance, which they ought always to receive, and I trust ever

will receive, against the vicious and turbulent, I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done; it being now confessed, by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden; but, every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable, that, in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force for a certain period, in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honorable attachment to them.

Thirty days from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions, which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the inspector of the revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania,

have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence shall find a recompense in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations; by furnishing an additional proof, that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices, which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers; preëminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by

any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic coöperation, which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description, indeed, of citizens, let praise be given; but let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious depository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it, too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease, a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement, which I took, when I entered into office, "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States," on you, Gentlemen, and the people by whom you are deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements, to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expense and waste, which are not the least of the defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt of its success.

The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honor,

and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope, that the present session will not pass, without carrying to its full energy the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

As auxiliary to the state of our defence, to which Congress can never too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire whether the fortifications, which have been already licensed by law, be commensurate with our exigences.

The intelligence from the army, under the command of General Wayne, is a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made must have damped the ardor of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States; and yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candor, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The Creeks in particular are covered from encroachment by the interposition of the general government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement, meditated at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconception into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations the plan, which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits, by

the fixing and conducting of trading-houses, upon the principles then expressed.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The time, which has elapsed since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open a way for a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt. It is believed, that the result is such as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing would be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit, cannot be benefited by procrastination; and, as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt, which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals, and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect, that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations will be transmitted to Congress; however, it may not be unseasonable to announce, that my policy, in our foreign transactions, has been, to cultivate peace with all the

world; to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality; to explain what may have been misapprehended, and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and, having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread his holy protection over these United States; to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred; and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

Among the occasions, which have been afforded for expressing my sense of the zealous and steadfast co-operation of the Senate in the maintenance of government, none has yet occurred, more forcibly demanding my unqualified acknowledgments, than the present.

Next to the consciousness of upright intentions, it is the highest pleasure to be approved by the enlightened representatives of a free nation. With the satisfaction, therefore, which arises from an unalterable attachment to public order, do I learn, that the Senate discountenances those proceedings, which would arrogate the direction of our affairs without any degree of authority derived from the people.

It has been more than once the lot of our govern-

ment, to be thrown into new and delicate situations; and of these, the insurrection has not been the least important. Having been compelled, at length, to lay aside my repugnance to resort to arms, I derive much happiness, from being confirmed, by your judgment, in the necessity of decisive measures, and from the support of my fellow-citizens of the militia, who were the patriotic instruments of that necessity.

With such demonstrations of affection for our constitution; with an adequate organization of the militia; with the establishment of necessary fortifications; with a continuance of those judicious and spirited exertions, which brought victory to our western army; with a due attention to public credit, and an unsullied honor towards all nations, we may meet, under every assurance of success, our enemies from within and from without.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

I anticipated with confidence, the concurrence of the House of Representatives in the regret produced by the insurrection. Every effort ought to be used to discountenance what has contributed to foment it, and thus discourage a repetition of like attempts. For, notwithstanding the consolations which may be drawn from the issue of this event, it is far better that the artful approaches on such a situation of things should be checked by the vigilant and duly admonished patriotism of our fellow-citizens, than that the evil should increase until it becomes necessary to crush it by the strength of their arm.

I am happy that the part, which I have myself borne on this occasion, receives the approbation of your House. For the discharge of a constitutional duty, it is a sufficient reward to me to be assured, that you will unite in consummating what remains to be done.

I feel also great satisfaction in learning, that the other subjects, which I have communicated or recommended, will meet with due attention; that you are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia; and that the advance and success of the army under the command of General Wayne is regarded by you no less than myself, as a proof of the perseverance, prowess, and superiority of our troops.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

DECEMBER 8TH, 1795.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I trust I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion, that I have never met you at any period, when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians, northwest of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty, which the com-

mander of our army has concluded provisionally with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy, than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. This object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the Senate for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontier, have lately confirmed their preëxisting treaties with us; and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken. But we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks, which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger; which will be productive of further expense, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages, and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father the late Emperor; and, consequently, the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of a treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and

the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power, whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, Gentlemen, are all apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours, with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honor,

shall be the happy result; how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country.

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations, of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burthens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government; our favored country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity; a tranquillity the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expense of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity, which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guaranties our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement; and with burthens so light as scarcely to be perceived, with resources fully adequate to our present exigences, with govern-

ments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws, is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages. To coöperate with you in this desirable work is a fervent and favorite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to; and to extend forgiveness to those, who had been adjudged to capital punishment. For, though I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

GENTLEMEN,

Among the objects, which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called

for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change, the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers are not yet finally adjusted; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction, which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity; and it can need no argument to prove, that, unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of inno-

cent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expense, to drain the treasury of the Union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them they urge it with solicitude,) I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper department; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honorable extinction of our public debt, accords

as much with the true interest of our country as with the general sense of our constituents.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The statements, which will be laid before you, relative to the mint, will show the situation of that institution, and the necessity of some further legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects, which may arise in the course of the session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

With real pleasure I receive your address, recognising the prosperous situation of our public affairs, and giving assurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legislative consideration, and that, with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will cheer-

fully coöperate in every measure, which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the same.

But I derive peculiar satisfaction from your concurrence with me in the expressions of gratitude to Almighty God, which a review of the auspicious circumstances that distinguish our happy country have excited; and I trust that the sincerity of our acknowledgments will be evinced by a union of efforts to establish and preserve peace, freedom, and prosperity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

Coming as you do from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the concurrence of your testimony in the justness of the interesting summary of our national happiness, which, as the result of my inquiries, I presented to your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the Source of those numerous blessings, the Author of all good, are pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavours, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, Gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration, that to my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these benefits. So far as my services contribute to the happiness of my country, the acknowledgment thereof by my fellow-citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SPEECH
TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,
DECEMBER 7TH, 1796.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

In recurring to the internal situation of our country, since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to insure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on the one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals, who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and, on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state; and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice, of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Colerain, in the State of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that State, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previous to their departure, instructed them against making any sale. The occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm, by a new treaty with

the Creeks, their preëxisting engagements with the United States, and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading-houses and military posts within their boundary; by means of which their friendship, and the general peace, may be more effectually secured.

The period, during the late session, at which the appropriation was passed for carrying into effect the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon, however, as the governor-general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation, and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made, as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners, appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, Esquire, of New York, for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrew's, in Passamaquoddy Bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but, deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned, to meet at Boston in August, 1797, for the final decision of the question.

Other commissioners, appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the seventh article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnations of vessels and other property, met the

commissioners of his Britannic Majesty, in London, in August last, when John Trumbull, Esquire, was chosen by lot for the fifth commissioner. In October following, the board were to proceed to business. As yet, there has been no communication of commissioners on the part of Great Britain, to unite with those who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the sixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required, that the commissioners for running the boundary line between the territory of the United States and his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida should meet at the Natchez, before the expiration of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez on the 25th day of April; and the troops of his Catholic Majesty, occupying any posts within the limits of the United States, were, within the same period, to be withdrawn. The commissioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey for the Natchez in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the posts from which the Spanish garrisons should be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commissioner on the part of his Catholic Majesty for running the boundary line; but none of any appointment for the adjustment of the claims of our citizens, whose vessels were captured by the armed vessels of Spain.

In pursuance of the act of Congress, passed in the last session, for the protection and relief of American seamen, agents were appointed, one to reside in Great Britain, and the other in the West Indies. The effects of the agency in the West Indies are not yet fully ascertained; but those, which have been communicated, afford grounds to believe the measure will be beneficial. The agent destined to reside in Great

Britain declining to accept the appointment, the business has consequently devolved on the minister of the United States in London, and will command his attention until a new agent shall be appointed.

After many delays and disappointments, arising out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the Dey and Regency of Algiers will, in all present appearance, be crowned with success; but under great, though inevitable disadvantages in the pecuniary transactions, occasioned by that war, which will render a further provision necessary. The actual liberation of all our citizens, who were prisoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itself an earnest of a satisfactory termination of the whole negotiation. Measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars, in which a state itself is a party. But, besides this, it is in our own experience, that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party, as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look

to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen; and their means, in other respects, favor the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be advisable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable without inconvenience; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on public account are inexpedient. But, where the state of things in a country leaves little hope, that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain; when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war; are not establishments for procuring them on public account, to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service, recommended by strong considerations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious, because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary articles should, in this mode, cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence, thence arising, form an ample compensation? Establishments

of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in time of peace, will, in time of war, easily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government; and may even, perhaps, be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large, so as to mitigate the privations from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are already, or likely soon to be, established in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.

It will not be doubted, that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means, which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums, and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common centre the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shown, that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.

I have heretofore proposed to the consideration of

Congress, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. The desirableness of both these institutions has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The assembly to which I address myself, is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation. True it is, that our country, much to its honor, contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors, in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Amongst the motives to such an institution, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deserves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent union; and a primary object of such a national institution should be, the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important, and what duty more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those, who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies. The first would impair the energy

of its character, and both would hazard its safety, or expose it to greater evils when war could not be avoided. Besides that war might often not depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting, by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince, that the art of war is at once comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose, an academy, where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient, which different nations have successfully employed.

The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public retribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of characters for office is to be made, and will proportionally diminish the probability of a choice of men able as well as upright. Besides that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government virtually to exclude, from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth.

While, in our external relations, some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome,

and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority; and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfectly friendly understanding with that Republic. This wish remains unabated; and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it, to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honor of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation, that a spirit of justice, candor, and friendship, on the part of the Republic, will eventually insure success.

In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

I reserve for a special message a more particular communication on this interesting subject.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

I have directed an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year to be submitted from the proper department, with a view of the public receipts and expenditures to the latest period to which an account can be prepared.

It is with satisfaction I am able to inform you, that

the revenues of the United States continue in a state of progressive improvement.

A reinforcement of the existing provisions for discharging our public debt was mentioned in my address at the opening of the last session. Some preliminary steps were taken towards it, the maturing of which will, no doubt, engage your zealous attention during the present. I will only add, that it will afford me heart-felt satisfaction to concur in such further measures as will ascertain to our country the prospect of a speedy extinguishment of the debt. Posterity may have cause to regret, if, from any motive, intervals of tranquillity are left unimproved for accelerating this valuable end.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment has been so often and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recall the subject to your view on the present occasion; at the same time, that I shall submit to your inquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured.

The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country, on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe and Sovereign Arbiter of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government, which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties, may be perpetual.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

GENTLEMEN,

It affords me great satisfaction to find in your address a concurrence in sentiment with me on the various topics, which I presented for your information and deliberation; and that the latter will receive from you an attention proportioned to their respective importance.

For the notice you take of my public services, civil and military, and your kind wishes for my personal happiness, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Those services, and greater, had I possessed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country, and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement, I saw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I relied on the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens to make the proper choice of a successor; men who would require no influential example to insure to the United States "an able, upright, and energetic administration." To such men I shall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents to serve our common country; but, at the same time, I hope I may be indulged in expressing the consoling reflection (which consciousness suggests), and to bear it with me to my grave, that none can serve it with purer intentions than I have done, or with a more disinterested zeal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

GENTLEMEN,

To a citizen, whose views were unambitious, who preferred the shade and tranquillity of private life to the splendor and solicitude of elevated stations, and whom the voice of duty and his country could alone have drawn from his chosen retreat, no reward for his public services can be so grateful as public approbation, accompanied by a consciousness, that to render those services useful to that country has been his single aim; and, when this approbation is expressed by the representatives of a free and enlightened nation, the reward will admit of no addition. Receive, Gentlemen, my sincere and affectionate thanks for this signal testimony, that my services have been acceptable and useful to my country. The strong confidence of my fellow-citizens, while it animated all my actions, insured their zealous coöperation, which rendered those services successful. The virtue and wisdom of my successors, joined with the patriotism and intelligence of the citizens, who compose the other branches of government, I firmly trust will lead them to the adoption of measures, which, by the beneficence of Providence, will give stability to our system of government, add to its success, and secure to ourselves and to posterity that liberty, which is to all of us so dear.

While I acknowledge, with pleasure, the sincere and uniform disposition of the House of Representatives to preserve our neutral relations inviolate, and with them deeply regret any degree of interruption of our good understanding with the French Republic, I beg you, Gentlemen, to rest assured, that my endeavours will be earnest and unceasing, by all honorable means, to

preserve peace, and to restore that harmony and affection, which have heretofore so happily subsisted between our two nations; and with you I cherish the pleasing hope, that a mutual spirit of justice and moderation will crown those endeavours with success.

I shall cheerfully concur in the beneficial measures, which your deliberations shall mature on the various subjects demanding your attention. And while, directing your labors to advance the real interests of our country, you receive its blessings; with perfect sincerity, my individual wishes will be offered for your present and future felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGES TO CONGRESS.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

AUGUST 7TH, 1789.

The business, which has been under the consideration of Congress, has been of so much importance, that I was unwilling to draw their attention from it to any other subject; but the disputes, which exist between some of the United States and several powerful tribes of Indians within the limits of the Union, and the hostilities which have in several instances been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the general government.

I have therefore directed the several statements and papers, which have been submitted to me on this subject by General Knox, to be laid before you for your information. While the measures of government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes, whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States.

If it should be the judgment of Congress, that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the southern district, and to lay the foundation for

future confidence, by an amicable treaty with the Indian tribes in that quarter, I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons, whose authority should expire with the occasion. How far such a measure, unassisted by posts, would be competent to the establishment and preservation of peace and tranquillity on the frontiers, is also a matter which merits your serious consideration.

Along with this object, I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which I am deeply impressed; I mean some uniform and effective system for the militia of the United States. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, on which the honor, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend. But it may not be amiss to observe, that I am particularly anxious it should receive as early attention as circumstances will admit; because it is now in our power to avail ourselves of the military knowledge disseminated throughout the several States by means of the many well-instructed officers and soldiers of the late army, a resource which is daily diminishing by deaths and other causes. To suffer this peculiar advantage to pass away unimproved, would be to neglect an opportunity which will never again occur, unless unfortunately we should again be involved in a long and arduous war.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; ON INDIAN TREATIES.

SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1789.

It doubtless is important that all treaties and compacts formed by the United States with other nations, whether civilized or not, should be made with caution, and executed with fidelity.

It is said to be the general understanding and practice of nations, as a check on the mistakes and indiscretions of ministers or commissioners, not to consider any treaty, negotiated and signed by such officers, as final and conclusive, until ratified by the sovereign or government from whom they derive their powers. This practice has been adopted by the United States respecting their treaties with European nations, and I am inclined to think it would be advisable to observe it in the conduct of our treaties with the Indians; for, though such treaties, being, on their part, made by their chiefs or rulers, need not be ratified by them, yet, being formed on our part by the agency of subordinate officers, it seems to be both prudent and reasonable that their acts should not be binding on the nation, until approved and ratified by the government. It strikes me that this point should be well considered and settled, so that our national proceedings, in this respect, may become uniform, and be directed by fixed and stable principles.

The treaties with certain Indian nations, which were laid before you with my message of the 25th of May last, suggested two questions to my mind, namely, first, Whether those treaties were to be considered as perfected, and consequently as obligatory, without being ratified? If not, then secondly, Whether both, or

either, and which of them ought to be ratified? On these questions I request your opinion and advice.

You have, indeed, advised me "to execute and enjoin an observance of" the treaty with the Wyandots, &c. You, Gentlemen, doubtless intended to be clear and explicit; and yet, without further explanation, I fear I may misunderstand your meaning; for if, by my *executing* that treaty, you mean that I should make it (in a more particular and immediate manner than it now is) the act of government, then it follows that I am to ratify it. If you mean, by my *executing it*, that I am to see that it be carried into effect and operation, then I am led to conclude, either that you consider it as being perfect and obligatory in its present state, and therefore to be executed and observed; or that you consider it to derive its completion and obligation from the silent approbation and ratification, which my proclamation may be construed to imply. Although I am inclined to think, that the latter is your intention, yet it certainly is best that all doubts respecting it be removed.

Permit me to observe, that it will be proper for me to be informed of your sentiments relative to the treaty with the Six Nations, previous to the departure of the governor of the Western Territory, and therefore I recommend it to your early consideration.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; CONCERNING THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF THE UNITED STATES.

FEBRUARY 9TH, 1790.

You will perceive from the papers herewith delivered, and which are enumerated in the annexed list, that a difference subsists between Great Britain and the United States relative to the boundary line between our eastern and their territories. A plan for deciding this difference was laid before the late Congress; and whether that or some other plan of a like kind would not now be eligible, is submitted to your consideration.

In my opinion it is desirable, that all questions between this and other nations be speedily and amicably settled; and in this instance I think it advisable to postpone any negotiations on the subject, until I shall be informed of the result of your deliberations, and receive your advice as to the propositions most proper to be offered on the part of the United States.

As I am taking measures for learning the intentions of Great Britain respecting the further detention of our posts, &c., I am the more solicitous, that the business now submitted to you may be prepared for negotiation as soon as the other important affairs, which engage your attention, will permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; ON A TREATY WITH THE CREEK INDIANS.

AUGUST 4TH, 1790.

In consequence of the general principles agreed to by the Senate in August, 1789, the adjustment of the terms of a treaty is far advanced between the United States and the chiefs of the Creek Indians now in this city, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation.

In preparing the articles of this treaty, the present arrangements of the trade with the Creeks have caused much embarrassment. It seems to be well ascertained that the said trade is almost exclusively in the hands of a company of British merchants, who, by agreement, make their importations of goods from England into the Spanish ports.

As the trade of the Indians is a main means of their political management, it is therefore obvious, that the United States cannot possess any security for the performance of treaties with the Creeks, while their trade is liable to be interrupted, or withheld, at the caprice of two foreign powers.

Hence it becomes an object of real importance to form new channels for the commerce of the Creeks through the United States. But this operation will require time, as the present arrangements cannot be suddenly broken without the greatest violation of faith and morals.

It therefore appears to be important to form a secret article of a treaty, similar to the one which accompanies this message.

If the Senate should require any further explanation, the Secretary of War will attend them for that purpose. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The President of the United States proposes the following question for the consideration and advice of the Senate. If it should be found essential to a treaty for the firm establishment of peace with the Creek nation of Indians, that an article to the following effect should be inserted therein, will such an article be proper? viz.

Secret Article.

The commerce necessary for the Creek nation shall be carried on through the ports, and by the citizens, of the United States, if substantial and effectual arrangements shall be made for that purpose by the United States on or before the 1st day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. In the mean time, the said commerce may be carried on through its present channels, and according to its present regulations.

And, whereas the trade of the said Creek nation is now carried on wholly or principally through the territories of Spain, and obstructions thereto may happen by war or prohibitions of the Spanish government; it is therefore agreed between the said parties, that, in the event of any such obstructions happening, it shall be lawful for such persons as
shall designate, to introduce into, and transport through the territories of the United States to the country of the said Creek nation any quantity of goods, wares, and merchandise, not exceeding in value in any one year sixty thousand dollars, and that free from any duties or impositions whatsoever, but subject to such regulations for guarding against abuse, as the United States shall judge necessary; which privilege shall continue as long as such obstruction shall continue.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; ON A TREATY WITH THE CREEK INDIANS.

AUGUST 7TH, 1790.

I lay before you a treaty between the United States and the chiefs of the Creek nation, now in this city, in behalf of themselves and the whole Creek nation, subject to the ratification of the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

While I flatter myself that this treaty will be productive of present peace and prosperity to our southern frontier, it is to be expected that it will also in its consequences be the means of firmly attaching the Creeks and the neighbouring tribes to the interests of the United States.

At the same time it is to be hoped, that it will afford solid grounds of satisfaction to the State of Georgia, as it contains a regular, full, and definitive relinquishment, on the part of the Creek nation, of the Oconee land, in the utmost extent in which it has been claimed by that State, and thus extinguishes the principal cause of those hostilities from which it has more than once experienced such severe calamities.

But although the most valuable of the disputed land is included, yet there is a certain claim of Georgia, arising out of the treaty made by that State at Galphinston, in November, 1785, of land to the eastward of a new temporary line from the forks of the Oconee and Oakmulgee in a southwest direction to the St. Mary's River, which tract of land the Creeks in this city absolutely refuse to yield.

This land is reported to be generally barren, sunken,

and unfit for cultivation, except in some instances on the margin of the rivers, on which, by improvement, rice might be cultivated, its chief value depending on the timber fit for the building of ships, with which it is represented as abounding.

While it is thus circumstanced, on the one hand, it is stated by the Creeks on the other to be of the highest importance to them, as constituting some of their most valuable winter hunting-ground.

I have directed the commissioner, to whom the charge of adjusting this treaty has been committed, to lay before you such papers and documents, and to communicate to you such information relatively to it, as you may require.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; ON A TREATY WITH THE CHEROKEE INDIANS.

AUGUST 11TH, 1790.

Although the treaty with the Creeks may be regarded as the main foundation of the future peace and prosperity of the southwestern frontier of the United States, yet, in order fully to effect so desirable an object, the treaties, which have been entered into with the other tribes in that quarter, must be faithfully performed on our part.

During the last year, I laid before the Senate a particular statement of the case of the Cherokees. By a reference to that paper it will appear, that the United States formed a treaty with the Cherokees in Novem-

ber, 1785; that the said Cherokees thereby placed themselves under the protection of the United States, and had a boundary assigned them; that the white people, settled on the frontiers, had openly violated the said boundary by intruding on the Indian lands; that the United States, in Congress assembled, did, on the 1st day of September, 1788, issue their proclamation forbidding all such unwarrantable intrusions, and enjoined all those who had settled upon the hunting-grounds of the Cherokees to depart with their families and effects without loss of time, as they would answer their disobedience to the injunctions and prohibitions expressed, at their peril.

But information has been received, that, notwithstanding the said treaty and proclamation, upwards of five hundred families have settled on the Cherokee lands, exclusively of those settled between the forks of French, Broad, and Holstein Rivers, mentioned in the said treaty.

As the obstructions to a proper conduct on this matter have been removed since it was mentioned to the Senate, on the 22d of August, 1789, by the accession of North Carolina to the present Union, and the cessions of the land in question, I shall conceive myself bound to exert the powers intrusted to me by the constitution, in order to carry into faithful execution the treaty of Hopewell, unless it shall be thought proper to attempt to arrange a new boundary with the Cherokees, embracing the settlements, and compensating the Cherokees for the cessions they shall make on the occasion. On this point, therefore, I state the following questions, and request the advice of the Senate thereon.

1. Is it the judgment of the Senate, that overtures shall be made to the Cherokees to arrange a new

boundary, so as to embrace the settlements made by the white people since the treaty of Hopewell, in November, 1785?

2. If so, shall compensation, to the amount of dollars annually, or of dollars in gross, be made to the Cherokees for the land they shall relinquish, holding the occupiers of the land accountable to the United States for its value?

3. Shall the United States stipulate solemnly to guaranty the new boundary which may be arranged?

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON ESTABLISHING A PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

JANUARY 24TH, 1791.

In execution of the powers with which Congress were pleased to invest me by their act, entitled "An act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the government of the United States," and on mature consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the several positions within the limits prescribed by the said act, I have by a proclamation, bearing date this day, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, directed commissioners, appointed in pursuance of the act, to survey and limit a part of the territory of ten miles square, on both sides the river Potomac, so as to comprehend Georgetown, in Maryland, and to extend to the Eastern Branch.

I have not, by this first act, given to the said territory the whole extent, of which it is susceptible, in the direction of the river, because I thought it im-

portant, that Congress should have an opportunity of considering whether, by an amendatory law, they would authorize the location of the residue at the lower end of the present, so as to comprehend the Eastern Branch itself and some of the country on its lower side in the State of Maryland, and the town of Alexandria in Virginia; if, however, they are of opinion that the Federal Territory should be bounded by the water edge of the Eastern Branch, the location of the residue will be to be made at the upper end of what is now directed.

I have thought best to await a survey of the territory, before it is decided on what particular spot on the northeastern side of the river the public buildings shall be erected.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO GREAT BRITAIN.

FEBRUARY 14TH, 1791.

Soon after I was called to the administration of the government, I found it important to come to an understanding with the court of London on several points interesting to the United States, and particularly to know whether they were disposed to enter into arrangements, by mutual consent, which might fix the commerce between the two nations on principles of reciprocal advantage. For this purpose I authorized informal conferences with their ministers; and from these I do not infer any disposition, on their part, to enter into any arrangements merely commercial. I

have thought it proper to give you this information, as it might at some time have influence on matters under your consideration.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,

Conceiving, that, in the possible event of a refusal of justice on the part of Great Britain, we should stand less committed, should it be made to a private rather than to a public person, I employed Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who was on the spot, and without giving him any definite character, to enter informally into the conferences before mentioned. For your more particular information, I lay before you the instructions I gave him, and those parts of his communications wherein the British ministers appear, either in conversation or by letter. These are two letters from the Duke of Leeds to Mr. Morris, and three letters of Mr. Morris, giving an account of two conferences with the Duke of Leeds, and one with him and Mr. Pitt. The sum of these is, that they declare without scruple they do not mean to fulfil what remains of the treaty of peace to be fulfilled on their part (by which we are to understand the delivery of the posts and payment for property carried off), till performance on our part, and compensation where the delay has rendered the performance now impracticable; that, on the subject of a treaty of commerce, they avoided direct answers, so as to satisfy Mr. Morris they did not mean to enter into one, unless it could be extended to a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, or unless in the event of a rupture with Spain.

As to the sending a minister here, they made excuses at the first conference, seem disposed to it in the second, and in the last express an intention of so doing.

Their views being thus sufficiently ascertained, I have directed Mr. Morris to discontinue his communications with them.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; RELATIVE TO SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

FEBRUARY 18TH, 1791.

The aspect of affairs in Europe during the last summer, and especially between Spain and England, gave reason to expect a favorable occasion for pressing to accommodation the unsettled matters between them and us. Mr. Carmichael, our *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid, having been long absent from his country, and great changes having taken place in our circumstances and sentiments during that interval, it was thought expedient to send some person in a private character, fully acquainted with the present state of things here, to be the bearer of written and confidential instructions to him, and at the same time to possess him, in full and frequent conversations, of all those details of facts and topics of argument, which could not be conveyed in writing, but which would be necessary to enable him to meet the reasonings of that court with advantage. Colonel David Humphreys was therefore sent for these purposes.

An additional motive for this confidential mission arose in the same quarter. The court of Lisbon had, on several occasions, made the most amicable advances for cultivating friendship and intercourse with the United States. The exchange of a diplomatic character had been informally, but repeatedly, suggested on their

part. It was our interest to meet this nation in its friendly dispositions, and to concur in the exchange proposed. But my wish was at the same time, that the character to be exchanged should be of the lowest and most economical grade. To this it was known, that certain rules of long standing at that court would produce obstacles. Colonel Humphreys was charged with despatches to the prime minister of Portugal, and with instructions to endeavour to arrange this to our views. It happened, however, that, previous to his arrival at Lisbon, the Queen had appointed a minister resident to the United States. This embarrassment seems to have rendered the difficulty completely insurmountable. The minister of that court, in his conferences with Colonel Humphreys, professing every wish to accommodate, yet expresses his regrets that circumstances do not permit them to concur in the grade of *chargé d'affaires*; a grade of little privilege or respectability by the rules of their court, and held in so low estimation with them, that no proper character would accept it to go abroad. In a letter to the Secretary of State he expresses the same sentiments, and announces the appointment on their part of a minister resident to the United States, and the pleasure with which the Queen will receive one from us at her court. A copy of his letter, and also of Colonel Humphreys', giving the details of this transaction, will be delivered to you.

On consideration of all circumstances, I have determined to accede to the desire of the court of Lisbon in the article of grade. I am aware that the consequences will not end here, and that this is not the only instance in which a like change may be pressed. But, should it be necessary to yield elsewhere also, I shall think it a less evil than to disgust a

government so friendly and so interesting to us, as that of Portugal. I do not mean that the change of grade shall render the mission more expensive.

I have therefore nominated David Humphreys minister resident from the United States to her Most Faithful Majesty, the Queen of Portugal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE KING OF FRANCE.

MARCH 5TH, 1792.

Knowing the friendly interest you take in whatever may promote the happiness and prosperity of the French nation, it is with pleasure that I lay before you the translation of a letter which I have received from his Most Christian Majesty, announcing to the United States of America his acceptance of the constitution presented to him by his nation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, OF SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1791.

VERY DEAR, GREAT FRIENDS AND ALLIES,

We make it our duty to inform you, that we have accepted the constitution which has been presented to us in the name of the nation, and according to which France will be henceforth governed.

We do not doubt that you take an interest in an event so important to our kingdom and to us; and it is with real pleasure we take this occasion to renew to you assurances of the sincere friendship we bear

you. Whereupon we pray God to have you, very dear, great friends and allies, in his just and holy keeping. Written at Paris, the 19th of September, 1791. Your good friend and ally,

LOUIS.
MONTMORIN.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; TRANSMITTING QUESTIONS RELATIVE TO ALGIERS.

MAY 8TH, 1792.

If the President of the United States should conclude a convention or treaty with the government of Algiers for the ransom of the thirteen Americans in captivity there, for a sum not exceeding forty thousand dollars, all expenses included, will the Senate approve the same? Or is there any and what greater or lesser sum, which they would fix on as the limit beyond which they would not approve the ransom?

If the President of the United States should conclude a treaty with the government of Algiers, for the establishment of peace with them, at an expense not exceeding twenty-five thousand dollars paid at the signature, and a like sum to be paid annually afterwards during the continuance of the treaty, would the Senate approve the same? Or are there any greater or lesser sums, which they would fix on as the limits beyond which they would not approve of such treaty?

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RESPECTING THE FRENCH MINISTER GENET, AND THE RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

DECEMBER 5TH, 1793.

As the present situation of the several nations of Europe, and especially of those with which the United States have important relations, cannot but render the state of things between them and us matter of interesting inquiry to the legislature, and may indeed give rise to deliberations, to which they alone are competent, I have thought it my duty to communicate to them certain correspondences which have taken place.

The representative and executive bodies of France have manifested generally a friendly attachment to this country, have given advantages to our commerce and navigation, and have made overtures for placing these advantages on permanent ground; a decree, however, of the National Assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time as to the United States, has been since extended to their vessels also, as has been recently stated to us. Representations on the subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result shall be communicated to the legislature.

It is with extreme concern I have to inform you, that the proceedings of the person, whom they have unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary here, have breathed nothing of the friendly spirit of the nation, which sent him; their tendency, on the contrary, has been to involve us in war abroad, and

discord and anarchy at home. So far as his acts, or those of his agents, have threatened our immediate commitment in the war, or flagrant insult to the authority of the laws, their effect has been counteracted by the ordinary cognizance of the laws, and by an exertion of the powers confided to me. Where their danger was not imminent, they have been borne with, from sentiments of regard to his nation; from a sense of their friendship towards us; from a conviction, that they would not suffer us to remain long exposed to the action of a person, who has so little respected our mutual dispositions; and, I will add, from a reliance on the firmness of my fellow-citizens in their principles of peace and order.

In the mean time, I have respected and pursued the stipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true sense; and have withheld no act of friendship, which their affairs have called for from us, and which justice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further; rather than employ force for the restitution of certain vessels, which I deemed the United States bound to restore, I thought it more advisable to satisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that, if restitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compensation. The papers, now communicated, will more particularly apprize you of these transactions.

The vexations and spoliation, understood to have been committed on our vessels and commerce by the cruisers and officers of some of the belligerent powers, appeared to require attention. The proofs of these, however, not having been brought forward, the description of citizens supposed to have suffered were notified, that, on furnishing them to the executive, due measures would be taken to obtain redress of the

past, and more effectual provisions against the future. Should such documents be furnished, proper representations will be made thereon, with a just reliance on a redress proportioned to the exigency of the case.

The British government having undertaken, by orders to the commanders of their armed vessels, to restrain, generally, our commerce in corn and other provisions to their own ports and those of their friends, the instructions now communicated were immediately forwarded to our minister at that court. In the mean time, some discussions on the subject took place between him and them. These are also laid before you; and I may expect to learn the result of his special instructions, in time to make it known to the legislature, during their present session.

Very early after the arrival of a British minister here, mutual explanations on the inexecution of the treaty of peace were entered into with that minister; these are now laid before you for your information.

On the subjects of mutual interest between this country and Spain, negotiations and conferences are now depending. The public good requiring that the present state of these should be made known to the legislature *in confidence only*, they shall be the subject of a separate and subsequent communication.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO TRANSACTIONS WITH SPAIN.

DECEMBER 16TH, 1793.

The situation of affairs in Europe, in the course of the year 1790, having rendered it possible that a moment might arrive favorable for the arrangement of our unsettled matters with Spain, it was thought proper to prepare a representative at that court to avail us of it. A confidential person was therefore despatched to be the bearer of instructions to him, and to supply, by verbal communications, any additional information of which he might find himself in need. The government of France was at the same time applied to for its aid and influence in this negotiation. Events, however, took a turn, which did not present the occasion hoped for.

About the close of the ensuing year I was informed, through the representatives of Spain here, that their government would be willing to renew at Madrid the former conferences on these subjects. Though the transfer of scene was not what would have been desired, yet I did not think it important enough to reject the proposition; and therefore, with the advice and consent of the Senate, I appointed commissioners plenipotentiary for negotiating and concluding a treaty with that country on the several subjects of boundary, navigation, and commerce, and gave them the instructions now communicated. Before these negotiations, however, could be got into train, the new troubles which had arisen in Europe had produced new combinations among the powers there, the effects of which are but too visible in the proceedings now laid before you.

In the mean time, some other points of discussion had arisen with that country, to wit, the restitution of property escaping into the territories of each other, the mutual exchange of fugitives from justice, and above all the mutual interferences with the Indians lying between us. I had the best reason to believe that the hostilities threatened and exercised by the southern Indians on our border were excited by the agents of that government. Representations were thereon directed to be made by our commissioners to the Spanish government, and a proposal to cultivate with good faith the peace of each other with those people. In the mean time, corresponding suspicions were entertained, or pretended to be entertained, on their part, of like hostile excitements by our agents to disturb their peace with the same nations. These were brought forward by the representatives of Spain here in a style which could not fail to produce attention. A claim of patronage and protection of those Indians was asserted; a mediation between them and us by that sovereign assumed; their boundaries with us made a subject of interference; and at length, at the very moment when these savages were committing daily inroads upon our frontier, we were informed by them, that "the continuation of the peace, good harmony, and perfect friendship of the two nations was very problematical for the future, unless the United States should take more convenient measures and of greater energy than those adopted for a long time past."

If their previous correspondence had worn the appearance of a desire to urge on a disagreement, this last declaration left no room to evade it, since it could not be conceived we would submit to the scalping-knife and tomahawk of the savage without any resistance.

I thought it time, therefore, to know if these were the views of their sovereign; and despatched a special messenger with instructions to our commissioners, which are among the papers now communicated. Their last letter gives us reason to expect very shortly to know the result. I must add, that the Spanish representatives here, perceiving that their last communication had made considerable impression, endeavoured to abate this by some subsequent professions, which being also among the communications to the legislature, they will be able to form their own conclusions.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO MOROCCO AND ALGIERS.

DECEMBER 16TH, 1793.

I lay before you a report of the Secretary of State on the measures, which have been taken on behalf of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a recognition of our treaty with Morocco, and for the ransom of our citizens and establishment of peace with Algiers.

While it is proper our citizens should know, that subjects, which so much concern their interests and their feelings, have duly engaged the attention of their legislature and executive, it would still be improper that some particulars of this communication should be made known. The confidential conversation stated in one of the last letters sent herewith is one of these. Both justice and policy require, that the source of that information should remain secret. So a knowledge of

the sums meant to have been given for peace and ransom might have a disadvantageous influence on future proceedings for the same objects.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON THE EXECUTION OF THE LAW IMPOSING AN EMBARGO.

MARCH 28TH, 1794.

In the execution of the resolution of Congress, bearing date the 26th of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and imposing an embargo, I have requested the governors of the several States to call forth the force of their militia, if it should be necessary for the detention of vessels. This power is conceived to be incidental to an embargo.

It also deserves the attention of Congress, how far the clearances from one district to another, under the law as it now stands, may give rise to evasions of the embargo. As one security, the collectors have been instructed to refuse to receive the surrender of coasting licenses for the purpose of taking out registers, and to require bond from registered vessels, bound from one district to another, for the delivery of the cargo within the United States.

It is not understood that the resolution applies to fishing-vessels, although their occupations lie, generally, in parts beyond the United States. But, without further restrictions, there is an opportunity of their privileges being used as means of eluding the embargo.

All armed vessels, possessing public commissions

from any foreign power (letters of marque excepted), are considered as not liable to the embargo.

These circumstances are transmitted to Congress for their consideration.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO HOSTILE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE TERRITORIES OF SPAIN.

MAY 20TH, 1794.

In the communications, which I have made to Congress during the present session, relative to foreign nations, I have omitted no opportunity of testifying my anxiety to preserve the United States in peace. It is peculiarly, therefore, my duty at this time to lay before you the present state of certain hostile threats against the territories of Spain in our neighbourhood.

The documents, which accompany this message, develope the measures which I have taken to suppress them, and the intelligence which has been lately received.

It will be seen from thence, that the subject has not been neglected; that every power vested in the executive on such occasions has been exerted; and that there was reason to believe, that the enterprise projected against the Spanish dominions was relinquished.

But it appears to have been revived upon principles, which set public order at defiance, and place the peace of the United States in the discretion of

unauthorized individuals. The means already deposited in the different departments of government are shown by experience not to be adequate to these high exigencies, although such of them as are lodged in the hands of the Executive shall continue to be used with promptness, energy, and decision, proportioned to the case. But I am impelled by the position of our public affairs to recommend, that provision be made for a stronger and more vigorous opposition, than can be given to such hostile movements under the laws as they now stand.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; CONCERNING BRITISH AND INDIAN ENCROACHMENTS.

MAY 21ST, 1794.

I lay before you in confidence sundry papers, by which you will perceive the state of affairs between us and the Six Nations, and the probable cause to which it is owing; and also certain information, whereby it would appear, that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory by an officer and party of British troops. Proceeding on a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge, that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual

preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our control, be forced upon us.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RELATIVE TO THE INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

FEBRUARY 28TH, 1795.

In my first communication to Congress during their present session, I gave them reason to expect that "certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations" would be transmitted to them. There was at that time every assurance for believing, that some of the most important of our foreign affairs would have been concluded, and others considerably matured, before they should rise. But, notwithstanding I have waited until this moment, it has so happened, that, either from causes unknown to me, or from events which could not be controlled, I am yet unable to execute my original intention. That I may, however, fulfil the expectation given as far as the actual situation of things will in my judgment permit, I now *in confidence* lay before Congress the following general statement.

Our minister near the French Republic has urged compensation for the injuries, which our commerce has sustained from captures by French cruisers, from the non-fulfilment of the contracts of the agents of that Republic with our citizens, and from the embargo at Bordeaux. He has also pressed an allowance for the money voted by Congress for relieving the inhabi-

tants of Saint Domingo. It affords me the highest pleasure to inform Congress, that perfect harmony reigns between the two republics; and that those claims are in a train of being discussed with candor, and of being amicably adjusted.

So much of our relation to Great Britain may depend upon the result of our late negotiations in London, that, until that result shall arrive, I cannot undertake to make any communication upon this subject.

After the negotiation with Spain had been long depending, unusual and unexpected embarrassments were raised to interrupt its progress. But, the commissioner of his Catholic Majesty near the United States having declared to the Secretary of State, that, if a particular accommodation should be made in the conducting of the business, no further delay would ensue, I thought proper, under all circumstances, to send to his Catholic Majesty an envoy extraordinary specially charged to bring to a conclusion the discussions, which have been formerly announced to Congress.

The friendship of her Most Faithful Majesty has been often manifested in checking the passage of the Algerine corsairs into the Atlantic ocean. She has also furnished occasional convoys to the vessels of the United States, even when bound to other ports than her own. We may therefore promise ourselves, that, as, in the ordinary course of things few causes can exist for dissatisfaction between the United States and Portugal, so the temper, with which accidental difficulties will be met on each side, will speedily remove them.

Between the executive of the United States and the government of the United Netherlands but little intercourse has taken place during the last year. It

may be acceptable to Congress to learn, that our credit in Holland is represented as standing upon the most respectable footing.

Upon the death of the late Emperor of Morocco, an agent was despatched to renew with his successor the treaty, which the United States had made with him. The agent unfortunately died after he had reached Europe in the prosecution of his mission. But until lately it was impossible to determine, with any degree of probability, who of the competitors for that empire would be ultimately fixed in the supreme power. Although the measures, which have been since adopted for the renewal of the treaty, have been obstructed by the disturbed situation of Amsterdam, there are good grounds for presuming, as yet, upon the pacific disposition of the Emperor in fact towards the United States, and that the past miscarriage will be shortly remedied.

Congress are already acquainted with the failure of the loan attempted in Holland for the relief of our unhappy fellow-citizens in Algiers. This subject, than which none deserves a more affectionate zeal, has constantly commanded my best exertions. I am happy, therefore, in being able to say, that, from the last authentic accounts, the Dey was disposed to treat for a peace and ransom, and that both would in all probability have been accomplished, had we not been disappointed in the means. Nothing which depends upon the Executive shall be left undone for carrying into immediate effect the supplementary act of Congress.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE; CONCERNING A TREATY WITH THE CREEK INDIANS.

JUNE 25TH, 1795.

Just at the close of the last session of Congress, I received, from one of the senators and one of the representatives of the State of Georgia, an application for a treaty to be held with the tribes or nations of Indians claiming the right of soil to certain lands lying beyond the present temporary boundary line of that State, and which were described in an act of the legislature of Georgia, passed on the 28th of December last, which has already been laid before the Senate. This application, and the subsequent correspondence with the governor of Georgia, are herewith transmitted. The subject being very important, I thought proper to postpone a decision upon that application. The views I have since taken of the matter, with the information received of a more pacific disposition on the part of the Creeks, have induced me now to accede to the request; but with this explicit declaration, that neither my assent, nor the treaty which may be made, shall be considered as affecting any question which may arise upon the supplementary act passed by the legislature of the State of Georgia on the 7th of January last, upon which inquiries have been instituted, in pursuance of a resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives; and that any cession or relinquishment of the Indian claims shall be made in the general terms of the treaty of New York, which are contemplated as the form proper to be generally used on such occasions; and on the condition that one half

of the expense of the supplies of provisions, for the Indians assembled at the treaty, be borne by the State of Georgia.

Having concluded to hold the treaty requested by that State, I was willing to embrace the opportunity it would present, of inquiring into the causes of the dissatisfaction of the Creeks which has been manifested, since the treaty of New York, by the numerous and distressing depredations on our southwestern frontiers. Their depredations on the Cumberland have been so frequent and so peculiarly destructive, as to lead me to think they must originate in some claim to the lands upon that river. But, whatever may have been the cause, it is important to trace it to its source; for, independent of the destruction of lives and property, it occasions a very serious annual expense to the United States. The commissioners for holding the proposed treaty will, therefore, be instructed to inquire into the causes of the hostilities to which I have referred, and to enter into such reasonable stipulations, as will remove them, and give permanent peace to those parts of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

JANUARY 4TH, 1796.

A letter from the minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, received on the 22d of last month, covered an address, dated the 21st of October, 1794, from the Committee of Public Safety to the Representatives of the United States in Congress; and also informed me, that he was instructed by the Committee to present to the United States the colors of France. I thereupon proposed to receive them last Friday, the first day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the minister of the French republic delivered the colors, with an address, to which I returned an answer. By the latter, the House will see, that I have informed the minister, that the colors will be deposited with the archives of the United States. But it seemed to me proper, previously, to exhibit to the two Houses of Congress these evidences of the continued friendship of the French Republic, together with the sentiments expressed by me on the occasion in behalf of the United States. They are herewith communicated.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON THE PROGRESS MADE IN ERECTING PUBLIC BUILDINGS AT THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

JANUARY 8TH, 1796.

I transmit to you a memorial of the commissioners, appointed by virtue of an act entitled "An act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the government of the United States," on the subject of the public buildings under their direction.

Since locating a district for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, as heretofore announced to both houses of Congress, I have accepted the grants of money and of land, stated in the memorial of the commissioners. I have directed the buildings therein mentioned to be commenced on plans, which I deemed consistent with the liberality of the grants, and proper for the purposes intended.

I have not been inattentive to this important business intrusted by the legislature to my care. I have viewed the resources placed in my hands, and observed the manner in which they have been applied; the progress is pretty fully detailed in the memorial from the commissioners, and one of them intends to give further information, if required. In a case, new and arduous, like the present, difficulties might naturally be expected; some have occurred, but they are, in a great degree surmounted; and I have no doubt, if the remaining resources are properly cherished, so as to prevent the loss of property by hasty and numerous sales, that all the buildings required for the accommodation of the government of the United States may be completed in season without aid from the

federal treasury. The subject is, therefore, recommended to the consideration of Congress, and the result will determine the measures which I shall cause to be pursued with respect to the property remaining unsold.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 30TH, 1796;

ASSIGNING HIS REASONS FOR NOT COMPLYING WITH THEIR RESOLUTION OF THE 24TH INSTANT, REQUESTING "A COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS, CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE TREATY LATELY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN."

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

With the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting me to lay before your House a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

In deliberating upon this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle, which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences, which must flow from the admission of that principle.

I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a

duty to give, or which could be required of him by either House of Congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honor to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution," will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and, even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences, perhaps danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate; the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur, that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require, to be disclosed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the

negotiation with Great Britain, were laid before the Senate, when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

The course, which the debate has taken on the resolution of the House, leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion on this subject; and, from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and that every treaty, so made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and, in all the treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every House of Representatives has heretofore acquiesced; and, until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced; for till now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the State conventions, when they were deliberating on the constitution; especially by those who objected to it, be-

cause there was not required, in *commercial treaties*, the consent of two thirds of the whole number of the members of the Senate, instead of two thirds of the Senators present; and because, in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three fourths of the whole number of the members of both Houses respectively was not made necessary.

It is a fact declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known, that, under this influence, the smaller States were admitted to an equal representation in the Senate with the larger States, and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers; for on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller States were deemed essentially to depend.

If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the Department of State. In those journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, "that no treaty should be binding on the United States, which was not ratified by a law;" and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits, in itself, all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government,

that the boundaries, fixed by the constitution between the different departments, should be preserved; a just regard to the constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbids a compliance with your request.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; RESPECTING THE TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER.

APRIL 8TH, 1796.

By an act of Congress, passed on the 26th of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, it was declared that the inhabitants of the territory of the United States south of the River Ohio should enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages set forth in the ordinance of Congress for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio; and that the government of the said territory south of the Ohio should be similar to that, which was then exercised in the territory northwest of the Ohio; except so far as was otherwise provided in the conditions expressed in an act of Congress, passed the 2d of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, entitled "An act to accept a cession of the claims of the State of North Carolina to a certain district of Western territory."

Among the privileges, benefits, and advantages, thus secured to the inhabitants of the territory south of the River Ohio, appears to be the right of forming a permanent constitution and State government, and of admission as a State, by its delegates, into the Con-

gress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever, when it should have therein sixty thousand free inhabitants; provided the constitution and government, so to be formed, should be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in the articles of the said ordinance.

As proofs of the several requisites to entitle the territory south of the River Ohio to be admitted as a State into the Union, Governor Blount has transmitted a return of the enumeration of its inhabitants, and a printed copy of the constitution and form of government on which they have agreed; which, with his letters accompanying the same, are herewith laid before Congress.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MESSAGE

TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS; ON THE INJURY SUSTAINED BY AMERICAN COMMERCE FROM FRENCH CRUISERS.

JANUARY 19TH, 1797.

At the opening of the present session of Congress, I mentioned that some circumstances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had suffered and was suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French Republic; and that communications had been received from its minister here, which indicated danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and that were in other respects far from agreeable; but that I reserved for a special

message a more particular communication on this interesting subject. This communication I now make.

The complaints of the French minister embraced most of the transactions of our government in relation to France from an early period of the present war; which, therefore, it was necessary carefully to review. A collection has been formed, of letters and papers relating to those transactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinckney, our minister at Paris, containing an examination of the notes of the French minister, and such information as I thought might be useful to Mr. Pinckney in any further representations he might find necessary to be made to the French government. The immediate object of his mission was to make to that government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as, by manifesting our good faith, might remove all jealousy and discontent, and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French Republic, which it has been my constant solicitude to preserve. A government, which required only a knowledge of the *truth* to justify its measures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly displayed.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATIONS.

PROCLAMATION

FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

Whereas it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the Providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor; and whereas both Houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me "to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness;"

Now, therefore, I do recommend and assign Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of November next, to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the Beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be; that we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks for his kind care and protection of the people of this country, previous to their becoming a nation; for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his providence, in the course and conclusion of the late war; for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed; for the peaceable and ra-

tional manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and, in general, for all the great and various favors, which he has been pleased to confer upon us.

And, also, that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions; to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually; to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations (especially such as have shown kindness to us), and to bless them with good governments, peace, and concord; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science, among them and us; and, generally, to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand, at the city of New York, the third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATION

CONCERNING THE LOCATION OF THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

Whereas the General Assembly of the State of Maryland, by an act passed on the 23d day of December, in the year 1788, entitled, "An act to cede to Congress a district of ten miles square in this State, for the seat of the government of the United States," did enact, that the representatives of the said State, in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, appointed to assemble at New York on the first Wednesday of March then next ensuing, should be, and they were thereby authorized and required, on the behalf of the said State, to cede to the Congress of the United States any district in the said State not exceeding ten miles square, which the Congress might fix upon and accept for the seat of government of the United States;

And the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Virginia, by an act passed on the 3d day of December, 1789, and entitled, "An act for the cession of ten miles square, or any lesser quantity of territory within this State to the United States in Congress assembled, for the permanent seat of the general government," did enact, that a tract of country not exceeding ten miles square, or any lesser quantity, to be located within the limits of the said State, and in any part thereof, as Congress might by law direct, should be, and the same was thereby for ever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and government of the United States, in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction, as well of soil as of persons residing or to reside thereon, pursuant to the tenor and

effect of the eighth section of the first article of the constitution of government of the United States;

And the Congress of the United States by their act passed the 16th day of July, 1790, and entitled, "An act for the temporary and permanent seat of the government of the United States," authorized the President of the United States to appoint three commissioners to survey under his direction, and by proper metes and bounds to limit, a district of territory, not exceeding ten miles square, on the river Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and the Conococheague, which district, to be so located and limited, was accepted by the said act of Congress, as the district for the permanent seat of the government of the United States;

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the powers to me confided, and after duly examining and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the several situations within the limits aforesaid, I do hereby declare and make known, that the location of one part of the said district of ten miles square shall be found by running four lines of experiment in the following manner, that is to say, running from the Court-House of Alexandria in Virginia, due southwest half a mile, and thence a due southeast course, till it shall strike Hunting Creek, to fix the beginning of the said four lines of experiment;

Then beginning the first of the said four lines of experiment at the point on Hunting Creek, where the said southeast course shall have struck the same, and running the said first line due northwest ten miles; thence the second line into Maryland, due northeast ten miles; thence the third line due southeast ten miles; and thence the fourth line due southwest ten miles, to the beginning on Hunting Creek.

And, the said four lines of experiment being so run, I do hereby declare and make known, that all that part within the said four lines of experiment, which shall be within the State of Maryland and above the Eastern Branch, and all that part within the same four lines of experiment, which shall be within the Commonwealth of Virginia, and above a line to be run from the point of land forming the upper cape of the mouth of the Eastern Branch due southwest, and no more, is now fixed upon, and directed to be surveyed, defined, limited, and located for a part of the said district accepted by the said act of Congress, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States; hereby expressly reserving the direction of the survey and location of the remaining part of the said district, to be made hereafter contiguous to such part or parts of the present location, as is or shall be agreeable to law.

And I do accordingly direct the said commissioners, appointed agreeably to the tenor of the said act, to proceed forthwith to run the said lines of experiment, and, the same being run, to survey, and by proper metes and bounds to define and limit, the part within the same, which is herein before directed for immediate location and acceptance; and thereof to make due report to me, under their hands and seals.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and of the independence of the United States the fifteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

* For another Proclamation concerning the District of Columbia, dated March 30th, 1791, see Vol. X. p. 148.

PROCLAMATION

OFFERING A REWARD FOR APPREHENDING PERSONS, WHO HAD COMMITTED OUTRAGES UPON THE CHEROKEE INDIANS.

Whereas I have received authentic information, that certain lawless and wicked persons, of the western frontier in the State of Georgia, did lately invade, burn, and destroy a town belonging to the Cherokee nation, although in amity with the United States, and put to death several Indians of that nation; and whereas such outrageous conduct not only violates the rights of humanity, but also endangers the public peace, and it highly becomes the honor and good faith of the United States to pursue all legal means for the punishment of those atrocious offenders; I have, therefore, thought fit to issue this my proclamation, hereby exhorting all the citizens of the United States, and requiring all the officers thereof, according to their respective stations, to use their utmost endeavours to bring those offenders to justice. And I do moreover offer a reward of five hundred dollars for each and every of the abovenamed persons, who shall be so apprehended and brought to justice, and shall be proved to have assumed or exercised any command or authority among the perpetrators of the crimes aforesaid, at the time of committing the same.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this 12th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

* The celebrated *Proclamation of Neutrality*, dated April 22d, 1793, is contained in Vol. X. p. 535.

PROCLAMATION

WARNING THE INSURGENTS IN THE WESTERN PARTS OF PENNSYLVANIA TO DESIST FROM THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE LAWS.

Whereas combinations to defeat the execution of the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills, have from the time of the commencement of those laws existed in some of the western parts of Pennsylvania;

And whereas the said combinations, proceeding in a manner subversive equally of the just authority of government and of the rights of individuals, have hitherto effected their dangerous and criminal purpose, by the influence of certain irregular meetings, whose proceedings have tended to encourage and uphold the spirit of opposition; by misrepresentations of the laws calculated to render them odious; by endeavours to deter those, who might be so disposed, from accepting offices under them, through fear of public resentment and of injury to person and property, and to compel those, who had accepted such offices, by actual violence to surrender or forbear the execution of them; by circulating vindictive menaces against all those, who should otherwise directly or indirectly aid in the execution of the said laws, or who, yielding to the dictates of conscience and to a sense of obligation, should themselves comply therewith; by actually injuring and destroying the property of persons who were understood to have so complied; by inflicting cruel and humiliating punishments upon private citizens for no other cause, than that of appearing to be friends of the laws; by intercepting the public officers on the highways, abusing, assaulting, and otherwise ill-treating

them; by going to their houses in the night, gaining admittance by force, taking away their papers, and committing other outrages, employing for these unwarrantable purposes the agency of armed banditti disguised in such manner, as for the most part to escape discovery;

And whereas the endeavours of the legislature to obviate objections to the said laws by lowering the duties and by other alterations conducive to the convenience of those, whom they immediately affect (though they have given satisfaction in other quarters), and the endeavours of the executive officers to conciliate a compliance with the laws, by explanations, by forbearance, and even by particular accommodations founded on the suggestion of local considerations, have been disappointed of their effect by the machinations of persons, whose industry to excite resistance has increased with every appearance of a disposition among the people to relax in their opposition, and to acquiesce in the laws; insomuch that many persons, in the said western parts of Pennsylvania have at length been hardy enough to perpetrate acts, which I am advised amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States, the said persons having on the 16th and 17th of July last past proceeded in arms (on the second day amounting to several hundreds) to the house of John Neville, inspector of the revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania; having repeatedly attacked the said house with the persons therein, wounding some of them; having seized David Lenox, marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who previous thereto had been fired upon, while in the execution of his duty, by a party of armed men, detaining him for some time prisoner, till, for the preservation of his life and the obtaining

of his liberty, he found it necessary to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of certain official duties touching processes issuing out of a court of the United States; and having finally obliged the said inspector of the revenue, and the said marshal, from considerations of personal safety to fly from that part of the country, in order by a circuitous route to proceed to the seat of government; avowing as the motives of these outrageous proceedings an intention to prevent by force of arms the execution of the said laws, to oblige the said inspector of the revenue to renounce his said office, to withstand by open violence the lawful authority of the government of the United States, and to compel thereby an alteration in the measures of the legislature and a repeal of the laws aforesaid;

And whereas, by a law of the United States, entitled "An act to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," it is enacted, "that, whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution of them obstructed in any State by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by that act, the same being notified by an associate justice or the district judge, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and, if the militia of a State, when such combinations may happen, shall refuse or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful for the President, if the legislature of the United States shall not be in session, to call forth and employ such numbers of the militia of any other State, or States,

most convenient thereto, as may be necessary, and the use of the militia so to be called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session; *provided always*, that, whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith and previous thereto, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time;"

And whereas James Wilson, an associate justice, on the fourth instant, by writing under his hand did, from evidence which had been laid before him, notify to me, that, "in the counties of Washington and Allegany in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of the district;"

And whereas it is in my judgment necessary under the circumstances of the case to take measures for calling forth the militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal the most solemn conviction, that the essential interests of the Union demand it, that the very existence of government and the fundamental principles of social order are materially involved in the issue, and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasion may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit;

Therefore, and in pursuance of the proviso above recited, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons, being insur-

gents as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before the first day of September next to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. And I do moreover warn all persons whomsoever against aiding, abetting, or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts; and do require all officers and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the law of the land, to exert their utmost endeavours to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings.

In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this seventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

PROCLAMATION

CONCERNING THE WESTERN INSURRECTION.

Whereas, from a hope that the combinations against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to take measures for calling forth the militia, than immediately to embody them; but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted; when every

* A previous Proclamation, dated September 15th, 1792, respecting the opposition to the excise laws, is contained in Vol. X. p. 532.

form of conciliation, not inconsistent with the being of government, has been adopted without effect; when the well-disposed in those counties are unable, by their influence and example, to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension, that the citizens will march with reluctance; when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection; when it is manifest, that violence would continue to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the laws; when, therefore, government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union, and,at the expense of those, who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition;

Now, therefore, I, George Washington, President of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty consigned to me by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own government; commiserating such as remain obstinate from delusion; but resolved, in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence, which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the laws; do hereby declare and make known, that, with a satisfaction, which can be equalled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have received intelligence of

their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity; that a force, which, according to every reasonable expectation, is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection; that those, who have confided or shall confide in the protection of government, shall meet full succour under the standard and from the arms of the United States; that those, who, having offended against the laws, have since entitled themselves to indemity, will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly.

And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind, that, as the people of the United States have been permitted under the Divine favor, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, in an enlightened age, to elect their own government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions to maintain the constitution and the laws.

And lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever not to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the premises.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATION

FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

When we review the calamities, which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction. Our exemption hitherto from foreign war, an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption, the great degree of internal tranquillity we have enjoyed, the recent confirmation of that tranquillity by the suppression of an insurrection, which so wantonly threatened it, the happy course of our public affairs in general, the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens, are circumstances, which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine Beneficence towards us. In such a state of things it is in an especial manner our duty as a people, with devout reverence and affectionate gratitude, to acknowledge our many and great obligations to Almighty God, and to implore him to continue and confirm the blessings we experience.

Deeply penetrated with this sentiment, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do recommend to all religious societies and denominations,

and to all persons whomsoever within the United States, to set apart and observe Thursday the 19th day of February next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, and on that day to meet together and render their sincere and hearty thanks to the Great Ruler of nations for the manifold and signal mercies, which distinguish our lot as a nation; particularly for the possession of constitutions of government, which unite, and by their union establish, liberty with order; for the preservation of our peace, foreign and domestic; for the seasonable control, which has been given to a spirit of disorder in the suppression of the late insurrection; and, generally, for the prosperous course of our affairs public and private; and at the same time humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of those blessings graciously to prolong them to us; to imprint on our hearts a deep and solemn sense of our obligations to him for them; to teach us rightly to estimate their immense value; to preserve us from the arrogance of prosperity, and from hazarding the advantages we enjoy by delusive pursuits; to dispose us to merit the continuance of his favors by not abusing them, by our gratitude for them, and by a correspondent conduct as citizens and as men; to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries; to extend among us true and useful knowledge; to diffuse and establish habits of sobriety, order, morality, and piety; and finally to impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, this first day of January, one

thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the nineteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PROCLAMATION

GRANTING PARDON TO THE WESTERN INSURGENTS.

Whereas the commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, to confer with the citizens in the western counties of Pennsylvania, during the late insurrection which prevailed therein, by their act and agreement bearing date the 2d day of September last, in pursuance of the powers in them vested, did promise and engage, that, if assurances of submission to the laws of the United States should be *bonâ fide* given by the citizens resident in the fourth survey of Pennsylvania, in the manner and within the time in the said act and agreement specified, a general pardon should be granted, on the 10th day of July then next ensuing, of all treasons and other indictable offences against the United States, committed within the said survey before the 22d day of August last; excluding therefrom, nevertheless, every person, who should refuse or neglect to subscribe such assurance and engagement in manner aforesaid, or who should after such subscription violate the same, or wilfully obstruct, or attempt to obstruct, the execution of the acts for raising a revenue on distilled spirits and stills, or be aiding or abetting therein;

And whereas, I have since thought proper to extend the said pardon to all persons guilty of the said treasons, misprisions of treason, or otherwise concerned

in the late insurrection within the survey aforesaid, who have not since been indicted or convicted thereof, or of any other offence against the United States;

Therefore be it known, that I, George Washington, President of the said United States, have granted, and by these presents do grant, a full, free, and entire pardon to all persons (excepting as is herein after excepted) of all treasons, misprisions of treason, and other indictable offences against the United States, committed within the fourth survey of Pennsylvania before the said 22d day of August last past, excepting and excluding therefrom, nevertheless, every person who refused or neglected to give and subscribe the said assurances in the manner aforesaid (or having subscribed, hath violated the same), and now standeth indicted or convicted of any treason, misprision of treason, or other offence against the said United States; hereby remitting and releasing unto all persons, except as before excepted, all penalties incurred, or supposed to be incurred, for, or on account of, the premises.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, this tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the twentieth year of the independence of the said United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ADDRESSES.

TO THE MAYOR, CORPORATION, AND CITIZENS OF ALEXANDRIA.*

APRIL 16TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the Presidency of the United States.

The unanimity of the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as of America, the apparent wish of those, who were not altogether satisfied with the constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance.

Those, who have known me best, (and you, my fellow-citizens, are from your situation in that number,) know better than any others, that my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, *never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature;* for, at

* It will be observed, that all the following Addresses, except the FAREWELL ADDRESS, are *Answers* to such as were presented to him by various public bodies.

my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion, has happily brought us together after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heartfelt felicity. But words, my fellow-citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while, from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends and kind neighbours, farewell! *

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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* The inhabitants of Alexandria were his neighbours and personal friends, who, in their Address to him, had expressed themselves with much warmth of feeling and attachment.

"Again," said they, "your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

"Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude

TO THE CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE.
APRIL 17TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The tokens of regard and affection, which I have often received from the citizens of this town, were always acceptable, because I believed them always sincere. Be pleased to receive my best acknowledgments for the renewal of them on the present occasion.

If the affectionate partiality of my fellow-citizens has prompted them to attribute greater effects to my conduct and character, than were justly due, I trust the indulgent sentiment on their part will not produce an overweening presumption on mine.

I cannot now, Gentlemen, resist the current of my feelings so much, as to withhold the communication of my ideas, respecting the actual situation and prospect of our national affairs. It appears to me, that little more than common sense and common honesty,

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for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor, which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrages of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; not to admire the patriotism, which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you. Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth, their model; our agriculture, its improver; our commerce, its friend; our infant academy, its protector; our poor, their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potomac (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use), its institutor and promoter.

"Farewell! Go, and make a grateful people happy, a people, who will be doubly grateful when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

"To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business, to which you are called, may he restore to us again the best of men, and the most beloved fellow-citizen!"

in the transactions of the community at large, would be necessary to make us a great and happy nation; for, if the general government lately adopted shall be arranged and administered in such a manner, as to acquire the full confidence of the American people, I sincerely believe they will have greater advantages, from their natural, moral, and political circumstances, for public felicity, than any other people ever possessed.

In the contemplation of those advantages, now soon to be realized, I have reconciled myself to the sacrifice of my fondest wishes, so far as to enter again upon the stage of public life. I know the delicate nature of the duties incident to the part I am called to perform, and I feel my incompetence, without the singular assistance of Providence, to discharge them in a satisfactory manner; but, having undertaken the task from a sense of duty, no fear of encountering difficulties, and no dread of losing popularity, shall ever deter me from pursuing what I take to be the true interests of my country. Yet, after a consciousness of having been actuated by the purest motives alone, and after having made use of the most persevering endeavours in my power to advance the public weal, I shall consider it next to a miracle, if I may be so fortunate as to go out of office with a reputation as unsullied by the breath of obloquy, as that which I flatter myself I have hitherto maintained. In all contingencies you will remember, Gentlemen, when I was entering on the chief magistracy I told you, "that it would be no unprecedented thing, if the close of a life, mostly consumed in public cares, should be embittered by some ungrateful event;" but in the present instance, that circumstance would be accounted by me of little moment, provided, in the mean time,

I shall have been in the smallest degree instrumental in securing the liberties and promoting the happiness of the American people.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE DELAWARE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

APRIL, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my sincere thanks for your congratulations and good wishes on my appointment to the Presidency of the United States.

Convinced that the happy effects, which may be derived from our government must depend, in a considerable degree, on the determination of the people to support the person intrusted with the administration, I shall rejoice to find that my acceptance has met with their approbation.

The promotion of domestic manufactures will, in my conception, be among the first consequences which may naturally be expected to flow from an energetic government. For myself, having an equal regard for the prosperity of the farming, trading, and manufacturing interests, I will only observe, that I cannot conceive the extension of the latter (so far as it may afford employment to a great number of hands, which would be otherwise in a manner idle,) can be detrimental to the former. On the contrary, the concurrence of virtuous individuals, and the combination of economical societies, to rely as much as possible on the resources of our own country, may be productive of great national advantages, by establishing the habits

of industry and economy. The objects of your institution are, therefore, in my opinion, highly commendable; and you will permit me to add, Gentlemen, that I propose to demonstrate the sincerity of my opinion on this subject by the uniformity of my practice, in giving a decided preference to the produce and fabrics of America, whensoever it may be done without involving an unreasonable expense, or very great inconveniences.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The congratulations of my fellow-soldiers and faithful followers in the military line of this State, on my election to the chief magistracy of the Union, cannot but be exceedingly flattering and pleasing to me; for my mind has been so deeply affected with a grateful sense of the attachment and aid, which I have experienced from them during the course of our arduous struggle for liberty, that the impression will never be effaced.*

Heaven alone can foretell, whether any or what advantages are to be derived by my countrymen from my holding the office, which they have done me the honor of conferring upon me, not only without my solicitation, but even contrary to my inclinations. I promise nothing but an unremitted attention to the

* The members of the *Society of the Cincinnati* had been mostly officers under him in the revolutionary war.

duties of the office. If by that attention I may still be so fortunate as to continue to possess the affectionate regard of my fellow-citizens, and particularly of that body of which you are the representatives, it will be no small addition to my happiness.

The support, which they and you have promised, cannot fail, under the smiles of Providence, to contribute largely to the accomplishment of my wishes, by promoting the prosperity of our common country. In the mean time, I thank you, Gentlemen, for the interest you so kindly take in my personal comfort and honor, as well as in the prosperity and glory of the general government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I received with great satisfaction the affectionate congratulations of the President and supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on my appointment to the Presidency of the United States.

If, under favor of Divine Providence and with the assistance of my fellow-citizens, it was my fortune to have been in any degree instrumental in vindicating the liberty and confirming the independence of my country, I now find a full compensation for my services in a belief, that those blessings will be permanently secured by the establishment of a free and efficient government. And you will permit me to say on this occasion, that, as nothing could add to the

evidence I have formerly received of the invariable attachment of your commonwealth to the interests and honor of the Union, so nothing could have been more agreeable to me at this time, than the assurances you have given me of the zealous coöperation of its executive authority in facilitating the accomplishment of the great objects, which are committed to my charge.

While I feel my sensibility strongly excited by the expressions of affection and promises of support, which I everywhere meet with from my countrymen, I entertain a consolatory hope, that the purity of my intentions, and the perseverance of my endeavours to promote the happiness of my country, will atone for any of the slighter defects, which may be discovered in my administration. For, whatever may be the issue of our public measures, or however I may err in opinion, I trust it will be believed, that I could not have been actuated by any interests separate from those of my country.

Suffer me, Gentlemen, to conclude by assuring you, that I am well pleased with the justice you have done to the motives from which I have acted, and by thanking you for the tender concern you have been pleased to manifest for my personal felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MAYOR, RECORDER, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

I consider myself particularly obliged to you, Gentlemen, for your congratulatory address on my appointment to the station of President of the United States.

Accustomed as I have been to pay a respectful regard to the opinion of my countrymen, I did not think myself at liberty to decline the acceptance of the high office, to which I have been called by their united suffrage. When I contemplate the interposition of Providence, as it was manifested in guiding us through the revolution, in preparing us for the reception of a general government, and in conciliating the good will of the people of America towards one another after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed and almost overwhelmed with a sense of the divine munificence. I feel, that nothing is due to my personal agency in all these complicated and wonderful events, except what can simply be attributed to the exertions of an honest zeal for the good of my country.

If I have distressing apprehensions, that I shall not be able to justify the too exalted expectations of my countrymen, I am supported under the pressure of such uneasy reflections by a confidence, that the most gracious Being, who has hitherto watched over the interests and averted the perils of the United States, will never suffer so fair an inheritance to become a prey to anarchy, despotism, or any other species of oppression.

I thank you sincerely for your kind wishes, that my administration may be honorable and happy to myself and my country.

I pray you, Gentlemen, to accept on your own behalf, as well as on that of the citizens you represent, my heartfelt acknowledgments for the polite welcome I have received upon my arrival in your city. In tendering those acknowledgments, I must also desire it may be fully understood, that I entertain the same reciprocal sensations of attachment for the good

people of Philadelphia, which they have on all occasions evinced in my favor.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I accept, with peculiar pleasure, the address of the University of the State of Pennsylvania, upon my appointment to the first office in the Union. Notwithstanding I had most seriously determined never more to take any part in transactions of a public nature, yet a conviction of duty would not suffer me, on the present occasion, to refuse a compliance with the unanimous call of my country; nor could I remain insensible to the honor, that was conferred upon me by this fresh and distinguished proof of its approbation.

Probably my fellow-citizens anticipate too many and too great advantages from the appointment. It will, however, be an object, indeed, near to my heart, to verify as far as may be in my power those favorable presentiments, by endeavouring to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of the American people.

I am not a little flattered by being considered by the patrons of literature as one in their number. Fully apprized of the influence, which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of abilities to make it still more extensive.

I conceive hopes, however, that we are at the eve of a very enlightened era. The same unremitting ex-

ertions, which, under all the blasting storms of war, caused the arts and sciences to flourish in America, will doubtless bring them nearer to maturity, when they shall have been sufficiently invigorated by the milder rays of peace.

I return you my hearty thanks for your devout intercession at the throne of grace for my felicity both here and hereafter. May you also, Gentlemen, after having been the happy instruments of diffusing the blessings of literature and the comforts of religion, receive the just compensation for your virtuous deeds.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MINISTERS, CHURCH-WARDENS, AND VESTRYMEN OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CONGREGATION, IN AND NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

While I request you to accept my thanks for your kind address, I must profess myself highly gratified by the sentiments of esteem and consideration contained in it. The approbation my past conduct has received from so worthy a body of citizens as that, whose joy for my appointment you announce, is a proof of the indulgence with which my future transactions will be judged by them.

I could not, however, avoid apprehending, that the partiality of my countrymen in favor of the measures now pursued, had led them to expect too much from the present government, did not the same Providence, which has been visible in every stage of our progress to this interesting crisis, from a combination of cir-

cumstances, give us cause to hope for the accomplishment of all our reasonable desires.

Thus partaking with you in the pleasing anticipation of the blessings of a wise and efficient government, I flatter myself that opportunities will not be wanting for me to show my disposition to encourage the domestic and public virtues of industry, economy, patriotism, philanthropy, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

I rejoice in having so suitable an occasion to testify the reciprocity of my esteem for the numerous people whom you represent. From the excellent character for diligence, sobriety, and virtue, which the Germans in general, who are settled in America, have ever maintained, I cannot forbear felicitating myself on receiving from so respectable a number of them such strong assurances of their affection for my person, confidence in my integrity, and zeal to support me in my endeavours for promoting the welfare of our common country.

So long as my conduct shall merit the approbation of the wise and the good, I hope to hold the same place in your affections, which your friendly declarations induce me to believe I possess at present; and, amidst all the vicissitudes, that may await me in this mutable existence, I shall earnestly desire the continuation of an interest in your intercession at the throne of grace.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

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* The preceding addresses were delivered by General Washington, while on his way from Mount Vernon to New York, to take upon himself the charge of the government as President of the United States. He arrived at Trenton, on the 21st of April, 1789.

"At Trenton," says Chief Justice Marshall, "he was welcomed in a manner as new as it was pleasing. In addition to the usual demonstra-

TO THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMONALTY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

MAY 9TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The affectionate address presented by the magistrates, and the general joy testified by the citizens of New York, on my arrival in this metropolis, have filled my mind with the mingled emotions of gratitude and satisfaction. In accepting the momentous trust, which has been spontaneously committed to me by a free people, it was not enough to have felt a consciousness of having acted in conformity to patriotism; it was not enough to have known, that I met the wishes of my fellow-citizens; but it seemed, that these further pledges of their confidence and support were wanting, to overcome the diffidence I had in my own

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tions of respect and attachment, which were given by the discharge of cannon, by military corps, and by private persons of distinction, the gentler sex prepared, in their own taste, a tribute of applause indicative of the grateful recollection in which they held their deliverance twelve years before from a formidable enemy. On the bridge over the creek, which passes through the town, was erected a triumphal arch, highly ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each entwined with wreaths of evergreen. On the front arch was inscribed, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

"On the centre of the arch above the inscription was a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens, encircling the dates of two memorable events, which were peculiarly interesting to New Jersey. The first was the battle of Trenton, and the second the bold and judicious stand made by the American troops at the same creek, by which the progress of the British army was arrested on the evening preceding the battle of Princeton.

"At this place he was met by a party of matrons leading their daughters dressed in white, who carried baskets of flowers in their hands,

abilities, and the reluctance I experienced at engaging in such new and arduous affairs.

Unelated by your too favorable appreciation of my past services, I can only pour forth the effusions of a grateful heart to Heaven, if I have been made, in any degree, an instrument of good to my country; and, although I am far from claiming any merit for retiring in the manner I did from a military command to the shade of private life, yet I am pleased to find, that your candor has done justice to the principles by which I have been actuated on the present occasion. No circumstance, in my conception, can be more consolatory to a public man, especially to one truly sensible that the purest intentions cannot always preserve him from error, than a knowledge that his countrymen are disposed to consider the motives of his conduct

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and sang, with exquisite sweetness, an ode of two stanzas composed for the occasion."

"WELCOME, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow;
Aims at THEE the fatal blow.

"Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for THEE triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

The following communication was made to the ladies immediately afterwards in writing.

"General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments to the matrons and young ladies, who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the triumphal arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensations he experienced in that affecting moment.

"The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the *white-robed choir*, who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance, as, he assures them, will never be effaced."

with that liberality, which is reciprocally necessary for all, who are subject to the frailties of human nature.

In this place, I cannot avoid expressing an apprehension, that the partiality of my countrymen in my favor has induced them to expect too much from the exertions of an individual. It is from their coöperation alone, that I derive all my expectations of success. Indeed, the unanimity which has prevailed, in some instances, is a happy presage, that our national government will be firmly established in the hearts of the people, and receive their united and zealous support.

From the accommodating spirit, which has been displayed in respect to the constitution, I anticipate that the government will, in its operation, be productive of the most extensive utility, by rendering the Union as respectable in peace as it was triumphant in war.

I feel a just sense of your fervent wishes for my personal happiness, and the success of my administration. I pray you, Gentlemen, to accept in return my cordial thanks for these demonstrations of your affection, as well as for the assurances you have given of the attachment of your fellow-citizens.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with great sensibility the testimonial given by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, of the lively and unfeigned pleasure experienced by them on my appointment to the first office in the nation.

Although it will be my endeavour to avoid being elated by the too favorable opinion, which your kindness for me may have induced you to express of the importance of my former conduct and the effect of my future services, yet, conscious of the disinterestedness of my motives, it is not necessary for me to conceal the satisfaction I have felt upon finding, that my compliance with the call of my country, and my dependence on the assistance of Heaven to support me in my arduous undertakings, have, so far as I can learn, met the universal approbation of my countrymen.

While I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon Heaven, as the source of all public and private blessings, I will observe, that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry, and economy seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advancing and confirming the happiness of our country. While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences, it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sanctity of their professions by the innocence of their lives and the beneficence of their actions; for no man, who is prof-

ligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a true Christian, or a credit to his own religious society.

I desire you to accept my acknowledgments for your laudable endeavours to render men sober, honest, and good citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government, as well as for your prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on our common country, and the humble instrument, which he has been pleased to make use of in the administration of its government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I return to you individually, and, through you, to your society collectively in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection and the expressions of joy, offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall still be my endeavour to manifest, by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence, which you have been pleased to repose in me.

It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all

conscientious men in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the Universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning, that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced, that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the divine benediction on yourselves and your religious community.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, REPRESENTING THE UNITED BAPTIST CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I request that you will accept my best acknowledgments for your congratulation on my appointment to the first office in the nation. The kind manner in which you mention my past conduct equally claims the expression of my gratitude.

After we had, by the smiles of Heaven on our exertions, obtained the object for which we contended, I retired, at the conclusion of the war, with an idea that my country could have no farther occasion for my services, and with the intention of never entering again into public life; but, when the exigencies of my country seemed to require me once more to engage in public affairs, an honest conviction of duty superseded my former resolution, and became my

apology for 'deviating from the happy plan which I had adopted.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember, that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.

While I recollect with satisfaction, that the religious society of which you are members have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution, I cannot hesitate to believe, that they will be the faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government. Under this pleasing expectation I rejoice to assure them, that they may rely on my best wishes and endeavours to advance their prosperity.

In the mean time be assured, Gentlemen, that I entertain a proper sense of your fervent supplications to God for my temporal and eternal happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MINISTERS AND ELDERS OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CONGREGATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I am happy in concurring with you in the sentiments of gratitude and piety towards Almighty God, which are expressed with such fervency of devotion in your address; and in believing, that I shall always find in you, and the German Reformed Congregations in the United States, a conduct correspondent to such worthy and pious expressions.

At the same time, I return you my thanks for the manifestation of your firm purpose to support in your persons a government founded in justice and equity, and for the promise, that it will be your constant study to impress the minds of the people intrusted to your care with a due sense of the necessity of uniting reverence to such a government, and obedience to its laws, with the duties and exercises of religion.

Be assured, Gentlemen, it is by such conduct very much in the power of the virtuous members of the community to alleviate the burden of the important office which I have accepted, and to give me occasion to rejoice, in this world, for having followed therein the dictates of my conscience.

Be pleased, also, to accept my acknowledgments for the interest you so kindly take in the prosperity of my person, family, and administration. May your devotions before the throne of grace be prevalent in calling down the blessings of Heaven upon yourselves and your country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

JUNE 15TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

It was scarcely possible for any address to have given me more pleasure, than that which I have just received from you; because I consider it not only demonstrative of your approbation of my conduct in accepting the first office in the Union, but also indicative of the good dispositions of the citizens of your State towards their sister States, and of the probability of their speedily acceding to the new general government.

In justification of the opinion, which you are pleased to express of my readiness "to advise every measure calculated to compose party divisions, and to abate any animosity that may be excited by mere difference of opinion," I take the liberty of referring you to the sentiments communicated by me to the two Houses of Congress. On this occasion I am likewise happy, in being able to add the strongest assurance, that I entertain a well-grounded expectation, that nothing will be wanting on the part of the different branches of the general government to render the Union as perfect, and more safe than ever it has been.

A difference of opinion on political points is not to be imputed to freemen as a fault, since it is to be presumed that they are all actuated by an equally laudable and sacred regard for the liberties of their country. If the mind is so formed in different persons, as to consider the same object to be somewhat different in its nature and consequences, as it happens to be placed in different points of view; and if the

oldest, the ablest, and the most virtuous statesmen have often differed in judgment, as to the best forms of government, we ought, indeed, rather to rejoice that so much has been effected, than to regret that more could not all at once be accomplished.

Gratified by the favorable sentiments, which are evinced in your address to me, and impressed with an idea that the citizens of your State are sincerely attached to the interest, the prosperity, and the glory of America, I most earnestly implore the divine benediction and guidance in the counsels, which are shortly to be taken by their delegates on a subject of the most momentous consequence; I mean the political relation, which is to subsist hereafter between the State of North Carolina and the States now in union under the new general government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.*

JULY 9TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

Your address, with which I have been honored, has made a most sensible impression upon me. That my acceptance of the Presidency of these United States should have given joy to the people of Massachusetts, and that my conduct through our late arduous struggle for liberty and independence has met the approbation of the citizens of that commonwealth,

* The Addresses of the legislatures of the States, and other public bodies, were forwarded at different times, according to the several dates of their meeting, after the inauguration of the President.

will be considered by me as among the most pleasing circumstances of my life.

In executing the duties of my present important station, I can promise nothing but purity of intentions, and, in carrying these into effect, fidelity and diligence. If these, under the guidance of a superintending Providence, shall continue to me the approbation and affection of my fellow-citizens of the Union, it will be the highest gratification and the most ample reward that my mind can form any conception of in this life. The adoption of the present government by so large a majority of the States and their citizens, and the growing dispositions, which are discoverable among all descriptions of men, to give support and energy to it, are indications of its merit, auspicious of the future greatness and welfare of the empire, which will grow under it; and are the foundation on which I build my hopes of public felicity. The best efforts of mine towards the accomplishment of these great and glorious objects can only be secondary.

For the benedictions you have been pleased to implore of the Parent of the Universe on my person and family, I have a grateful heart; and the most ardent wish, that we may all, by rectitude of conduct and a perfect reliance on his beneficence, draw the smiles of Heaven on ourselves and posterity to the latest generation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED BRETHREN FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN.

JULY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with satisfaction the congratulations of your society, and of the Brethren's congregations in the United States of America. For you may be persuaded, that the approbation and good wishes of such a peaceable and virtuous community cannot be indifferent to me.

You will also be pleased to accept my thanks for the treatise * you presented, and be assured of my patronage in your laudable undertakings.

In proportion as the general government of the United States shall acquire strength by duration, it is probable they may have it in their power to extend a salutary influence to the aborigines in the extremities of their territory. In the mean time, it will be a desirable thing, for the protection of the Union, to cooperate, as far as the circumstances may conveniently admit, with the disinterested endeavours of your Society to civilize and christianize the savages of the wilderness.

Under these impressions, I pray Almighty God to have you always in his holy keeping.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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* "An Account of the Manner, in which the Protestant Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, preach the Gospel and carry on their Mission among the Heathen."

TO THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

JULY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The affectionate congratulations of so respectable a public body, as the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New York, on my election to the Presidency of the United States, fill my breast with the most pleasing sensations.

In the fortitude and perseverance of the citizens of this State, even amidst the calamities and dangers with which they were surrounded in the late war, I found a resource, which it always gave me pleasure to acknowledge in the strongest and most grateful terms. I may also be permitted to add, the satisfaction I experienced in retiring to the enjoyment of domestic life was greatly enhanced by a reflection, that their public virtue had been finally crowned with complete success.

I am now truly happy, that my motives for reassuming the arduous duties of a public station have met with your approbation; and at the same time I entreat you to be persuaded, that nothing could be better calculated to encourage me to hope for prosperity in the execution of the duties of my office, than the assurances you have given of the favorable sentiments and expectations of the freemen of your State.

I request, Gentlemen, that you will accept my best thanks for your polite intimation, that you will do every thing in your power to make my residence in your State agreeable; as well as for your patriotic promise of being always ready to afford me your united aid and support. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BISHOPS, CLERGY, AND LAITY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATES OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, AND NORTH CAROLINA, IN GENERAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED.

AUGUST 19TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I sincerely thank you for your affectionate congratulations on my election to the chief magistracy of the United States.

After having received from my fellow-citizens in general the most liberal treatment, after having found them disposed to contemplate, in the most flattering point of view, the performance of my military services, and the manner of my retirement at the close of the war, I feel that I have a right to console myself in my present arduous undertakings with a hope, that they will still be inclined to put the most favorable construction on the motives, which may influence me in my future public transactions.

The satisfaction arising from the indulgent opinion entertained by the American people of my conduct will, I trust, be some security for preventing me from doing any thing, which might justly incur the forfeiture of that opinion. And the consideration, that human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former by inculcating the practice of the latter.

On this occasion, it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection, which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying pros-

pects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

I receive with the greater satisfaction your congratulations on the establishment of the new constitution of government, because I believe its mild yet efficient operations will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends; and because the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the present federal legislature seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues, the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

I request, most reverend and respected Gentlemen, that you will accept my cordial thanks for your devout supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in behalf of me. May you, and the people whom you represent, be the happy subjects of the divine benedictions both here and hereafter.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

AUGUST, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

In assigning so important an agency to the endeavours of an individual, as is mentioned in your address, you render a tribute to my services, which a sense of propriety forbids me to assume. For the flattering terms in which you are pleased to express your sentiments of those services, and for the kind wishes you prefer in my behalf, I thank you with grateful sincerity.

To the animated spirit of freedom, that pervades our country, and to the firm temper of our citizens, which braved all dangers in defence of their privileges (under the protecting care of divine Providence), are we indebted for the blessings of political independence. To the enlightened policy, which has directed our public councils, we owe the reform and establishment of our federal constitution. Under its auspicious influence, aided by the industry and moral conduct of those citizens, who compose the great family of our Union, we may hope for the substantial enjoyments of individual happiness and national honor.

From your superintending care, Gentlemen, as the guardians of a seminary and an important source of science, we are to derive great assistance in accomplishing these *desiderata*. That your labors may be crowned with success, and render you happy in its consequences, is my sincere prayer.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FREEMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

SEPTEMBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

When the representatives of a free people, delivering the sense of their constituents, give such marks of affectionate attachment to an individual, as are contained in your address to me, it must call forth the warmest acknowledgments of a grateful heart. Under this impression, I beg you to believe, that your favorable opinion of my past conduct, and kind congratulations on my elevation to the high station which I now fill, are indelibly marked on my mind.

The early and decided part, which the citizens of Pennsylvania took in behalf of the present system of government, cannot be forgotten by the people of these United States; and in acknowledging the grateful sense, which I have of your assurances of the firm and constant support of your State, in all measures in which its aid shall be necessary for rendering my administration easy to myself and beneficial to our country, I trust that I meet the concurrence of all good citizens.

The virtue, moderation, and patriotism, which marked the steps of the American people in framing, adopting, and thus far carrying into effect our present system of government, have excited the admiration of nations; and it only now remains for us to act up to those principles, which should characterize a free and enlightened people, that we may gain respect abroad, and insure happiness to ourselves and our posterity.

It should be the highest ambition of every American to extend his views beyond himself, and to bear

in mind, that his conduct will not only affect himself, his country, and his immediate posterity, but that its influence may be coextensive with the world, and stamp political happiness or misery on ages yet unborn. To establish this desirable end, and to establish the government of laws, the UNION of these States is absolutely necessary; therefore, in every proceeding, this great, this important object should ever be kept in view; and, so long as our measures tend to this, and are marked with the wisdom of a well-informed and enlightened people, we may reasonably hope, under the smiles of Heaven, to convince the world that the happiness of nations can be accomplished by pacific revolutions in their political systems, without the destructive intervention of the sword.

Your wishes for my personal happiness, and fervent prayers for the preservation of my existence, have made a grateful impression upon me; and I shall not fail to implore the divine Author of the Universe to bestow those blessings upon you and your constituents, which can make a people happy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SYNOD OF THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

OCTOBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with a grateful heart your pious and affectionate address, and with truth declare to you, that no circumstance of my life has affected me more sensibly, or produced more pleasing emotions, than the friendly congratulations, and strong assurances of support, which I have received from my fellow-citizens

of all descriptions upon my election to the Presidency of these United States.

I fear, Gentlemen, your goodness has led you to form too exalted an opinion of my virtues and merits. If such talents as I possess have been called into action by great events, and those events have terminated happily for our country, the glory should be ascribed to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence. My military services have been abundantly recompensed by the flattering approbation of a grateful people; and if a faithful discharge of my civil duties can insure a like reward, I shall feel myself richly compensated for any personal sacrifice I may have made by engaging again in public life.

The citizens of the United States of America have given as signal a proof of their wisdom and virtue, in framing and adopting a constitution of government without bloodshed or the intervention of force, as they, upon a former occasion, exhibited to the world, of their valor, fortitude, and perseverance; and it must be a pleasing circumstance to every friend of good order and social happiness to find, that our new government is gaining strength and respectability among the citizens of this country, in proportion as its operations are known and its effects felt.

You, Gentlemen, act the part of pious Christians and good citizens by your prayers and exertions to preserve that harmony and good will towards men, which must be the basis of every political establishment; and I readily join with you, that, "while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support."

I am deeply impressed with your good wishes for my present and future happiness, and I beseech the Almighty to take you and yours under his special care.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS, AT THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND THE WESTERN PART OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

OCTOBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes, which you express for the success of my administration and for my personal happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect, that the present national government, which, by the favor of Divine Providence, was formed by the common counsels and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them. To render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more

than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us, who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

OCTOBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,*

Could any acknowledgment, which language might convey, do justice to the feelings excited by your partial approbation of my past services, and your affectionate wishes for my future happiness, I would endeavour to thank you; but, to minds disposed as yours are, it will suffice to observe, that your address meets a most grateful reception, and is reciprocated, in all its wishes, with an unfeigned sincerity.

If the prosperity of our common country has, in any degree, been promoted by my military exertions, the toils which attend them have been amply rewarded by the approving voice of my fellow-citizens. I

* The President was now on a tour through the eastern States. He left New York on the 15th of October, and returned on the 13th of November.

was but the humble agent of favoring Heaven, whose benign interference was so often manifested in our behalf, and to whom the praise of victory alone is due.

In launching again on the ocean of events, I have obeyed a summons, to which I can never be insensible. When my country demands the sacrifice, personal ease must always be a secondary consideration.

I cannot forego this opportunity to felicitate the legislature of Connecticut on the pleasing prospect, which an abundant harvest presents to its citizens. May industry like theirs ever receive its reward, and may the smile of Heaven crown all endeavours, which are prompted by virtue, among which it is but justice to estimate your assurance of supporting our equal government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

OCTOBER 27TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

To communicate the peculiar pleasure, which I derive from your affectionate welcome of me to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, requires a force of expression beyond that which I possess. I am truly grateful for your goodness towards me, and I desire to thank you with the unfeigned sincerity of a feeling heart.

Your obliging remembrance of my military services is among the highest compensations they can receive; and, if rectitude of intention may authorize the hope,

the favorable anticipation which you are pleased to express of my civil administration will not, I trust, be disappointed.

It is your happiness, Gentlemen, to preside in the councils of a commonwealth, where the pride of independence is well assimilated with the duties of society, and where the industry of the citizens gives the fullest assurance of public respect and private prosperity.

I have observed, too, with singular satisfaction, so becoming an attention to the militia of the State, as presents the fairest prospect of support to the invaluable objects of national safety and peace.

Long may these blessings be continued to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. And may you, Gentlemen, in your individual capacities, experience every satisfaction, which can result from public honor and private happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

OCTOBER 27TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The obligations, which your goodness has imposed upon me, demand my grateful acknowledgments. Your esteem does me honor, and your affection communicates the truest pleasure. By endeavouring to deserve, I will indulge the hope of retaining them.

Overrating my services, you have ascribed consequences to them, in which it would be injustice to deny a participation to the virtue and firmness of my worthy fellow-citizens of this respectable town and commonwealth.

If the exercise of my military commission has contributed to vindicate the rights of humanity, and to secure the freedom and happiness of my country, the purpose for which it was assumed has been completed, and I am amply rewarded. If, in the prosecution of my civil duties, I shall be so fortunate as to meet the wishes of my fellow-citizens, and to promote the advantage of our common interests, I shall not regret the sacrifice, which you are pleased to mention in terms so obliging.

The numerous sensations of heartfelt satisfaction, which a review of past scenes affords to my mind in a comparison with the present happy hour, are far beyond my powers of utterance to express. I rejoice with you, my fellow-citizens, in every circumstance that declares your prosperity; and I do so most cordially, because you have well deserved to be happy. Your love of liberty, your respect for the laws, your habits of industry, and your practice of the moral and religious obligations, are the strongest claims to national and individual happiness, and they will, I trust, be firmly and lastingly established.

Your wishes for my personal felicity excite a deep and affectionate gratitude; and your prayer to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe in my behalf calls forth my fervent supplication to that gracious and beneficent Being, for every blessing on your temporal pursuits, and for the perfection of your happiness hereafter.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

OCTOBER 27TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

Requesting you to accept my sincere thanks for the address, with which you have thought proper to honor me, I entreat you to be persuaded of the respectful and affectionate consideration with which I receive it.

Elected by the suffrages of a too partial country to the eminent and arduous station, which I now hold, it is peculiarly flattering to find an approbation of my conduct in the judgment of men, whose reverend characters must sanction the opinions they are pleased to express. Unacquainted with the expression of sentiments, which I do not feel, you will do me justice by believing confidently in my disposition to promote the interests of science and true religion.

It gives me sincere satisfaction to learn the flourishing state of your literary republic. Assured of its efficiency in the past events of our political system, and of its further influence on those means, which make the best support of good government, I rejoice that the direction of its measures is lodged with men, whose approved knowledge, integrity, and patriotism give an unquestionable assurance of their success.

That the Muses may long enjoy a tranquil residence within the walls of your University, and that you, Gentlemen, may be happy in contemplating the progress of improvement through the various branches of your important departments, are among the most pleasing of my wishes and expectations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NOVEMBER 2D, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I am sensibly impressed with your friendly welcome to the metropolis of New Hampshire, and have a grateful heart for your kind and flattering congratulations on my election to the Presidency of these United States.

I fear the fond partiality of my countrymen has too highly appreciated my past exertions, and formed too sanguine anticipations of my future services. If the former have been successful, much of the success should be ascribed to those, who labored with me in the common cause, and the glory of the event should be given to the great Disposer of events.

If an unremitting attention to the duties of my office, and the zeal of an honest heart, can promote the public good, my fellow-citizens may be assured, that these will not be wanting in my present station.

I can claim no particular merit, Gentlemen, for the preservation of your town from the devastation of the enemy. I am happy, if by any event of the war your property has been preserved from that destruction, which fell but too heavily on your neighbours, and I sincerely condole with you for the loss, which you sustained in navigation and commerce; but I trust that industry and economy, those fruitful and never-failing sources of private and public opulence, will, under our present system of government, restore you to your former flourishing state.

The interest which you take in my personal happiness, and the kind felicitations which you have expressed on the recovery of my health, are peculiarly

grateful to me; and I earnestly pray that the great Ruler of the Universe may smile upon your honest exertions here, and reward your well-doings with future happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE EXECUTIVE OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NOVEMBER 3D, 1789.

Allow me, Gentlemen, to assure you, that, grateful as my heart is for the affectionate regards, which my fellow-citizens have manifested towards me, it has at no time been more sensibly impressed with a consciousness of their goodness, than on the present occasion. I am truly thankful for your expressions of attachment to my person, and approbation of my conduct; and I reciprocate your good wishes with unfeigned affection.

In exercising the vigilance and attention, with which you are pleased to compliment my military command, I did no more than what inclination prompted, and duty enjoined. In discharging the duties of my civil appointment, I can sincerely promise, that the love of my country will be the ruling influence of my conduct.

The success, which has hitherto attended our united efforts, we owe to the gracious interposition of Heaven; and to that interposition let us gratefully ascribe the praise of victory, and the blessings of peace.

May the State, in whose councils you worthily preside, be happy under your administration, and may you, Gentlemen, partake of the blessings, which your endeavours are intended to bestow.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

DECEMBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

In replying to the flattering and affectionate address, with which you are pleased to honor me, I confess a want of expression to convey the grateful sentiments, which it inspires. You will do justice to those sentiments by believing, that they are founded in sincere regard and respectful esteem.

The opportunities, which were afforded me in the trying vicissitudes of our arduous struggle, to remark the generous spirit, which animated the exertions of your citizens, have impressed a remembrance of their worth, which no length of time or change of circumstances can efface. To the gallantry and firmness of their efforts in the field, they have added the wisdom and liberality of distinguished patriotism in council.

Appreciating, with judicious discernment, the blessings of that independence, which their efforts contributed to establish, they were unanimously agreed to secure and perpetuate them by adopting a constitution, which promised equal and efficient protection to the privileges of confederated America. The assurance now given by your honorable body to support the federal system is a renewed proof of the estimation in which it is held, and a happy indication of the beneficial effects already experienced, and hereafter expected to flow from its operations. As such, it is to me peculiarly grateful, and must be so to every citizen of the Union, whose wish is private prosperity and public honor. Allow me, Gentlemen,

to assure you of every endeavour on my part to promote these desirable objects.

In making my acknowledgments for the favorable opinions you express of my military conduct, as it respected the observance of civil rights, it is but justice to assign great merit to the temper of those citizens, whose estates were more immediately the scene of warfare. Their personal services were rendered without constraint, and the derangement of their affairs submitted to without dissatisfaction. It was the triumph of patriotism over personal considerations. And our present enjoyments of peace and freedom reward the sacrifice.

Imploring a continuance of these enjoyments to our country, and individual happiness to the citizens who procured them, I offer up a sincere prayer for you, Gentlemen, and your constituents.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by a unanimous vote to the first station in my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony to the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure,

which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel, that my conduct in war and in peace has met with more general approbation, than could reasonably have been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candor of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine Providence, the protection of a good government, the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, can hardly fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume, that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance, which they received from a nation * in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in

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* France.

whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

DECEMBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

The congratulations presented to me by the different branches of the legislature of the State of Georgia, upon my having been elected with unanimity to the Presidency of the United States, affect my mind with the most pleasing sensations, and demand my best acknowledgments.

From the observation, that, "in the great concerns of mankind, success has not always been attendant on the performance of duty, and that, where it has, the sanction of public approbation has frequently been withheld," I am naturally led to reflect on the unlimited gratitude, which we owe as a nation to the Supreme Arbiter of human events for his interposition in our favor; as well as on the singular obligations, which are due from me as an individual for the indulgent sentiments, which my fellow-citizens have always had the goodness to entertain of my conduct.

Raised, as I am, to the head of a government pervading so vast a territory, and possessing, as I flatter

myself I do, the confidence of the people in regard to my dispositions, I assure you, Gentlemen, that nothing could be more consonant to my wishes, than to be favored with such facts and opinions respecting the condition of the States, as may appear proper and necessary; for I am deeply sensible, that many errors, which would result from want of information, may be obviated by timely and just representations.

I am not ignorant how much the local situation of your State exposed its inhabitants to suffer the distresses of the late war in a severe manner; nor how manfully they exerted themselves in the common cause during the struggle, which established our independence. Wasted as your country was at the return of peace, and exposed as your frontiers have since been to the ravages of the Indians, I cannot but flatter myself, that you will ere long realize the blessings, which were to be expected from your natural resources, and find a compensation for your sufferings in the benefits of an efficient general government.

It will not be expected, I presume, on this occasion, that I should enter into the merits of the delicate subject to which you allude.* It may be sufficient

* The General Assembly of Georgia had spoken in their address as follows.

"In the course of the war, which established our independence, our citizens made proportionate exertions with those of any part of the whole, and in point of property they suffered the most; the peace found the country a waste; with many natural advantages, we flattered ourselves with a speedy recovery; when we were attacked by the Indians.

"On this subject we wish to be delicate; much has been already said; we have asserted, and it has been contradicted. Removed at a distance from the centre, our actions have been liable to misrepresentation; but we trust that, by this time, they are better explained. In the mean time, while our population has been checked, and our agriculture diminished, the blood of our citizens has been spilled, our public resources greatly exhausted, and our frontier still open to fresh ravages. The failure of

to say, that, while I regret extremely the failure of the late negotiation for peace with the Creek Indians, I am satisfied that the explanations, which have been received through authentic channels, will be of eminent service. I am also convinced, that nothing will be wanting on your part to concur in the accomplishment of a pacification; and I still hope, that, under the influence of the general government, that desirable object may be effected. With respect to this subject in general, as well as to the other calamity, which you mention as resulting from your being the south frontier of the Union, I request you will be persuaded, that I shall make such use of the powers vested in me by the constitution, as may appear to me best calculated to promote the public good.

I am much pleased, Gentlemen, with the frankness which you have manifested in regard to myself, and return you my hearty thanks for the good wishes you have expressed for my health and happiness, with a sincere prayer, that the same blessings may be extended to you and your constituents.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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the late negotiations for a peace with the Creek nation, and the circumstances which attended the same, are the best evidence of the necessity of our measures, and a proof of the late hostile dispositions of these people; but, under the influence of the government and power of the Union, it is to be hoped and expected, that a different conduct will on their part prevail. On our part nothing shall be wanting to promote so desirable an establishment.

"Another circumstance of additional calamity, attendant on our being the south frontier of the Union, is the facility of our black people crossing the Spanish line, from whence we have never been able to reclaim them. This has already been productive of much injury to private persons, and, if not speedily restrained, may grow into an evil of national magnitude.

"We take this occasion of bringing this business into view, with a perfect reliance, that you will cause such discussions to be made, as shall be necessary to bring about a remedy."

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.

APRIL 27TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

With a due sense of the affectionate terms, in which your address is conceived, I offer my best thanks for your congratulations on my election to the chief magistracy of a free and enlightened nation.

If I have been enabled to make use of whatever abilities Heaven has been pleased to confer upon me, with any advantage to our common country, I consider it no less owing to the fostering encouragement I received in early life from the citizens of the commonwealth in which I was born, than to the persevering support I have since experienced from my fellow-citizens collectively, in the course of their exertions, which, under divine Providence, saved their liberties and established their independence.

However I may have confirmed my professions by my conduct, I can claim no merit for having been involved in the duties of a military command through necessity, or for having retired to the state of a private citizen through inclination. But I may be permitted to avow, that the construction you are pleased to put upon my motives for returning to public life is peculiarly satisfactory to me; because I receive from the voice of my countrymen the only reward I wished for the sacrifice; a just interpretation of the principles by which I am conscious I have been actuated.

Accustomed to have my actions viewed through a favorable medium by my fellow-citizens in general, and more especially by those of my native State, I can but poorly compensate for such indulgence by

the purest emotions of gratitude, demonstrated in an active devotion to that republican government, which is deservedly the first object of their political attachment.

In looking forward to that awful moment, when I must bid adieu to sublunary scenes, I anticipate the consolation of leaving our country in a prosperous condition; and, while the curtain of separation shall be drawing, my last breath will, I trust, expire in a prayer for the temporal and eternal felicity of those, who have not only endeavoured to gild the evening of my days with unclouded serenity, but extended their desires to my happiness hereafter in a brighter world.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE STATE SOCIETIES OF THE CINCINNATI, ASSEMBLED AT THEIR TRIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

Although it is easier for you to conceive, than for me to explain, the pleasing sensations, which have been excited in my breast by your congratulations on my appointment to the head of this rising republic; yet I must take the liberty to thank you sincerely for the polite manner, in which you felicitate our countrymen, and testify your regard to me on this occasion.

In addition to that reward for your sufferings and services, which arises from the consciousness of having done your duty, you have erected monuments more

expressive of your merits, than even the universal applause of your country, in the establishment of her independence and sovereignty; nor should any possible circumstances of poverty or adversity compel you to give up that sweet satisfaction for the part you have acted, which ought to attend you, as well through the vicissitudes of life, as in the moment of dissolution.

The candor of your fellow-citizens acknowledges the patriotism of your conduct in peace, as their gratitude has declared their obligations for your fortitude and perseverance in war. A knowledge, that they now do justice to the purity of your intentions, ought to be your highest consolation, as the fact is demonstrative of your greatest glory.

The object, for which your gallantry encountered every danger, and your virtue sustained unparalleled difficulties, has happily been attained. A government, promising protection and prosperity to the people of the United States, is established; and its operations hitherto have been such, as to justify the most sanguine hopes of success. It was naturally to be expected, that lives, which had long since been devoted on the altar of freedom, could never be offered at the shrine of anarchy or despotism; and the offer, which you make, of the residue of those lives to support the administration of this government, is not less a proof of its excellence, than an encouragement for those concerned in its execution to use their best endeavours to make it a source of permanent blessings to their country.

Whatever titles my military services may have given me to the regard of my country, they are principally corroborated by the firm support of my brave and faithful associates in the field; and, if any considera-

tion is to be attributed to the successful exercise of my civil duties, it proceeds in a great measure from the wisdom of the laws, and the facility which the disposition of my fellow-citizens has given to their administration.

To the most affectionate wishes for your temporal happiness, I add a fervent prayer for your eternal felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATION OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

MAY, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you, with great sincerity, for your congratulations on my appointment to the office, which I have the honor to hold by the unanimous choice of my fellow-citizens; and especially for the expressions, which you are pleased to use in testifying the confidence, that is reposed in me by your congregation.

As the delay, which has naturally intervened between my election and your address, has afforded an opportunity for appreciating the merits of the federal government, and for communicating your sentiments of its administration, I have rather to express my satisfaction, than regret, at a circumstance, which demonstrates (upon experiment) your attachment to the former, as well as approbation of the latter.

I rejoice, that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall

become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States of America have, in many instances, exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther, if, gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace, which, under the favor of Heaven, have been obtained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity, and charity towards their fellow-creatures.

May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, and planted them in the promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven, and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people, whose God is Jehovah.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

MAY, 1790.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

The congratulatory address of the people of the State of South Carolina, on my election to the office of President of the United States, expressed in such forcible and endearing terms, affects me with the liveliest emotions of satisfaction, and induces me to request their acceptance of my sincerest acknowledgments.

Flattering as it may be to find the extraordinary unanimity of the people of the United States in

placing me at the head of their federal republic, I am still more pleased with a recollection of the manly conduct on their part, which, in the issue of an arduous struggle, put them into a condition to enjoy the blessings of a free government. It was owing to their steady and strenuous support, with the smiles of a gracious Providence, that I did not sink under the oppression I felt from a diffidence in my abilities to conduct their military operations. It was a distressing consideration, that so good a cause might be endangered by a single false step on the part of their general; but in such a cause, although surrounded with difficulties and dangers on every side, and in the midst of dark and gloomy prospects, it would have argued the most infamous pusillanimity to despair of the commonwealth. Seconded by such a body of yeomanry, as repaired to the standard of liberty, fighting in their own native land, fighting for all that freemen hold dear, and whose docility soon supplied the place of discipline, it was scarcely in human nature, under its worst character, to abandon them in their misfortunes; nor is it for me to claim any singular title to merit for having shared in a common danger, and triumphed with them, after a series of the severest toil and most accumulated distress, over a formidable foe.

The value of liberty was thus enhanced in our estimation by the difficulty of its attainment, and the worth of characters appreciated by the trial of adversity. The tempest of war having at length been succeeded by the sunshine of peace, our citizen-soldiers impressed a useful lesson of patriotism on mankind, by nobly returning with impaired constitutions and unsatisfied claims, after such long sufferings and severe disappointments, to their former occupations.

Posterity, as well as the present age, will doubtless regard with admiration and gratitude the patience, perseverance, and valor, which achieved our revolution. They will cherish the remembrance of virtues, which had but few parallels in former times, and which will add new lustre to the most splendid page of history.

If there be for me any peculiarly just subject of exultation, and with an honest pride I avow the fact, it is in being the citizen of a country, whose inhabitants were so enlightened and disinterested, as to sacrifice local prejudices and temporary systems for the sake of rendering secure and permanent that independence, which had been the price of so much treasure and blood. Animated with the hope of transmitting to posterity the spirit of a free constitution in its native purity, they have, since the conclusion of the war, evinced the rectitude of their principles, as well as proved themselves, by their practice, worthy of their successes.

For myself, notwithstanding my former intentions and declarations, I could not hesitate to return to public life, when, from all the circumstances within my knowledge, I had collected it to be my duty, because it was apparently the wish of a whole nation. Nor shall I regret the loss of that tranquillity in retirement, which my time of life and state of health seemed in some measure to authorize and require, if I may still be an instrument of any good to that country, which has continued to assist my administration with such generous and unlimited confidence.

I pray you to be persuaded, that, while I receive with great sensibility such repeated proofs of the partiality of my fellow-citizens in my favor, I feel increasing obligations to devote my labors unremittingly to the public service, and, with the benediction of

the great Father of the Universe on our councils, to use my best endeavours, that the American people, who have of right assumed an independent station amongst the nations of the earth, should for ever remain a great, respectable, and happy nation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE FREEMEN OF THE TOWN OF NEWPORT. AUGUST 16TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with emotions of satisfaction the kind address of the citizens of Newport on my arrival in this State.

Although I am not ignorant how much the worthy inhabitants of this town have been injured in their circumstances by their patriotic sufferings and services, yet I must be allowed to say, that nothing on their part has been wanting to convince me of their affection to myself and attachment to the government over which I am appointed to preside.

I request, Gentlemen, you will be persuaded, that I take a due interest in your particular situation, and that I join with you in anticipating the happy period when, in our country at large, commerce, arts, manufactures, and agriculture shall attain the highest degree of improvement.

My expressions would but faintly communicate my feelings, should I enlarge beyond the proper limits of an answer to your address, in evincing my sensibility of your affectionate wishes for my felicity in the present and future state of existence. It will be a better proof of my zeal for the prosperity of the inhabitants

of this town, and their fellow-citizens of this State, to lose no opportunity of attending to the advancement of their interests, in combination with the general welfare of the community. This I shall do with unfeigned satisfaction; and may all the happiness be theirs, which can result in their social character from the uniform practice of industry, virtue, fraternal kindness, and universal philanthropy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MASTER, WARDENS, AND BRETHREN OF KING DAVID'S LODGE, IN NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

AUGUST 16TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive the welcome, which you give me to Rhode Island, with pleasure; and I acknowledge my obligations for the flattering expressions of regard, contained in your address, with grateful sincerity.

Being persuaded, that a just application of the principles, on which the Masonic fraternity is founded, must be promotive of private virtue and public prosperity, I shall always be happy to advance the interests of the society, and be considered by them a deserving brother.

My best wishes, Gentlemen, are offered for your individual happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CORPORATION OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE.
AUGUST 17TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

The circumstances, which have, until this time, prevented you from offering your congratulations on my advancement to the station I hold in the government of the United States, do not diminish the pleasure I feel in receiving this flattering proof of your affection and esteem; for which I request you will accept my thanks.

In repeating thus publicly my sense of the zeal you displayed for the success of the cause of your country, I only add a single suffrage to the general testimony, which all, who were acquainted with you in the most adverse and doubtful moments of our struggle for liberty and independence, have constantly borne in your favor.

While I cannot remain insensible to the indulgence, with which you regard the influence of my example and the tenor of my conduct, I rejoice in having so favorable an opportunity of felicitating the State of Rhode Island on the coöperation I am sure to find in the measures adopted by the guardians of literature in this place, for improving the morals of the rising generation, and inculcating upon their minds principles peculiarly calculated for the preservation of our rights and liberties. You may rely on whatever protection I may be able to afford in so important an object as the education of our youth.

I will now conclude, Gentlemen, by expressing my acknowledgments for the tender manner in which you mention the restoration of my health on a late occasion, and with ardent wishes that Heaven may pros-

per the literary institution under your care, in giving you the best of its blessings in this world, as well as in the world to come.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF PROVIDENCE.

AUGUST 17TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

The congratulations, which you offer me on my arrival in this place, are received with no small degree of pleasure. For your attentions and endeavours to render the town agreeable to me, and for your expressions of satisfaction at my election to the Presidency of the United States, I return you my warmest thanks. My sensibility is highly excited by your ardent declarations of attachment to my person and the constitution.

As, under the smiles of Heaven, America is indebted for freedom and independence rather to the joint exertions of the citizens of the several States, in which it may be your boast to have borne no inconsiderable share, than to the conduct of the Commander-in-chief, so is she indebted for their support rather to a continuation of those exertions, than to the prudence and ability manifested in the exercise of the powers delegated to the President of the United States.

Your hopes for the extension of commerce, the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, and the establishment of public faith, as reared upon our constitution, are well founded; and it is my earnest wish, that you may extensively enjoy the benefit arising from them.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your prayer for my future welfare, and offer up my best wishes for your individual and collective happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CONVENTION OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH LATELY ASSEMBLED IN PHILADELPHIA.

1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you cordially for the congratulations, which you offer on my appointment to the office I have the honor to hold in the government of the United States.

It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of citizens on religious doctrines, they generally concur in one thing; for their political professions and practices are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions. I am also happy in finding this disposition particularly evinced by your society. It is, moreover, my earnest desire, that all the members of every association or community, throughout the United States, may make such use of the auspicious years of peace, liberty, and free inquiry, with which they are now favored, as they shall hereafter find occasion to rejoice for having done.

With great satisfaction I embrace this opportunity to express my acknowledgments for the interest my affectionate fellow-citizens have taken in my recovery from a late dangerous indisposition; and I assure you, Gentlemen, that, in mentioning my obligations for the effusions of your benevolent wishes in my behalf, I feel animated with new zeal, that my conduct may

ever be worthy of your favorable opinion, as well as such as shall, in every respect, best comport with the character of an intelligent and accountable being.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

1790.

GENTLEMEN,

While I acknowledge, with grateful sincerity, my personal obligations to the legislature of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, for the very flattering manner in which they convey their congratulations on my election to the chief magistracy of our confederated republic, and for the approbation they are pleased to express of my public conduct, it affords me peculiar pleasure to observe, that the completion of our Union, by the accession of your State, gives a strong assurance of permanent political happiness to the people of America.

A change in the national constitution, conformed to experience and the circumstances of our country, has been most happily effected by the influence of reason alone. In this change, the liberty of the citizen continues unimpaired, while the energy of government is so increased as to promise full protection to all the pursuits of science and industry, together with the firm establishment of public credit, and the vindication of our national character.

It remains with the people themselves to preserve and promote the great advantages of their political and natural situation; nor ought a doubt to be enter-

tained, that men, who so well understand the value of social happiness, will ever cease to appreciate the blessings of a free, equal, and efficient government.

In expressing my sensibility for the interest you take in the restoration of my health, I recall with pleasure the remembrance of those civilities, which I experienced in my late visit to your State.

My best wishes are offered, Gentlemen, for the prosperity of your constituents, and for your individual happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

AUGUST 26TH, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I entreat you to be persuaded, that nothing could have been more agreeable to me, than the proofs, contained in your affectionate address, of the friendly sentiments entertained by you for my person, as well as for the government, which I have been appointed by my countrymen to administer. And I reciprocate with heartfelt satisfaction your congratulations on the completion of the union of all the States, an event, in my judgment, pregnant with more salutary consequences than can easily be expressed or conceived.

It will ever be my first wish, and most strenuous endeavour, to justify, so far as may be in my power, the confidence, which my fellow-citizens have thought proper to repose in me, by exerting every power, vested in the President of the United States by the constitution, for the happiness and prosperity of our

country, and by giving efficacy to such a system, as will ensure the general welfare and conciliate the public mind.

I desire, Gentlemen, to make acceptable to you my acknowledgments for the kind concern you take in the restoration of my health and preservation of my life, and in the retribution I may receive after the conclusion of this mortal existence. May you, and the State, in whose government you have the principal agency, be also the peculiar care of Divine Providence.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INTENDANT AND WARDENS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITIZENS OF CHARLESTON.*

MAY 3D, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

The gratification you are pleased to express, at my arrival in your metropolis, is replied to with sincerity, in a grateful acknowledgment of the pleasing sensations, which your affectionate urbanity has excited. Highly sensible of your attachment and favorable opinions, I entreat you to be persuaded of the lasting gratitude which they impress, and of the cordial regard with which they are returned.

It is the peculiar boast of our country, that her happiness is alone dependent on the collective wisdom and virtue of her citizens, and rests not on the exertions of any individual. While a just sense is entertained of our natural and political advantages, we

* The President was at this time in Charleston, on his tour through the southern States.

cannot fail to improve them, and with the progress of our national importance to combine the freedom and felicity of individuals.

I shall be particularly gratified in observing the happy influence of public measures on the prosperity of your city, which is so much entitled to the regard and esteem of the American Union.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

MAY 13TH, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

Your affectionate congratulations on my arrival in this city, and the very favorable sentiments you express towards me, are received with gratitude and thanked with sincerity. Estimating favors by the cordiality with which they are bestowed, I confess, with real pleasure, my obligations to the Corporation of Savannah, and I can never cease to entertain a grateful sense of their goodness.

While the virtuous conduct of your citizens, whose patriotism braved all the hardships of the late war, engaged my esteem, the distresses peculiar to the State of Georgia, after the peace, excited my deepest regret. It was with singular satisfaction I perceived, that the efficacy of the general government could interpose effectual relief, and restore tranquillity to so deserving a member of the Union. Your sentiments on this event are worthy of citizens, who, placing a due value on the blessings of peace, desire to maintain it on the immutable principles of justice and good

faith. May the harmony of your city be consequent on your administration, and may you individually be happy.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY AT MEDWAY, FORMERLY ST. JOHN'S PARISH, IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

MAY, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

I learn, with gratitude proportioned to the occasion, your attachment to my person, and the pleasure you express on my election to the Presidency of the United States. Your sentiments on the happy influence of our equal government impress me with the most sensible satisfaction. They vindicate the great interests of humanity; they reflect honor on the liberal minds that entertain them; and they promise the continuance and improvement of that tranquillity, which is essential to the welfare of nations and the happiness of men.

You overrate my best exertions, when you ascribe to them the blessings, which our country so eminently enjoys. From the gallantry and fortitude of her citizens, under the auspices of Heaven, America has derived her independence. To their industry, and the natural advantages of the country, she is indebted for her prosperous situation. From their virtue she may expect long to share the protection of a free and equal government, which their wisdom has established, and which experience justifies, as admirably adapted to our social wants and individual felicity.

Continue, my fellow-citizens, to cultivate the peace and harmony, which now subsist between you and your Indian neighbours. The happy consequence is immediate. The reflection, which arises on justice and benevolence, will be lastingly grateful. A knowledge of your happiness will lighten the cares of my station, and be among the most pleasing of their rewards.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY EDWARD TELFAIR, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

AUGUSTA, MAY 20TH, 1791.

SIR,

Obeying the impulse of a heartfelt gratitude, I express with particular pleasure my sense of the obligations, which your Excellency's goodness and the kind regards of your citizens have conferred upon me. I shall always retain a most pleasing remembrance of the polite and hospitable attentions, which I have received in my tour through the State of Georgia, and during my stay at the residence of your government.

The manner, in which you are pleased to recognise my public services, and to regard my private felicity, excites my sensibility, and claims my grateful acknowledgment. Your Excellency will do justice to the sentiments, which influence my wishes, by believing that they are sincerely offered for your personal happiness, and the prosperity of the State in which you preside.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA.

MAY 25TH, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

The acknowledgments, which your respectful and affectionate address demands, I offer to you with unfeigned sincerity. I receive your congratulations with pleasure, and, estimating your welcome of me to Camden by a conviction of its cordiality, I render those thanks to your politeness and hospitality, to which they are so justly entitled.

Your grateful remembrance of that excellent friend and gallant officer, the Baron de Kalb, does honor to the goodness of your hearts. With your regrets I mingle mine for his loss, and to your praise I join the tribute of my esteem for his memory.* May you largely participate the national advantages, and may your past sufferings and dangers, endured and braved in the cause of freedom, be long contrasted with future safety and happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

JANUARY, 1793.

Flattering as it may be to the human mind, and truly honorable as it is, to receive from our fellow-citizens testimonies of approbation for exertions to

* It will be recollected, that the Baron de Kalb was mortally wounded in the battle near Camden, in the year 1780, and was buried at that place.

promote the public welfare, it is not less pleasing to know, that the milder virtues of the heart are highly respected by a society, whose liberal principles must be founded in the immutable laws of truth and justice.

To enlarge the sphere of social happiness is worthy of the benevolent design of a Masonic institution; and it is most fervently to be wished, that the conduct of every member of the fraternity, as well as those publications, that discover the principles which actuate them, may tend to convince mankind that the grand object of Masonry is to promote the happiness of the human race.

While I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the "Book of Constitutions," which you have sent me, and the honor you have done me in the Dedication, permit me to assure you, that I feel all those emotions of gratitude, which your affectionate address and cordial wishes are calculated to inspire; and I sincerely pray, that the Great Architect of the Universe may bless you here, and receive you hereafter into his immortal temple.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW CHURCH IN BALTIMORE.

JANUARY, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

It has ever been my pride to merit the approbation of my fellow-citizens, by a faithful and honest discharge of the duties annexed to those stations, in which they have been pleased to place me; and the dearest rewards of my services have been those tes-

timonies of esteem and confidence, with which they have honored me. But to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence, and to the patriotic exertions of United America, are to be ascribed those events, which have given us a respectable rank among the nations of the earth.

We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.

Your prayers for my present and future felicity are received with gratitude; and I sincerely wish, Gentlemen, that you may in your social and individual capacities taste those blessings, which a gracious God bestows upon the righteous.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MERCHANTS AND TRADERS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

MAY 16TH, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

Fully persuaded, that the happiness and best interests of the people of the United States will be promoted by observing a strict neutrality in the present contest among the powers of Europe, it gives me pleasure to learn, that the measures, which I have

taken to declare to the world their disposition on this head, has given general satisfaction to the citizens of Pennsylvania. The friends of humanity will deprecate war, wheresoever it may appear; and we have experienced enough of its evils in this country to know, that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon. I trust, therefore, that the good citizens of the United States will show to the world, that they have as much wisdom in preserving peace at this critical juncture, as they have heretofore displayed valor in defending their just rights.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MERCHANTS AND TRADERS OF BALTIMORE.
MAY, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

At this eventful period, when caution must be united with firmness to preserve to the United States the blessings of peace, and at the same time to maintain our rights as an independent nation, it affords me no small degree of satisfaction to find, that my endeavours to promote these objects by declaring the neutrality of the United States have met your approbation. While the measures of this government are taken upon constitutional ground, and have for their object the public good, it would be injurious to our enlightened citizens not to rely upon their countenance and support in carrying them into effect.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE FREEHOLDERS AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF SALEM, IN MASSACHUSETTS.

JUNE, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

Placed in the situation I am by the free voice of my fellow-citizens, it becomes a duty, pleasing as it is strong, to pursue such measures as appear best calculated to promote their true interests. Under this impression, I issued the late Proclamation, declaring the neutrality of the United States in the present contest between France and other European powers. In making this declaration, I was persuaded that I spoke the wishes of my countrymen, without violating any political or moral obligation. And the evidences of satisfaction, which have been exhibited on this occasion, as well as the assurances of good citizens to use their influence in preserving the peace and prosperity of our infant republic, afford a new proof of that liberal and enlightened sentiment, which has been so often and so honorably manifested by them on great occasions.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF ALEXANDRIA.

JULY 4TH, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

Deeply impressed with the important advantages, which the United States will experience by remaining in peace, during the present contest among the powers of Europe, it is with the highest satisfaction that I receive this manifestation of your wishes for the pres-

ervation of that invaluable blessing, and the approbation, which you express, of the measures which have been taken to secure a continuance of our present happy situation. To complete the American character, it remains for the citizens of the United States to show to the world, that the reproach heretofore cast on republican governments for their want of stability is without foundation, when that government is the deliberate choice of an enlightened people. And I am fully persuaded, that every well-wisher to the happiness and prosperity of this country will evince by his conduct, that we live under a government of laws, and that, while we preserve inviolate our national faith, we are desirous to live in amity with all mankind.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO NICHOLAS CRUGER, CHAIRMAN OF A MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

AUGUST 18TH, 1793.

SIR,

Your letter, conveying to me the resolutions of the citizens of New York at their late meeting, affords me much satisfaction. The approving voice of my fellow-citizens can never be heard by me with indifference. That of the inhabitants of your respectable metropolis must always give particular pleasure. A unanimity so perfect, as appears to have prevailed among them, upon an occasion so interesting to our national peace and happiness, furnishes an example of good sense, moderation, and patriotic virtue, which cannot cease to be remembered to their honor.

Discerning in it a sure pledge of their firm and persevering support, I request you to make known to them the high sense I entertain of the dispositions they have manifested, and the complete reliance I place upon those dispositions.

I cannot omit the opportunity of publicly uniting with them in acknowledging the prompt and decided coöperation of the government of New York, towards the support of the neutrality of our country. The disposition hitherto shown by the chief magistrates of the several States, in relation to this point, is a pleasing evidence of a spirit of concert for the general good, happily calculated to harmonize and invigorate all the parts of our political system.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF RICHMOND.

AUGUST, 1793.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Among the numerous expressions of the public sense in favor of the measures, which have been adopted for the observance of neutrality in the present war of Europe, none is more grateful to me than that of the inhabitants of Richmond and its vicinity. The manner in which it is conveyed lays claim to my affectionate acknowledgments.

In recollecting the anticipations, which were entertained, of a pacific policy, as most consonant with the situation of the United States and the genius of our government, it is a pleasing reflection, that, when the occasion for exemplifying it occurs, sentiments corresponding with it appear to pervade every part of

the community. This steadiness of views, highly honorable to the national character, is well calculated to support, in the administration of our affairs, a spirit constantly favorable to the great object of peace.

And, though the best and sincerest endeavours to this end may sometimes prove ineffectual, yet it will always be a source of consolation and encouragement, that the calamities of war, if at any time they shall be experienced, have been unsought and unprovoked. Every good citizen will then meet events with that firmness and perseverance, which naturally accompany the consciousness of a good cause, the conviction that there is no ground for self-reproach.

True to our duties and interests as Americans, firm to our purpose as lovers of peace, let us unite our fervent prayers to the great Ruler of the Universe, that the justice and moderation of all concerned may permit us to continue in the uninterrupted enjoyment of a blessing, which we so greatly prize, and of which we ardently wish them a speedy and permanent participation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF NEW LONDON.

AUGUST, 1793.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

The motives, which have induced a public expression of your sentiments at the present juncture, are such as naturally operate upon good citizens, when points, which materially concern the happiness of their country, are the subjects of discussion.

Your approbation of my conduct on the occasion,

to which it relates, could not fail to give me particular pleasure, and to serve as a support to my confidence in pursuing measures, which, dictated by official duty, have for their object the peace and happiness of our common country.

Sentiments sincerely friendly to the French nation, and the most cordial wishes for their welfare, unite, I doubt not, all the citizens of the United States; but it cannot be incompatible with these dispositions to give full weight to the great and commanding considerations, which respect the immediate welfare of our own country.

Experienced as we have lately been in the calamities of war, it must be the prayer of every good citizen, that it may long be averted from our land, and that the blessings, which a kind Providence has bestowed upon us, may continue uninterrupted.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CITIZENS OF ANNAPOLIS.

SEPTEMBER, 1793.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

Conscious of having had in view the interest and happiness of the people of the United States in the discharge of my public duties, and fully persuaded, that remaining in a state of neutrality during the present contest between the powers of Europe, if not absolutely necessary to these objects, would tend in a very considerable degree to promote them, I receive, with infinite satisfaction, testimonies from my countrymen from various parts of the Union, expressive of their approbation of a measure intended to advance

the welfare of my fellow-citizens, and none have given me more pleasure than receiving that of the citizens of Annapolis.

The present flourishing situation of our affairs, and the prosperity we enjoy, must be obvious to the good citizens of the United States. It remains, therefore, for them to pursue such a line of conduct, as will insure these blessings by averting the calamities of a war.

The manner, Gentlemen, in which you are pleased to express yourselves towards me personally, merits and receives my warmest gratitude; and it will always be my greatest pride and happiness to receive the approving voice of my fellow-citizens.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BURGESSES AND OTHER CITIZENS OF HARRISBURG.

OCTOBER 4TH, 1794.

GENTLEMEN,

In declaring to you the genuine satisfaction I derive from your very cordial address, I will not mingle any expression of the painful sensations which I experience from the occasion, which has drawn me hither.* You will be at no loss to do justice to my feelings. But, relying on that kindness of Providence towards our country, which every adverse appearance hitherto has served to manifest, and counting upon the tried good sense and patriotism of the great body

* Being on his way to join the army, that was marching to quell the western insurrection.

of our fellow-citizens, I do not hesitate to indulge with you the expectation of such an issue, as will serve to confirm the blessings we enjoy under a constitution, that well deserves the confidence, attachment, and support of virtuous and enlightened men. To class the inhabitants of Harrisburg among this number, is only to bear testimony to the zealous and efficient exertions, which they have made towards the defence of the laws.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF CARLISLE.

OCTOBER, 1794.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you sincerely for your affectionate address. I feel, as I ought, what is personal to me; and I cannot but be particularly pleased with the enlightened and patriotic attachment, which is manifested towards our happy constitution and laws.

When we look round, and behold the universally acknowledged prosperity, which blesses every part of the United States, facts no less unequivocal than those, which are the lamented occasion of our present meeting, were necessary to persuade us that any portion of our fellow-citizens could be so deficient in discernment or virtue, as to attempt to disturb a situation, which, instead of murmurs and tumults, calls for our warmest gratitude to Heaven, and our earnest endeavours to preserve and prolong so favorable a lot.

Let us hope, that the delusion cannot be lasting; that reason will speedily regain her empire, and the laws their just authority where they have lost it. Let

the wise and the virtuous unite their efforts to reclaim the misguided, and to detect and defeat the acts of the factious. The union of good men is a basis, on which the security of our internal peace, and the stability of our government, may safely rest. It will always prove an adequate rampart against the vicious and disorderly.

In any case, in which it may be indispensable to raise the sword of justice against obstinate offenders, I shall deprecate the necessity of deviating from a favorite aim, to establish the authority of the laws in the affections of all, rather than in the fears of any.

Accept a reciprocation of good wishes for yourselves and your fellow-citizens.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MERCHANTS AND TRADERS OF PHILADELPHIA.
AUGUST 20TH, 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with great sensibility your address on the subject of the treaty, lately negotiated between the United States and Great Britain, expressing your confidence in the constituted authorities, and the concurrence of your opinions with their determinations, on this highly important subject. Such sentiments, deliberately formed, and proceeding from men whose interests are more immediately concerned, than those of any other classes of my fellow-citizens, cannot fail to strengthen that just confidence in the rectitude of public measures, which is essential to the general welfare.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CAMDEN AND ORANGEBURG DISTRICTS, SOUTH CAROLINA; IN A LETTER TO THOMAS TAYLOR.

SEPTEMBER 14TH, 1795.

SIR,

I received the address of a number of citizens, inhabitants of Camden and Orangeburg districts, assembled at Columbia on the 4th of August, which you transmitted. They express their disapprobation of the treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain, and their belief that it would not receive my assent.

My sense of the treaty has been manifested by its ratification. The principles on which my sanction was given have been made public. I regret the diversity of opinion. But whatever qualities, manifested in a long and arduous public life, have acquired for me the confidence of my fellow-citizens, let them be assured, that they remain unchanged; and that they "will continue to be exerted on every occasion, in which the honor, the happiness, and welfare of our common country are immediately involved." With due respect, I am, Sir, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF GEORGETOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA; IN A LETTER TO GEORGE HERIOT.

SEPTEMBER 14TH, 1795.

SIR,

I received your letter of the 31st of July, which covered an address of the inhabitants of Georgetown

and its vicinity, expressing their opinion on the treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain, and requesting that it might not receive my assent.

It is now well known, that my assent to the treaty has been given; and the principles, which governed my determination, have also been made public.*

On a subject so complex, and having such extensive relations, some diversity of opinion might be expected. But those of my fellow-citizens, who believe, that, "in the course of a perilous war and arduous administration," I have given proofs, that "I loved my country," will not easily be persuaded, that, at this late period, and in one of the most important acts of a life, which has been devoted to its service, I have ceased to love it.

While I acknowledge the pleasure derived from the confidence of my fellow-citizens, I may assure them of my unalterable attachment to their true interests.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CITIZENS OF FREDERIC COUNTY, VIRGINIA; IN A LETTER TO DANIEL MORGAN, CHARLES M. THURSTON, ROBERT WHITE, CHARLES MAGILL, AND JOSEPH CALDWELL.

DECEMBER 16TH, 1795.

GENTLEMEN,

I received with great satisfaction your obliging and affectionate letter, dated the 2d instant, at Winchester, enclosing a resolution of the citizens of Frederic County, who met the preceding day at the county

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* See Vol. XI. p. 42.

court-house, expressing their entire approbation of my conduct, in ratifying the treaty lately negotiated between the United States and Great Britain.

Next to the approbation of my own mind, arising from a consciousness of having uniformly, diligently, and sincerely aimed, by doing my duty, to promote the true interests of my country, the approbation of my fellow-citizens is dear to my heart. In a free country, such approbation *should* be a citizen's best reward; and so it *would* be, if truth and candor were always to estimate the conduct of public men. But the reverse is so often the case, that he, who, wishing to serve his country, if not influenced by higher motives, runs the risk of being miserably disappointed. Under such discouragements, the good citizen will look beyond the applauses and reproaches of men, and, persevering in his duty, stand firm in conscious rectitude and in the hope of approving Heaven.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1796.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of

the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently

want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every liga-

ment of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty, which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With

slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those, which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the

weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation.* Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to

hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes, which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *Geographical* discriminations, *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings, which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the MISSISSIPPI; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain,

which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and

habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and coun-

tries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is cer-

tain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way, which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit, which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare

for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen, which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue?

The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential, than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a par-

ticipation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favorite nation,) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and

excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any

part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that char-

acter; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course, which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my Country will never cease to view them with in-

dulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States,
September 17th, 1796.

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* This ADDRESS is here printed from a copy of "*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*," for September 19th, 1796. On this paper are endorsed the following words in Washington's handwriting, which were designed as an instruction to the copyist, who recorded the ADDRESS in the letter-book.

"The letter contained in this gazette, addressed 'To the People of the United States,' is to be recorded, and in the order of its date. Let it have a blank page before and after it, so as to stand distinct. Let it be written with a letter larger and fuller than the common recording hand. And where words are printed with capital letters, it is to be done so in recording. And those other words, that are printed in italics, must be scored underneath and straight by a ruler."

See APPENDIX, No. III.

TO THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY OF NEW JERSEY; IN A LETTER TO JAMES LINN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, AND J. H. IMLAY, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

NOVEMBER 21ST, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

I am truly sensible of the honor done me by the concurrent and unanimous resolutions of the Council and House of Assembly of the State of New Jersey, passed the 15th and 16th instant, approving my conduct in the administration of the government of the United States, and regretting my determination to retire from public life. They have also been pleased to express their acknowledgments for the sentiments contained in my late address to my fellow-citizens, which affection, respect, and solicitude for their lasting welfare prompted me to lay before them.

Such testimonies, while they manifest the kindness of the Council and Assembly, persuade me to believe, that my services have been useful to my country, a consideration, which will render their recollection dear to me, to the latest period of my life.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA.

DECEMBER 27TH, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

For your Address be pleased to accept my acknowledgments.

That any services of mine should have produced

a declaration of the friendship and gratitude of the legislature of Virginia, cannot but be as pleasing as it is honorable to me, whose highest ambition has been, by faithfully and zealously serving my country to the utmost of my abilities, in all the public employments of my life, to merit the approbation of my fellow-citizens.

It is with unfeigned thankfulness for the goodness of a kind Providence, that I look forward to the period, when the first wishes of my heart are to be gratified, in returning once more to private occupation in the shades of rural life.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF SOUTH CAROLINA; IN A LETTER TO ROBERT BARNWELL, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 24TH, 1797.

SIR,

I acknowledge the receipt of your obliging favor of the 20th of the last month, covering the resolutions of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, of the preceding day.

The sense the House have been pleased to express of my public services, the declaration of their affectionate attachment, and their kind wishes for my happiness, are for those services the most grateful return.

While I enjoy the personal satisfaction, which the

* For a letter to Elijah Paine and Isaac Tichenor, dated December 12th, 1796, and another to John H. Stone, dated December 23d, in reply to Addresses from the States of Vermont and Maryland, see Vol. XI. pp. 174, 176.

general sentiment of approbation expressed by my country cannot fail to produce, I derive from it, as a citizen of the United States, the greatest pleasure; as it authorizes the conclusion, that the important measures of their government have been calculated to promote their true and permanent interests, which are inseparably connected with rectitude of principle, and impartial justice to other nations.

You will have the goodness to communicate to the House of Representatives these sentiments, with my sincere acknowledgments for the marks of attention with which they have honored me. Your individual and affectionate solicitude for my happiness is entitled to my cordial thanks.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA; IN A LETTER TO SAMUEL ASHE, GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.

JANUARY 25TH, 1797.

SIR,

I have received your very friendly letter of the 30th of last month, covering the address of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina.

The sentiments expressed by the General Assembly, and their testimony of the usefulness of my public services, while honorable and grateful to me personally, I value still more as a citizen of the country to whose freedom and prosperity those services have been devoted. The continuance of these blessings will depend on the virtue, fortitude, and union of its citizens; and, as the exercise of these qualities is essential to our safety and happiness, so I trust they will be displayed.

My highest gratification, during the remainder of my life, will be to participate in the national prosperity; and, in my retirement, the kind wishes and affectionate attachment of my fellow-citizens will be among my most pleasing recollections.

I must pray you to communicate these sentiments to the General Assembly, with my cordial acknowledgments for their Address, and to accept yourself my thanks for the obliging expressions, which accompanied its transmission to me. I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

JANUARY, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

I received with great pleasure the expressions of your approbation of my services. The general marks of satisfaction, and the various testimonies of select and discerning bodies of men among my fellow-citizens, respecting my public conduct, while they have stimulated my exertions to be useful to my country, the sole object of all my aims and wishes, have also enforced the justness of your remark, that the most effectual method of securing the confidence, and accomplishing the welfare, of an enlightened nation, is to pursue, with undeviating firmness, a policy founded in pure integrity. And I shall be pardoned when I add, that conscious integrity has been my unceasing support; and, while it gave me confidence in the measures I pursued, the belief of it, by acquiring to me the confidence of my fellow-citizens, insured the success which they have had.

This consciousness will accompany me in my retirement. Without it public applause could be viewed only as a proof of public error, and felt as the upbraiding of personal demerit. In this retirement, to behold the national felicity will be largely to partake in it; and if, with this felicity, I enjoy health, which you kindly wish me, my hopes in this world will be consummated.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE; IN A LETTER TO DANIEL ROGERS AND STEPHEN LEWIS.

FEBRUARY 2D, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with great satisfaction the Addresses of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, which you have now presented to me, on the occasion of my contemplated retirement from the Presidency of the United States.

These evidences of their affection, and testimonies that my public services have been useful to my country, will ever be dear to me. If, yielding to the calls of my fellow-citizens, I have renounced the ease and enjoyments of private life, to encounter the dangers and difficulties of the first and most arduous employments, it was because the sacrifices, on my part, were by them deemed interesting to their safety and welfare. Animated by such motives, and supported by the general spirit and patriotism of my countrymen, when the objects of my public agency were attained, nought remained to me but to seek again the private station, which their partiality and confidence required

me for a time to relinquish. In this chosen retirement, the approving voice of my country will ever be a subject of grateful recollections, while I behold its increasing prosperity, under the influence of the same public spirit, energy, justice, and moderation, in which its independence, character, and credit have been founded. That such may be the fruit of our labors, and such the happy progress of our republic, is, and ever will be, the object of my ardent wishes.

These sentiments, Gentlemen, with my grateful acknowledgments to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, I pray you to communicate to them in such a manner as you shall deem proper.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

FEBRUARY, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

Supported by the patriotic exertions and pleasing approbation of my fellow-citizens, for a long series of years, in important, critical, and highly interesting situations, I have discharged my duties with that satisfaction to myself, which could only result from those circumstances. And when, in the decline of life, I gratify the fond wish of my heart in retiring from public labors, and find the language of approbation and fervent prayers for future happiness following that event, my heart expands with gratitude, and my feelings become unutterable. But, in full confidence that, under the wise, firm, and patriotic conduct of those, who administer our public affairs, the prosperity, hap-

piness, and respectability of our country will be no less an object, than they have heretofore been, I feel a peculiar satisfaction.

If the sentiments, which I expressed on the eve of my retirement from public life, meet the approbation of my countrymen, I must feel highly gratified; for they were the pure sentiments of my heart, founded on the experience, which I had in life, and matured by the best reflection I could give them.

Although guided by our excellent constitution in the discharge of official duties, and actuated, through the whole course of my public life, solely by a wish to promote the best interests of our country; yet, without the beneficent interposition of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, we could not have reached the distinguished situation which we have attained with such unprecedented rapidity. To Him, therefore, should we bow with gratitude and reverence, and endeavour to merit a continuance of his special favors.

Deeply and gratefully impressed by your affectionate addresses and benevolent wishes, I shall not fail to supplicate the throne of grace, that the best of Heaven's blessings may rest upon your State and upon yourselves individually.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FEBRUARY 17TH, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

The kindness of my fellow-citizens has given me frequent occasion to make my acknowledgments for

their expressions of confidence, attachment, and affection; and for their honorable testimonies, that my public cares and labors have been useful to my country. With great satisfaction I receive your additional testimonies, that, as a public man, I have not lived in vain.

Though now seeking that repose, which retirement and the tranquil pursuit of rural affairs are calculated to afford, and which my time of life requires, the love of my country will indeed suffer no abatement; its safety and prosperity will be essential to the enjoyment of my remaining years. And I confide in the discernment and patriotism of my fellow-citizens for the choice of wise and virtuous men, who will successively administer every branch of the government in such manner, as, under divine Providence, to insure the general happiness.

For your affectionate wishes for my present and future happiness, accept, Gentlemen, my cordial thanks.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN A LETTER TO THE SENATORS IN CONGRESS FROM THAT STATE.

FEBRUARY, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

The sentiments expressed in the Address you have delivered to me from the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, sentiments as honorable to them as to me, have excited the most grateful emotions. Whatever services I have rendered to my country, in its general appro-

bation I have received an ample reward. Having nothing in view, but to vindicate its rights, secure its liberty, and promote its happiness, I might expect the most efficient aid and support in the exertions of able and upright men, and in the general spirit of my fellow-citizens.

All this I have experienced; and our united efforts have resulted in our independence, peace, and prosperity. And I entertain the pleasing hope, that the intelligence and superior information of my fellow-citizens, enabling them to discern their true interests, will lead them to the successive choice of wise and virtuous men to watch over, protect, and promote them, who, while they pursue those maxims of moderation, equity, and prudence, which will entitle our country to perpetual peace, will cultivate that fortitude and dignity of sentiment, which are essential to the maintenance of our liberty and independence.

Should it please God, according to the prayers of your constituents, to grant me health and long life, my greatest enjoyment will be to behold the prosperity of my country; and the affection and attachment of my fellow-citizens, through the whole period of my public employments, will be the subject of my most agreeable recollections; while the belief, which the affecting sentiments of the people of Massachusetts, expressed by their Senate and House of Representatives, with those of my fellow-citizens in general, have inspired, that I have been the happy instrument of much good to my country and to mankind, will be a source of unceasing gratitude to Heaven.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CLERGY OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS, RESIDING IN AND NEAR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

MARCH, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

Not to acknowledge, with gratitude and sensibility, the affectionate addresses and benevolent wishes of my fellow-citizens on my retiring from public life, would prove, that I have been unworthy of the confidence, which they have been pleased to repose in me.

And among those public testimonies of attachment and approbation, none can be more grateful, than that of so respectable a body as yours.

Believing, as I do, that religion and morality are the essential pillars of civil society, I view, with unspeakable pleasure, that harmony and brotherly love, which characterizes the clergy of different denominations, as well in this, as in other parts of the United States; exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our country and the surest basis of universal harmony.

That your labors for the good of mankind may be crowned with success, that your temporal enjoyments may be commensurate with your merits, and that the future reward of good and faithful servants may be yours, I shall not cease to supplicate the Divine Author of life and felicity.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* See APPENDIX, No. IV.

TO THE CITIZENS OF ALEXANDRIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

MARCH, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

In the character of a private citizen, I have the honor to receive your Address, and I do it with all the sensibility that gratitude, friendship, and affection can excite.

Having obeyed the call of my country, and spent the prime of my life in rendering it the best services of which my abilities were capable, and finding that the infirmities of age were creeping upon me, it became as necessary, as it was congenial to my feelings, to seek in the shades of retirement the repose I had always contemplated.

To have finished my public career to the satisfaction of my fellow-citizens, will, to my latest moments, be matter of pleasing reflection; and to find an evidence of this approbation among my neighbours and friends (some of whom have been the companions of my juvenile years) will contribute not a little to heighten this enjoyment.

No wish in my retirement can exceed that of seeing our country happy; and I can entertain no doubt of its being so, if all of us act the part of good citizens, contributing our best endeavours to maintain the constitution, support the laws, and guard our independence against all assaults from whatsoever quarter they may come. Clouds may, and doubtless often will, in the vicissitudes of events, hover over our political concerns; but a steady adherence to these principles will not only dispel them, but render our prospect the brighter by such temporary obscurities.

For the affectionate and flattering manner, in which you have been pleased to express your regrets on the occasion of my relinquishing public employments, and for your congratulations on my return to my long-forsaken residence at Mount Vernon, I pray you to accept my warmest acknowledgments, and the assurances of the additional pleasure I shall derive from the prospect of spending the remainder of my days in ease and tranquillity among you, employed in rural pursuits and in the discharge of domestic and other duties.

For the prosperity of the town and neighbourhood, and for your individual happiness, I offer my best VOWS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

CORRESPONDENCE ON AGRICULTURE, AFFAIRS OF BUSINESS, AND MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS.

TO ROBERT CARY AND COMPANY, MERCHANTS, LONDON.

Mount Vernon, 20 September, 1759.

GENTLEMEN,

This will make the fourth letter I have written to you since my marriage with Mrs. Martha Custis. The two first served to cover invoices of such goods as I wanted, and to advise you at the same time of the change in her affairs, and how necessary it would be to address, for the future, all your letters, which relate to the estate of the deceased Colonel Custis, to me. The last tended only to order insurance on fifteen hogsheads of tobacco, sent by the *Fair American*.

I shall now endeavour to take notice of such parts of your letters, as require answering, and then advise what is needful to be done as matters are circumstanced at present. In regard to the former, there remains no great deal to be said, unless you will permit me to condemn your premature sales of the estate's tobacco by Whelden, in which I should have thought a little delay would have appeared absolutely advisable for another reason, besides that mentioned by you, of an additional duty taking place; and that was the great demand for tobacco, and rising price in the country, of which you could not be unadvised from your correspondents in Virginia. However, I dare say you did for the best, and we must therefore be satisfied. And in this place, as an individual, give me leave to offer you my thanks for the opposition you made to this duty. Had all your brethren in the trade merited our acknowledgments in the same manner, this duty, probably, might never have been laid.

I remark the pains you take to show the impropriety of paying the duty of the estate's tobacco. When money is wanting, it cannot be expected; but, when a sum lies in your hands, it should certainly be applied that way, as far as it will go. I likewise observe the difficulties you have met with in settling for the interest of the bank stock; but I hope that is now over, unless any part or the whole should require transferring (when a division of the estate is made), and then timely notice will be given; but, till this happens, it may be received and placed to the estate's credit in the usual manner.

From this time it will be requisite, that you should raise three accounts; one for me, another for the estate, and a third for Miss Patty Custis; or, if you think it more eligible (and I believe it will be), make me debtor on my own account for John Parke Custis, and for Miss Martha Parke Custis, as each will have their part of the estate assigned them this fall, and the whole will remain under my management, whose particular care it shall be to distinguish always, either by letter or invoice, for whom tobaccos are shipped, and for whose use goods are imported, in order to prevent any mistakes arising. The estate's credit now in your hands may be applied towards answering the whole drafts, that have been and shall be made this year; and it must appear very plain from my former letters, as well as from what is here said, how necessary it is to send regular accounts current, that, by comparing them with the books here, satisfactory settlements may, from time to time, be made to our General Court.

The tobacco per the *Fair American* will make its appearance, I apprehend, in a very irregular manner. Captain Talman first engaged it to be sent by the *Cary*, then by the *Randolph;* and, being disappointed in both, I had to seek for a conveyance myself, and by mere good luck got it on board Captain Thompson, but not till I had first been at the trouble and expense of carting it across from York to James River for his craft to take it in. The vessel being upon the point of sailing at that time, a gentleman at Norfolk, where she lay, promised to receive the bills of lading, and send them by different opportunities under cover to you; but, losing my memorandum, he wrote to me a month afterwards for fresh directions, which I suppose did not reach him till some time after the vessel had sailed. I shall endeavour to put what tobacco I can on board the *Cary*, as I understand she is to wait for the new crop. It will be needless, I am persuaded, to bespeak your best care in the sales of it; as you must be sensible the present high

price of tobaccco gives us room to expect extraordinary returns for this year's produce so early shipped.

I am possessed of several plantations on this river (Potomac) and the fine lands of Shenandoah, and should be glad if you would ingenuously tell me what prices I might expect you to render for tobaccos made thereon, of the same seed of that of the estate's, and managed in every respect in the same manner as the best tobaccos on James and York Rivers are. I ask this question purely for my own private information, and my shipping of these crops will be governed in a great measure by the answer you may give. Therefore you will excuse me, I hope, if I again desire the favor of you to take some pains to inform yourselves exactly; because, should the prices differ from those of the estate, I might possibly think myself deceived, and be disgusted of course.

Please to send the goods contained in the enclosed invoices, and charge them as there directed. I flatter myself, that particular care will be taken in choosing them, the want of which gives some tradesmen an opportunity of imposing upon us most vilely. The coarse goods for the estate's use are ordered from Liverpool this year; all but the plaid hose, and these I beg you will cause to be sent from Glasgow in the usual manner and number, directed to the care of Mr. Joseph Valentine, or person managing the estate's business at York River. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

INVOICE OF SUNDRIES TO BE SENT BY ROBERT CARY AND COMPANY FOR THE USE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

A light Summer Suit made of Duroy by the measure.
4 pieces best India Nankeen.
2 best plain Beaver Hats, at 21*s.*
1 piece of Irish Linen at 4*s.*
1 piece black Satin Ribbon.
1 Sword Belt, red morocco or buff; no buckles or rings.
4 lbs. Ivory Black.
2 best two-bladed Knives.
2 pairs good Horse Scissors.
½ ream good Post Paper, cut.
½ ream good do. 4to. do.
A salmon-colored Tabby of the enclosed pattern, with satin flowers, to be made in a sack and coat.
1 Cap, Handkerchief, Tucker, and Ruffles, to be made of Brussels lace, or point, proper to wear with the above negligee, to cost £20.
1 piece Bag Holland at 6*s.*
2 fine flowered Lawn Aprons.
2 double Handkerchiefs.
1 pair woman's white Silk Hose.
6 pairs do. fine Cotton do.

* Although these invoices have very little intrinsic importance, yet I have thought it not amiss to insert them, as illustrative of Washington's habits in affairs of business. For other explanatory particulars, see Vol. II. p. 329.

4 pairs Thread do.
1 pair black, and 1 pair white Satin Shoes, of the smallest 5s.
4 pair Calamanco do.
1 fashionable Hat, or Bonnet.
6 pairs women's best Kid Gloves.
8 pairs ditto Mits.
½ dozen Knots, and Breast Knots.
1 dozen round silk laces.
1 black Mask.
1 dozen most fashionable Cambric Pocket Handkerchiefs.
2 pairs neat small Scissors.
1 lb. Sewing Silk shaded.
¼ lb. ditto., cloth colored, ditto.
4 pieces binding Tape.
6 m. Miniken Pins.
6 m. short whites.
6 m. Corking Pins.
1 m. Hair ditto.
6 lbs. Perfumed Powder.
3 lbs. best Scotch Snuff.
3 lbs. best violette Strasburg.
8 lbs. Starch.
2 lbs. powdered Blue.
2 oz. Coventry Thread, one of which to be very fine.
1 piece narrow white Satin Ribbon, pearl edge.

1 case of Pickles, to consist of Anchovies, Capers, Olives, Salad Oil, and 1 bottle India Mangoes.
1 large Cheshire Cheese.
4 lbs. Green Tea.
10 groce best Corks.
25 lbs. best Jar Raisins.
25 lbs. Almonds in the shell.
1 hogshead best Porter.
10 loaves double and 10 single refined Sugar.
6 strong Halters, hempen reins.
3 best Snaffle Bridles.
3 best Girths.
25 lbs. Crown Soap.
12 lbs. best Mustard.
2 dozen packs Playing Cards.
2 sacks of best English Oats.
1 dozen Painter's Brushes.
1 bushel of Tares.
12 best hard Padlocks.
1½ dozen Bell Glasses for garden.
2 more Chair Bottoms, such as were written for in a former invoice.
1 more Window Curtain and Cornice.
100 lbs. white Biscuit.
3 gallons of Rhenish in bottles.
2 Lanterns.
8 Busts, according to the enclosed direction and measure.

25 yards Broadcloth of the enclosed color, to cost about 7*s*. 6*d*.
15 yards coarse thick double, same color.
6 yards Scarlet Broadcloth, at 8*s*. 6*d*.
30 yards Red Shalloon.
20 dozen white-washed Coat Buttons.
12 dozen Waistcoat ditto.
Twist, Thread, Silk, &c. sufficient to make up the above cloth.
40 yards of coarse Jeans or Fustian, for summer frocks for negro servants.
1 piece Irish Linen at 1*s*. 3*d*.
1 piece Dowlas at 10*d*.
1½ dozen pairs strong coarse Thread Hose fit for negro servants.
6 Castor Hats, at about 5*s*.
2 Postilion Caps.
1 dozen pairs coarse Shoe and Knee Buckles.

450 ells Osnabergs.
4 pieces Brown Rolls.
350 yards Kendall Cotton.
100 yards Dutch Blankets.
2 pieces Fearnought.
8 dozen pair Plaid Hose sorted
4 dozen Monmouth Caps.
20 lbs. Brown Thread.
15 lbs. best Shoemaker's ditto.
20 sacks of Salt.

2 casks 8*d.* nails; 2 do. 10*d.* do.
10 m. 20*d.* do.; 20 m. 8*d.* do.
20 m. 4*d.* do.
6 Spades.
200 lbs. German Steel.
2 dozen best Sickles.
6 best White's Handsaws.
6 best Broad Axes.
6 House Adzes.
2 dozen Box Gimblets.
6 pairs Steel Compasses.
1 dozen Augers sorted, from two inches to half an inch.
1 Cowper's Taper Bit.
1 ditto Crow.
1 do. Dowling Bit.
1 do. Wimble do.
1 do. Vice.
1 do. pair large Compasses.
1 do. Jointer; 1 do. Adze.
1 do. Round Shave.
1 do. Howell.
1 Wheelwright's Buzz.
1 do. large Gouge.
1 do. Centre Bit.
2 dozen pairs HL Hinges.
25 lbs. Glue.
2 Crosscut Saws.
12 Inch Chisels.
1 Jointer.
2 long Planes; 2 Jack do.
4 Smoothing do.
10 pairs Hollows and Rounds.
6 Ogees.
3 pairs of Grooving Planes.
1 Snipe's Bill.
4 Quarter Rounds.
4 Sash Planes; 3 Bead ditto.
6 Ovelos; 1 Plow and irons.
1 moving Philester.
1 Screw Rabbit Plane.
1 Square do.; 3 raising do.
1 Spring Brace and Bits complete.
1 Turkey Oil-Stone.
1 Panel Saw; 1 Tenant do.
1 Compass do.; 1 Sash do.
1 dozen Firmers.
1 dozen Gouges.
6 Mortising Chisels.
1 Adze; 1 Drawing-knife.
2 pairs Compasses; 2 Rules.
2 Chalk Lines.
1 small Hatchet.
2 Punches; 2 Saw Sets.
2 dozen Gimlets.
3 dozen Plane Irons.
6 Rasps, two of a sort.
2 dozen Handsaw Files.
2 do. of Tenant do.

6 bottles Turlington's Balsam.
8 oz. Spirit of Lavender.
½ lb. Ipecacuana powdered.
½ lb. Jalap powdered.
12 oz. Venice Treacle.
4 oz. best Rhubarb.
12 oz. Diacordium.
4 lbs. Pearl Barley.
4 Sago.
4 oz. Balsam Capevi.
5 oz. Liquid Laudanum.
5 oz. Spirits Sal Ammoniac.
5 oz. Spirits Hartshorn.
4 oz. Spanish Flies.
3 lbs. Bird-Lime.
6 lbs. Oil Turpentine.
2 lbs. Spirits of do.
5 lbs. White Sugar Candy.
10 lbs. Brown do.
1 lb. Barley Sugar.
2 lbs. Linseed Oil, cold drawn.
4 lbs. Alum.
1 lb. Spermaceti.
4 oz. Tincture of Myrrh.
4 oz. Balsam Sulphur.
4 oz. Pulvus Basilic.
2 oz. Mer. Dulcis.
4 oz. Sal Volatile.
10 oz. Hartshorn Shavings.
2 quarts strong Cinnamon Water.
2 ditto weak ditto.
N. B. All liquids in double-flint bottles.

40*s.* worth of Medicines for farriery, among which let there be
4 lbs. flower of Brimstone.
4 lbs. Anniseed.
4 lbs. Carthamus.
5 lbs. Syrup of Colt's-foot.

2 lbs. Diapente.
5 lbs. Black Soap.
4 lbs. Cummin Seeds.
4 lbs. Fenugreek.
2 lbs. Juice of Liquorice.
4 lbs. long Pepper.

Directions for the Busts.

4. One of Alexander the Great; another of Julius Cæsar; another of Charles XII. of Sweden; and a fourth of the King of Prussia.

N. B. These are not to exceed fifteen inches in height, nor ten in width.

2 other Busts, of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, somewhat smaller.

2 Wild Beasts, not to exceed twelve inches in height, nor eighteen in length.

Sundry small ornaments for chimney-piece.

INVOICE OF SUNDRIES TO BE SHIPPED BY ROBERT CARY AND COMPANY, FOR THE USE OF MASTER JOHN AND MISS PATTY CUSTIS, EACH TO BE CHARGED TO THEIR OWN ACCOUNTS, BUT BOTH CONSIGNED TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, POTOMAC RIVER.

For Master Custis, 6 years old.

1 piece Irish Holland at 4*s*.
2 yards fine Cambric at 10*s*.
6 Pocket Handkerchiefs, small and fine.
6 pairs Gloves; 2 Laced Hats.
2 pieces India Nankeen.
6 pairs fine thread Stockings.
4 pairs coarser do.
6 pairs worsted do.
4 pairs strong Shoes; 4 pairs Pumps.
1 summer suit of clothes, to be made of something light and thin.
3 fine Ivory Combs; 2 Horn do. and 2 Brushes.
1 piece black Hair Ribbon.
1 pair handsome silver Shoe and Knee Buckles.
10*s*. worth of Toys.
6 little books for children beginning to read.
1 oz. 8*d*. Thread; 1 oz. 12*d*. do.
1 oz. 2*s*. do.; 1 oz. 3*s*. do.
½ lb. whited brown Thread.
1 light duffel Cloak with silver frogs.

For Miss Custis, 4 years old.

8 yards fine printed Linen at 3*s*. 6*d*.
1 piece Irish Holland at 4*s*.
2 ells fine Holland at 10*s*.
8 pairs kid Mits; 4 pairs Gloves.
2 pairs silk Shoes.
4 pairs Calamanco do.; 4 pairs leather Pumps.
6 pairs fine thread Stockings.
4 pairs worsted do.
½ piece flowered Dimity.
2 yards fine Cambric at 10*s*.
2 Caps, 2 pairs Ruffles, 2 Tuckers, Bibs, and Aprons, if fashionable.
2 Fans; 2 Masks; 2 Bonnets.
2 m. large Pins; 2 m. short whites.
2 m. Minekins; 1 Cloth Cloak.
1 stiffened Coat of Fashionable silk, made to pack-thread stays.
6 yards Ribbon; 2 Necklaces.
1 pair silver Sleeve Buttons, with Stones.
1 fashionable-dressed baby 10*s*.; and other Toys 10*s*.
6 Pocket Handkerchiefs.

TO ROBERT CARY AND COMPANY, LONDON.

Mount Vernon, 28 May, 1762.

GENTLEMEN,

In your unacknowledged favor of August 10th, I perceive you bring the shortness of some of the bundles of the tobacco shipped in the *Bland* to account for the lowness of the price. That some of the tobacco was small, I shall not undertake to dispute; but at the same time I must observe, that it was clean and neatly handled, which I apprehended would have rendered the other objection of very little weight. As to stemming my tobacco, in the manner you recommend, I would readily do it, if the returns would be equivalent to the trouble, and loss of the stem; and of this I shall be a tolerable judge, as I am at no small pains this year to try the quality with the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of tobaccos, and shall at the same time find out the difference between a hogshead of leaf and a hogshead of stemmed tobacco. By comparing the loss of the one with the extra price of the other, I shall be able to determine which is the best to pursue, and follow that method which promises the most certain advantages.

Some of the tobaccos, which I put on board the *Unity*, Captain Cuzzens, got damaged in carrying to the warehouses for inspection, and had a part cut, which will no doubt deface it a little; but, as this happened while I was at Williamsburg, I am able to give you no exact information concerning it. In this parcel of tobacco there are three kinds, which please to give me your opinions upon.

As I have ever laid it down as an established maxim, that every person is (most certainly ought to be) the best judge of what relates to his own interest and concerns, I very rarely undertake to propose schemes to others, which may be attended with uncertainty and miscarriage. This will at once account for my being among the last, who should advise your sending a vessel into the Potomac for the accommodation of your friends there. That I have often thought of it as a desirable thing for the shippers, I will readily confess, and have as often concluded, that, so soon as you found an established consignment formed here, you would do it of course; and sooner we ought not to expect it. Since you have proposed the matter yourself to me, I certainly must approve of it; and, as you are so obliging as to write, that you shall direct the master to be under my notice, I hope you will be persuaded to believe, that I shall readily contribute my best advice and assistance towards his despatch.

The tobaccos of most of your friends upon the Potomac (or that ship from thence) lie within fifteen miles above and below this place, and as good, or the best harbour (Piscataway), is within sight of my door. It has this great advantage, besides good anchorage and lying safe from the winds, that it is out of the way of the worm, which is very hurtful to shipping a little lower down, and lies in a very plentiful part of the country. I thought it incumbent upon me to mention these things, after which do as you please. If I had received any intimation of your sending a vessel into this river, I should not have engaged any part of my tobacco to Cuzzens, and while I remain in expectation of her arrival, I will not seek a freight elsewhere for the residue of what I intend for your house from this river, which probably may amount to about thirty hogsheads more.

My letter of the 25th of January will inform you how the interest of the bank stock is to be applied. As that fund was appropriated towards the payment of Miss Custis's fortune, I am informed, that the stock ought to be transferred to her. You will please, therefore, to have it done accordingly, and whatever charges may arise, in so doing, place to her own account. I hope Messrs. Hill & Co. will send the wine into this river, for I had rather have it in Madeira than at York.

Thus far had I written, and was going to conclude, when your favor of the 18th of January was presented to me. I am sorry to hear the account given of the tobacco shipped in Boyes, but as you do not particularize the proprietors' names, who suffered most, I am in hopes my seventy hogsheads have pretty well escaped the general complaint. If they have not, I confess it to be an art beyond my skill to succeed in making good tobacco, as I have used my utmost endeavours for that purpose these two or three years past; and I am once again urged to express my surprise at finding, that I do not partake of the best prices that are going. I saw an account rendered by Mr. Athaws of some tobacco, which he sold for Mr. Fairfax at 12½*d.* The tobacco went from this river, and, I can aver, was not better than twelve hogsheads of my mountain crop, which you received in the *Sarah* and *Bland* last summer. In fact, Mr. Fairfax's plantations and mine upon the Shenandoah lie in the same neighbourhood. The tobacco is brought to the same inspection, and, to be short, is in all respects exactly alike. None of mine, however, sold for more than 11*d.* or 3½*d.*, whichever you please, while his went off a little before at the price of 12½*d.* as aforesaid. This is a difference really too great, and I see it with concern. However, Gentlemen, I hope to find it otherwise for he time to come. I am, &c.

MESSRS. CARLYLE AND ADAM, MERCHANTS, ALEXANDRIA.

Mount Vernon, 9 March, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,

So soon as Mr. Lund Washington returns from Frederic, I shall cause my wheat to be delivered at your landing, on Four Miles Run Creek, if flats can get to it conveniently; but previous to this, I should be glad to know determinately upon what terms you expect to receive it, that is, whether by weight or measure. I once thought I had agreed with Colonel Carlyle at fifty-eight pounds to the bushel, but it seems it was otherwise. Be that as it will, you may believe me sincere when I tell you, that it is a matter of very great indifference to me, whether it is fixed at this, or suffered to stand as it is; it being a thing extremely doubtful, from every trial I have been able to make with steelyards, whether I should gain or lose by a contract of this kind. The wheat from some of my plantations, by one pair of steelyards, will weigh upwards of sixty pounds, by another pair less than sixty pounds; and from some other places it does not weigh fifty-eight pounds; and better wheat than I now have I do not expect to make during the term of our contract, at least whilst I continue to sow a good deal of ground.

The only reason, therefore, which inclines me to sell by weight at a medium, which I think just and equitable, is, that it may be a means of avoiding all kinds of controversy hereafter; for I am persuaded, that, if either of us gains by it, it must be you. I may be encouraged, indeed, to bestow better land to the growth of wheat than old corn ground, and excited perhaps to a more husbandlike preparation of it; but to do either of these is much more expensive, than the method now practised, and in fact may not be so profitable as the slovenly but easy method of raising it in corn ground. If it should be, and my wheat be the better thereby, it is a truth I believe universally acknowledged, that, for every pound it gains after it is once got to a middling weight, it increases the flour in a tenfold proportion.

You were saying that the standard for wheat in Philadelphia was fifty-eight pounds, and at Lancaster sixty pounds. I have taken some pains to inquire, likewise, into this matter, and am informed, that fifty-eight is a much more general weight than the other all over Pennsylvania and Maryland (where their wheat is better than ours can be, till we get into the same good management), and Colonel Tucker's miller, a man from the northward upon high wages, whom I saw whilst I was last below, assured me that very

few bushels, out of the many thousands of wheat which he receives for Colonel Tucker, reach fifty-eight pounds. However, that you may not think I have other motives than those declared for mentioning these things, I shall only observe, that, as you are sensible by my present contract I am not restricted to weight, but obliged only to deliver clean wheat, and as good as the year and seasons will generally admit of, I will nevertheless, in order to remove every cause of dispute, which can possibly arise, fix the weight, if it is agreeable to you, at fifty-eight pounds per bushel, and to be paid a penny for every pound over that weight, and deduct a penny for every pound it is under. If you do not choose this, the contract must then remain as it now stands. I am, &c.

TO ROBERT CARY AND COMPANY, LONDON.

Mount Vernon, 20 September, 1765.

GENTLEMEN,

It cannot reasonably be imagined, that I felt any pleasing sensations upon the receipt of your letter of the 13th of February, covering accounts of sales for one hundred and fifty-three hogsheads of Master Custis's tobacco, and one hundred and fifteen of mine.

That the sales are pitifully low needs no words to demonstrate; and that they are worse than many of my acquaintance upon the river Potomac have got in the outports, and from Mr. Russell and other merchants of London, for common Aronoke tobacco, is a truth equally as certain. Nay, not so good as I myself have got from Mr. Gildart of Liverpool for light rent tobaccos (shipped to him at the same time I did to you) of the meanest sort; such as you once complained of, as the worst of Maryland, and not salable. Can it be otherwise than a little mortifying, then, to find that we, who raise none but sweet-scented tobacco, and endeavour, I may venture to add, to be careful in the management of it, however we fail in the execution, and who, by a close and fixed correspondence with you, contribute so largely to the despatch of your ships in this country, should meet with such unprofitable returns? Surely I may answer, No! Notwithstanding, you will again receive my own crops this year, and sixty-seven hogsheads of Master Custis's; but, Gentlemen, you must excuse me for adding, (as I cannot readily conceive, that our tobaccos are so much depreciated in quality, as not only to sell much below other marks of good repute,

but actually for less, as I before observed, than the commonest kinds do,) that justice to myself and ward will render it absolutely necessary for me to change my correspondence, unless I experience an alteration for the better.

I might take notice upon this occasion also, that my tobacco nets a good deal less than Master Custis's, and why it should do so, I am really at a loss to discover; his one hundred and fifty-three hogsheads averaging £7 7*s.* 7*d.*, and my one hundred and fifteen only £5 17*s.* 6*d.* Perhaps it may be urged, that some of mine was Potomac tobacco. I grant it, but take these out, and the Yorks then average £6 6*s.* 5*d.* only. If you had allowed him the benefit of the bonded duties, I should not have wondered at the difference; but this, I perceive, is not done; and certain I am, my tobacco ought not to have been inferior to his, in any respect, the lands being the same, and my directions for making it good equally as express.

Tobacco, I well perceive, for a year or two past, has fallen in its value. From what causes I shall not take upon me to determine; and I am not so extravagant as to believe, that my own and Master Custis's crops should fetch their usual prices, when other good tobacco met with abatements. But I am really selfish enough to expect, that we ought to come in for a part of the good prices that are going, from a belief that our tobacco is of a quality not so much inferior to some, that still sells well, and that so considerable a consignment, when confined in a manner to one house, as ours is, would lay claim to the best endeavours of the merchant in the sales, and in the return of goods; for many articles of which I pay exceeding heavily, another thing I cannot easily account for, unless it is on a presumption, that they are bought at very long credits, which by no means ought to be the case. For, where a person has money in a merchant's hands, he should doubtless have all the benefits that can result from that money; and in a like manner, where he pays interest for the use of the merchant's, should he be entitled to the same advantages; otherwise it might well be asked, For what purpose is it that interest is paid?

Once, upon my urging a complaint of this nature, you wrote me, that the goods ought to be sent back, and they should be returned upon the shopkeeper's hands in cases of imposition; but a moment's reflection points out the inconveniences of such a measure, unless the imposition be grossly abusive, or we could afford to have a year's stock beforehand. How otherwise can a person, who imports bare requisites only, submit to lie a year out of any par-

ticular article of clothing, or necessary for family use, and have recourse to such a tedious and uncertain way of relief as this, when possibly a tradesman would deny the goods and consequently refuse them? It is not to be done. We are obliged to acquiesce in the present loss, and hope for future redress.

These, Gentlemen, are my sentiments, fully and candidly expressed, without any design, believe me, of giving you offence; but, as the selling of our tobaccos well, and the purchasing of our goods upon the best terms, are matters of the utmost consequence to our well-doing, it behoves me to be plain and sincere in my declarations on these points, previous to any change of measures, that I may stand acquitted of the imputation of fickleness, if I am at last forced to a discontinuance of my correspondence with your house.

Twenty hogsheads of my tobacco from this river make up forty-eight, which I have in Boyes; the remainder, which is trifling, shall be sent by the first ship that gives liberty; and, as I have not been able to discover any advantages we obtained by our tobaccos lying so long upon hand unsold, I should be glad to have the present crops (and so of others if more be sent) disposed of to the first good chapmen, and the sales returned, unless there is a very probable prospect of a rise of price to warrant the keeping of it.

By this conveyance you will receive invoices of goods wanted for our plantations on York River; and those for this river will no longer, I hope, be sent in by Boyes, for, when they come into that river, we really suffer by the strange mistakes that continually happen. Last year several parcels of goods designed for York River were sent to this place, and others for me left down there, and in going backwards and forwards some were lost; (things, too, of no inconsiderable value, for one of the parcels was a bale of linen;) and this year all my plaid hose for this river came in a package to Mr. Valentine, and I have to send for them one hundred and fifty miles. These mistakes and inconveniences would necessarily be avoided, if the goods were to come by ships to the respective rivers; and they would also escape those frequent damages, which are the consequence of shifting them from one vessel to another, and transporting them from place to place. Opportunities of doing this cannot be wanting, as many vessels come to this river annually from London, some of which lie at my door.

It appears pretty evident to me, from the prices I have generally got for my tobacco in London, and from some other concomitant circumstances, that it only suits the interest of a few particular

gentlemen to continue their consignments of this commodity to that place, while others should endeavour to substitute some other article in place of tobacco, and try their success therewith. In order thereto you would do me a singular favor in advising me of the general price one might expect for good hemp in your port, watered and prepared according to act of Parliament, with an estimate of the freight, and all other incident charges per ton, that I may form some idea of the profits resulting from the growth. I should be very glad to know, at the same time, how rough and undressed flax has generally, and may probably sell. This year I have made an essay in both; and, although I suffer considerably by the attempt, owing principally to the severity of the drought, and my inexperience in the management, I am not altogether discouraged from a further prosecution of the scheme, provided I find the sales with you are not clogged with too much difficulty and expense. I am, &c.*

TO ELIZABETH HAYNIE.

Philadelphia, 27 December, 1780.

DEAR COUSIN,

Your letter of the 19th of October never reached my hands until a few days ago. I am very sorry to hear of the distressed condition in which you are, and have written to Mr. Muse, to whom the management of my tenements in Berkeley, Frederic, Loudoun, and Fauquier is committed, to let you have any one of them that may be unoccupied rent-free, during your own and the life of your daughter, Sally Ball Haynie, and moreover to afford you some aid towards putting the place in order.

It is incumbent on me, however, to observe to you, that, if there are not in either of those counties above mentioned any vacant lots belonging to me, it is out of my power to assist you in this way; first, because I have no lands in either of the counties above mentioned, except such as have been laid off into tenements and offered on leases; and, secondly, because the lands round about my dwelling-house in Fairfax County, are occupied by negroes for my own support.

My nephew, Major George Augustine Washington, will endeav-

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* It appears by an entry in his ledger, that, in the year 1767, he received from the treasury of Virginia the sum of £10 8s. as a bounty on hemp.

our to see and deliver this letter to you, if you live anywhere in the neighbourhood of his father in Berkeley County, and will receive from you and report to me a more particular statement of your circumstances than your letter has done. In the interim, I can assure you of the good dispositions towards you, of your affectionate kinsman.

TO JOHN WITHERSPOON.

Mount Vernon, 10 March, 1784.

Reverend Sir,

The recourse, which I have had to my papers since I returned home, reminds me of a question, which you asked me in Philadelphia, respecting my lands to the westward of the Allegany mountains; to which I was unprepared at that time to give a decided answer, either as to the quantity I had to let, or the terms upon which I would lease them.

Upon examination, I find that I have patents under the signature of Lord Dunmore (while he administered the government of this State) for about 30,000 acres; and surveys for about 10,000 more, patents for which were suspended by the disputes with Great Britain, which soon followed the return of the warrants to the land-office.

Ten thousand acres of the above thirty lie upon the Ohio; the rest on the Great Kenhawa, a river nearly as large, and quite as easy in its navigation, as the former. The whole of it is rich bottom land, beautifully situated on these rivers, and abounding plenteously in fish, wild-fowl, and game of all kinds.

The uppermost tract upon the Ohio (which I incline to lease) contains 2314 acres, and begins about four miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa (there are two rivers bearing that name, the uppermost of which is about one hundred and eighty miles below Fort Pitt by water), and has a front on the water of more than five miles. The next is eighteen miles lower down, and contains 2448 acres, with a front on the river, and a large creek which empties into it, of four miles and upwards. Three miles below this again, on the same river, and just above what is called the Big Bend in Evans's Map, is a third tract of 4395 acres, with a river front of more than five miles.

Then going to the Great Kenhawa, distant about twelve miles by land, but thirty odd to follow the meanders of the two rivers, and beginning within three miles of the mouth, I hold lands on the

right and left of the river, and bounded thereby forty-eight miles and a half; all of which, being on the margin of the river, and extending not more than from half a mile to a mile back, are, as has been observed before, rich, low grounds.

From this description of my lands, with the aid of Evans's or Hutchins's Map of that country, a good general knowledge of their situation may be obtained by those, who incline to become adventurers in the settlement of them; but it may not be improper to observe further, that they were surveyed under the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (granting to each commissioned and non-commissioned officer according to his rank, and to the private soldier certain quantities,) and under a yet older proclamation from Mr. Dinwiddie, then lieutenant-governor of the colony, issued by the advice of his council to encourage and benefit the military adventurers of the year 1754, while the land-office was shut against all other applicants. It is not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that those, who had the first choice, had five years allowed them to make it, and a large district to survey in, were inattentive either to the quality of the soil, or the advantages of situation.

But supposing no preëminence in quality, the title to these lands is indisputable; and, by lying on the south-east side of the Ohio, they are not subject to the claims of the Indians; consequently will be free from their disturbances, and from the disputes, in which the settlers on the northwest side (when the Indians shall permit any) and even on the same side lower down will be involved; for it should seem, that there is already location upon location, and scarce any thing else talked of but land-jobbing and monopolies, before Congress have even settled the terms upon which the ceded lands are to be obtained.

Having given this account of the land, I am brought to another point, which is more puzzling to me.

I have been long endeavouring to hit upon some mode, by which the grantor and grantees of these lands might be mutually considered and equally satisfied, but find it no easy matter; as it is to be presumed that all adventurers, especially emigrants from foreign countries, would not only *choose* but *expect* leases for a long term. In this case, it is difficult in an infant country, where lands rise progressively, and I might add rapidly in value, to fix upon a rent, which will not, in the first instance, startle the tenant by its magnitude, or injure the landlord in the course of a few years by the inadequacy of it. What course then is to be taken?

To advance the rent periodically, in proportion to the *supposed*

increasing value of the land, is very speculative; and to leave it to the parties, or their representatives, or to persons to be chosen by them, at like stated periods to determine the increase of it, would not only be vague and uncertain, but more than probably open a door for many disputes, and prove very unsatisfactory to both sides. Yet, difficult as the case is, private and public considerations urging me thereto, I have come to a resolution, which I am going to promulge in the gazettes of this country, by inserting an advertisement of which the enclosed is a copy, leaving it optional in the grantees to make choice of either.

Whether the terms there promulged are sufficiently encouraging to the people of this country, and inviting to strangers; or whether the latter might think so in the first instance, and change sentiments afterwards, upon seeing a wide, a wild, and an extensive country before them, in which they may, for ought I know, obtain good, though not so valuable and pleasant spots upon easier terms, is not with me to decide. Experiment alone can determine it. But it is for me to declare, that I cannot think of separating for ever from lands, which are beautifully situated upon navigable rivers, rich in quality, and abundantly blessed with many natural advantages, upon less beneficial terms to myself.

The leases for short tenures, if these should be preferred to either of the other two, could be attended with no great injury to me, because the improvements, which (according to the conditions of them) are to be made thereon, will enable me, if I am not too sanguine in my expectation, to rent them thereafter upon more lucrative terms, than I dare ask for either of the other two at present.

It has been my intention in every thing I have said, and will be so in every thing I shall say on this subject to be perfectly candid; for my feelings would be as much hurt, if I should deceive others by a too favorable description, as theirs would be who might suffer by the deception.

I will only add, that it would give me pleasure to see these lands seated by particular societies, or religious sectaries with their pastors. It would be a means of connecting friends in a small circle, and making life in a new and rising empire (to the inhabitants of which, and their habits, new comers would be strangers) pass much more agreeably than in a mixed or dispersed situation.

If a plan of this sort should be relished, it would be highly expedient for an agent in behalf of such societies to come out immediately, to view the lands and close a bargain; for nothing is more probable, than that each of the tracts here enumerated may,

if the matter is delayed, have settlers upon it, an intermixture with whom might not be agreeable.

The number of families, which these tracts aggregately, or each one separately, would accommodate, depends more upon the views of the occupiers, than on any other circumstance. The soil is capable of the greatest production, such as Europeans have little idea of. For mere support, then, the smallest quantity would suffice; which I mention in this place, because a plan for the settlement of them, under the information here given of the quantity, quality, and situation, can be as well digested in Europe, as on the land itself, so far as it respects support only; and is to be preferred to a waste of time in ascertaining on the spot the number it would receive, and what each man shall have before the association is formed.

I will make no apology, my good Sir, for the length of this letter, presuming from your inquiries, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last in Philadelphia, that you would not be displeased at the information I now give you, and might have a wish to communicate it to others. My best wishes attend you. With sentiments of great esteem and respect, I am, Reverend Sir, &c.

TO HUGH WILLIAMSON, IN CONGRESS.

Mount Vernon, 31 March, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

The last post brought me your favor of the 24th. The sentiments I shall deliver in answer to it must be considered as coming from an individual only, for I am as unacquainted with the opinions, and know as little of the affairs and present management of the Swamp Company in Virginia (though a member of it) as you do, perhaps less, as I have received nothing from thence, nor have heard any thing of my interest therein for more than nine years.*

I am equally uninformed of the motives, which induced the Assembly of Virginia to open a canal between Kemp's and the Northwest Landings, but presume territorial jurisdiction must have been the governing principle.

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* In January, 1764, a company was formed, and chartered by the legislature of Virginia, for the purpose of draining and rendering fit for cultivation the Great Dismal Swamp, which lies between Norfolk and Albemarle Sound. Washington was one of the company. In October, 1763, he penetrated the swamp, and examined it in various parts.

From an attentive examination of the Great Dismal Swamp, I have been long satisfied of the practicability of opening a communication through Drummond's Pond * between the rivers, which empty into Albemarle Sound, and the waters of Elizabeth or Nansemond River. Once, for the purpose of forming a plan for reclaiming the lands, more than with a view to the benefit of navigation, I traversed Drummond's Pond through its whole circuit; and at a time when it was brimful of water. I lay one night on the east border of it, on ground something above the common level of the swamp; and in the morning, I had the curiosity to ramble as far into the swamp as I could get with convenience, to the distance perhaps of five hundred yards; and found that the water, which, at the margin of the lake (after it had exceeded its natural bounds) was stagnant, began perceptibly to move eastward; and at the extent of my walk it had deepened, got more into a channel, and increased obviously in its motion. This discovery left not a doubt in my mind that the current was descending into one of the rivers of Albemarle Sound. To ascertain it, I directed our manager to hire persons to explore it fully. To the best of my recollection, he some time afterwards informed me, that he had done so, that it was found to be the head of the northwest river, that to the place where the water had formed a regular channel of considerable width and depth did not exceed four miles, and that from thence downwards to the present navigation of the river there was no other obstruction to small craft than fallen trees. What I have given as coming under my own knowledge, you may rely upon. The other I sufficiently believe, and have no doubt but that the waters of Perquemins and Pasquotank Rivers have a similar, and perhaps as close a communication with Drummond's Pond, as those of the northwest.

My researches at different times into and round the swamp (for I have encompassed the whole) have enabled me to make the following observations; that the principal rivulets, which run into the Great Dismal, if not all of them, are to the westward of it, from Suffolk southwardly; that Drummond's Pond is the receptacle for all the water, which can force its way into it through the reeds, roots, trash, and fallen timber, with which the swamp abounds; that to these obstructions, and the almost perfect level of the swamp, are to be ascribed the wetness of it; that, in wet seasons, when the banks of the pond are overflowed by the assemblage of waters from

* A small lake or pond, near the centre of the Great Dismal Swamp.

the quarter I have mentioned, it discharges itself with equal difficulty into the heads of the rivers Elizabeth and Nansemond, and those which flow into Albemarle Sound; for it is a fact, that the late Colonel Tucker of Norfolk, on a branch of Elizabeth River, and several others on Nansemond River, have mills, which are, or have been, worked by the waters which run out of the swamp.

Hence, and from a canal, which the Virginia Company opened some years since, I am convinced, that there is not a difference of more than two feet between one part of the swamp and another; that the east side and south end are lower than their opposites; and that a canal of that depth, when the water of Drummond's Pond is even with its banks, and more or less in the proportion it rises or sinks, will take the water of it, and, with the aid of one lock, let it into either Elizabeth River or Nansemond; neither of which, from the best information I have been able to obtain, would exceed six or seven miles.* Admitting these things, and I firmly believe in them, the kind of navigation will determine the expense, having due consideration to the difficulty, which must be occasioned by the quantity of water, and little fall by which it can be run off.

To attempt, in the first instance, such a canal as would admit any vessel, which the Bay of Albemarle is competent to, would in my opinion be tedious, and attended with an expense, which might prove discouraging; whilst one upon a more contracted scale would answer very valuable purposes, and might be enlarged as the practicability of the measure, and the advantages resulting from it, should be unfolded; appropriating the money, which shall arise from the toll, after principal and interest are fully paid, as a fund for the further extension of the navigation, which in my opinion would be exceedingly practicable, and would be found the readiest and easiest plan to bring it to perfection.

If this method should be adopted, I would very readily join my mite towards the accomplishment, provided the canal, which the State of Virginia is about to cut, should not render it an unnecessary or unprofitable undertaking. A more extended plan would be too heavy for my purse.

I agree in sentiment with you, that, whenever the public is dis-

* Subsequent measurements proved this opinion to be erroneous. The pond is said to be about twenty feet higher than the margin of the swamp. The canal, which has been greatly enlarged since the above was written, runs quite through the swamp, being twenty-one miles in length, and having seven locks. It passes within three miles of Lake Drummond, and is fed by a small canal connecting it with that lake.

posed to reimburse principal and interest to the corporation, and will open a free passage of the canal, the charter should cease; but I do not think eight per cent is adequate, I mean sufficiently inviting, nor ten either, unless government, in the act for incorporation, were to guaranty the expense, and be at the final risk of the success, and would have, though not an exorbitant, yet a fixed toll, and one which should be judged fully competent to answer the purpose; because it is not less easy than pleasing to reduce it at any time, but it would be found difficult and disgusting, however necessary and urgent, to increase it.

In other respects, my opinion differs not from yours, or the propositions you enclosed to, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

TO WILLIAM GRAYSON, IN CONGRESS.

Mount Vernon, 25 April, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I will not let your favor of the 15th go unacknowledged, though it is not in my power to give it the consideration I wish, to comply with the request you have made; being upon the eve of a journey to Richmond to a meeting of the Dismal Swamp Company, which by my own appointment is to take place on Monday next; and into that part of the country I am hurried by an express, which has just arrived with the account of the death of the mother and brother of Mrs. Washington.

To be candid, I have had scarce time to give the report of the committee, which you did me the honor to send me, a reading, much less to consider the force and tendency of it. If experience has proved, that the most advantageous way of disposing of land is by whole townships, there is no arguing against facts; therefore, if I had time, I should say nothing on that head; but, from the cursory reading I have given it, it strikes me, that, by suffering each State to dispose of a proportionate part of the whole in the State, there may be State-jobbing; in other words, that the citizens of each State may be favored at the expense of the Union; whilst a reference of these matters to them has, in my opinion, a tendency to set up separate interests, and to promote the independence of individual States upon the downfall of the federal government, which is already too feeble, and much too tottering to be supported without props.

It is scarcely to be imagined, that any man or society of men, who may incline to possess a township, would make the purchase without viewing the lands in person, or by an agent. Wherein then lies the great advantage of having the sale in each State, and by State officers? From a parity of reasoning, there should be different places in each State for the accommodation of its citizens. Would not all the ostensible purposes be fully answered by sufficient promulgation in each State of the time and place of sale, to be held at the nearest convenient place to the land, or at the seat of Congress? Is it not highly probable, that those, who may incline to emigrate, or their agents, would attend at such time and place? And, there being no fixed prices to the land, would not the high or low sale of it depend upon the number of purchasers, and the competition occasioned thereby; and are not these likely to be greater at one time and place than at thirteen? One place might draw the world to it, if proper notice be given; but foreigners would scarcely know what to do with thirteen, to which to go, or when.

These are first thoughts, perhaps incongruous ones, and such as I might myself reprobate upon more mature consideration. At present, however, I am impressed with them; and (under the rose) a penetrating eye and close observation will discover through various disguises a disinclination to add new States to the confederation westward of us, which must be the inevitable consequence of emigration to, and the population of, that territory; and as to restraining the citizens of the Atlantic States from transplanting themselves to that soil, when prompted thereto by interest or inclination, you might as well attempt (while our governments are free) to prevent the reflux of the tide, when you had got it into your rivers. As the report of the committee goes into the minutiæ, it is not minute enough, if I read it aright. It provides for the irregular lines, and parts of townships, occasioned by the interference of the Indian boundaries, but not for interference with Lake Erie, the western boundary of Pennsylvania (if it is governed by the meanders of the Delaware), or the Ohio River, which separates the ceded lands from Virginia; all of which involve the same consequences.

I thank you for the sentiments and information given me in your letter of the 10th of March, respecting the Potomac navigation. The present determination is, to hold the shares, which this State has been pleased to present to me, in trust for the use and benefit of it. This will subserve the plan, increase the public revenue, and not interfere with that line of conduct I had prescribed to myself. I am, &c.

TO MR. BATTAILE MUSE.

Mount Vernon, 29 August, 1785.

Sir,

Both your letters of the 16th have come safe. As you have engaged the clover seed of Mr. Wormeley's manager, I will take one bushel of it, though I had no idea of giving so high a price; as I could have got the same quantity from Philadelphia, I suppose equally good, for half the sum. If you send it to the care of Mr. Hartshorne in Alexandria, it will come safe, and the sooner it is done the better. Pay for it out of the first money you receive for my use.

I am willing to take your wheat, if it is free from the fly, well cleaned, and of good quality; provided it is delivered at my mill, the road to which, by being less used, is better than that to Alexandria or Dumfries. My prices are always governed by the Alexandria *cash* market; for I neither give more, nor expect it for less. The price current there at present, according to Richards's Gazette, is five shillings; but the state of our trade at this time is so uncertain, that it is almost impossible to determine whether it will be more or less.

If the present restriction of our commerce continues, the manufacturing of wheat must be broken up altogether, as the West India markets, which afford the greatest demands for our flour, are shut against our vessels. If you choose to take the certainty of five shillings for your wheat, it may be a bargain at that, provided you determine immediately; or, if you prefer to abide by the rise or fall of the Alexandria market, I am willing to do this also, if you will fix a period at which you shall determine to accept the price which is then existing. By this I mean, and it is necessary to declare it in order to avoid misunderstandings, that, if you should be from the 1st of October to the 1st of April, for instance, in delivering your crop, I shall not think myself under an obligation to allow the highest price that may be given within those periods; because the price may rise to six shillings, and then fall to four; according to the demand arising from circumstances. It would therefore be as unreasonable for you to expect, that I should give the highest price at which wheat had sold within the beforementioned periods, as for me to suppose that you ought to take the lowest. However, to be more clearly understood, (if the price is to be regulated by the Alexandria cash market, for I shall not be governed by what they offer in goods,) it must be the price at the day on which you

determine to take it; that is, if it should start from five shillings, and keep rising till by the 1st of December it has reached six shillings, and on that day you inform me personally, or by letter, that you will take the market price, I shall think myself obliged to allow six shillings for your crop. On the other hand, if you expect the price will get higher, and wait for its doing so until it falls to four shillings, I will pay no more than four shillings for it.

I have been thus explicit, because I dislike disputes, and wish to avoid them; which makes it necessary to mention another case, which sometimes happens; and that is, that what a few bushels of wheat may sell for, or what a merchant, when he has got a vessel nearly loaded, may give, rather than detain her at high charges, is not to be considered as the market price. You are not in a situation (having your wheat to transport from a distant part), to take advantage of the case last mentioned; and a few bushels of particular wheat, or wheat for particular uses, can have no influence upon the general price, which is always very well established in a place of such trade as Alexandria. After all, I confess it would be more agreeable to me to fix a price between ourselves; but I cannot at this time exceed five shillings, as that is the price now current.

When you come down in October, I shall be glad to see you here. By that time I expect to have the accounts against my tenants brought into some kind of order. If you could engage for me about two hundred and fifty pounds of good fall butter, from such farmers as you can depend upon for the quality and their punctuality, I should be obliged to you. If you let me have your wheat, the butter may come down occasionally with that.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO SAMUEL FRAUNCIS.

Mount Vernon, 7 September, 1785.

SIR,

As no person can judge better of the qualifications necessary to constitute a good housekeeper, or household steward, than yourself, for a family which has a good deal of company, and wishes to entertain them in a plain, but genteel style, I take the liberty of asking you, if there is any such one within your reach, whom you think could be induced to come to me on reasonable wages. I

would rather have a man than a woman, but either will do, if they can be recommended for their honesty, sobriety, and knowledge of their profession; which, in one word, is to relieve Mrs. Washington from the drudgery of ordering, and seeing the table properly covered, and things economically used. Nothing more, therefore, needs be said, to inform you of a character that would suit me, than what is already mentioned.

The wages I now give to a man, who is about to leave me in order to get married (under which circumstance he would not suit me), is about one hundred dollars per annum; but for one who understands the business perfectly, and stands fair in all other respects, I would go as far as one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Some time ago I wrote to Colonel Biddle, and to Mr. Moyston (who keeps the City Tavern in Philadelphia), to try if they could procure me such a person as I want. I therefore beg, if you know of one that would suit me, and is to be had upon the terms above, and who can attend properly to a large family (for mine is such, with a good many workmen), that you would immediately inform Colonel Biddle of it, before any engagement is entered into by you on my behalf, lest one should be provided at Philadelphia, and embarrassments arise from the different engagements. I am sorry to give you so much trouble, but I hope you will excuse it in, Sir, yours, &c.

TO LEVI HOLLINGSWORTH.

Mount Vernon, 20 September, 1785.

Sir,

I have long been convinced, that the bed of the Potomac before my door contains an inexhaustible fund of manure; and that, if I could adopt an easy, simple, and expeditious method of raising, and taking it to the land, it might be converted to useful purposes. Mr. Donaldson's *Hippopotamus* goes beyond any thing I had conceived with respect to the first; but, whether the manner of its working would answer my purpose or not, is the question. By his using a horse, I fear it will not, as I shall have to go from one hundred to eight hundred or a thousand yards from high-water mark for the mud; though I believe any quantity may be had at the less distance. The depth of water at the greater will not exceed eight feet, and not much swell, unless the wind is turbulent.

Under this information, it would give me great satisfaction to have Mr. Donaldson's opinion of the utility of his *Hippopotamus* for my purposes; as mud, which is many feet deep and soft, is to be raised at a distance from, and be brought to, the shore when the tide is up, in vessels which draw but little water. And he would add to the favor, if the machine is applicable to my wants, by informing me what kind of a vessel is necessary for its operation; what would be the cost of this vessel, and of the machine I should have to use on it; whether by a model the whole could be constructed by ingenious workmen here; or whether it must be done under his own eye; and, in the latter case, what would be the additional expense of getting one from Philadelphia to this place.

The kind offer of Mr. Donaldson, for which I pray you to return him my sincere thanks, of furnishing me a model, or other information, and your obliging communication thereof, have drawn upon you both this trouble. Instead, therefore, of apologizing for giving it, I will assure you that I have a grateful sense of the kindness, and am his and your most obedient, &c.

TO THOMAS FREEMAN.

23 September, 1785.

SIR,

The situation of my affairs on the western waters in the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia requiring a superintendent, and you having been pleased to accept the appointment, I must beg leave to point out to you the performance of such duties as are particularly necessary.

These will be to settle tenants upon my land; collect the rents, which will arise therefrom, the debts which will proceed from the sale of my copartnership effects, such others as may be due to me from persons living as above; and in general, to act and do (where no particular instruction is given) in the same manner as you would for yourself under like circumstances; endeavouring in all cases by fair and lawful means to promote my interest in this country.

My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa will be rented on the terms contained in a printed advertisement herewith given you; and, as my disbursements will be great, I should prefer the last-mentioned therein to the other two, as the immediate profit arising therefrom is greatest. It is my wish, also, that each tract could be rented on the same tenure, though I do not bind you thereto.

The remainder of my untenanted lands, in the tract commonly called and distinguished by the name of *Washington's Bottom*, may be rented on the best terms you can obtain, until the close of the year 1794, and no longer. Less than what I am to get from the other tenants on the same tract, after allowing them three years free from the payment of rent, I should not incline to take; more, I think, ought to be had and may be got.

My tract at the Great Meadows may be rented for the most you can get for the term of ten years. There is a house on the premises, arable land in culture, and meadow enclosed. Much of the latter may be reclaimed at a very moderate expense; which, and its being an excellent stand for an innkeeper, must render it valuable.

All my rents are to be fixed in specie dollars (Spanish coin), but may be discharged in any gold or silver coin of equivalent value. The tenants, in all cases, are to pay the land-tax, which, to prevent disputes, is to be expressed in the leases; and it will be a necessary part of your duty to visit them at proper and convenient periods, to see that the covenants, to the performance of which they are bound, are strictly fulfilled and complied with.

Where acts of Providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient in the exaction of rent; but, when the cases are otherwise, I will not be put off; because it is on these my own expenditures depend, and because an accumulation of undischarged rents is a real injury to the tenant.

In laying off and dividing any of the lands herein mentioned into lots and tenements, particular care must be had, that they are accurately surveyed, properly bounded, and so distributed as to do equal justice to the several grantees and to the grantor; that a few may not injure the whole, and spoil the market of them.

If you should not have offers in a short time for the hire of my mill alone, or for the mill with one hundred and fifty acres of land adjoining, I think it advisable in that case to let it on shares, to build a good and substantial dam of stone where the old one stood, and to erect a proper fore-bay in place of the trunk, which now conducts the water to the wheel; and, in a word, to put the house in proper repair. If you should be driven to this for want of a tenant, let public notice thereof be given, and the work let to the lowest bidder; the undertaker finding himself, and giving bond and security for the performance of his contract. The charges of these things must be paid out of the first moneys you receive for rent or otherwise.

If I could get fifteen hundred pounds for the mill, and one hundred acres of land most convenient thereto, I would let it go for that money.

As a compensation for the faithful performance of all these services, I agree to allow you five per cent for all the money, which shall be collected and paid to me or for my use; whether arising from rents, bonds, notes, or open accounts; or from the sale of wheat or flour taken for rents and converted into cash. Also twenty shillings Pennsylvania currency for every tenant, who shall be fixed on any of my land, and who shall receive a lease for the same on the terms mentioned; and the further sum of two dollars for every lot, which you shall lay off for such tenants, together with such reasonable expenses as may be incurred thereby.

TO PATRICK HENRY, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

Mount Vernon, 30 November, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 11th; and am much obliged to you for the copy of the Commissioners' report respecting the cut from the waters of Elizabeth River to those of Albemarle Sound; and it is with great pleasure I have since heard, that the matter is in a prosperous way in our Assembly, and placed on a footing (reasonable and just, I think), which is likely to meet the approbation of the legislature of North Carolina. It has always been my opinion since I first investigated the Great Dismal Swamp as a member of, and manager for, the Dismal Swamp Company, that the most advantageous cut would be found to be through Drummond's Pond to the head of Pasquotank; and I have notes and surveys, which prove it, I think, beyond a doubt. Mr. Andrews's conjectures, with respect to locks, I conceive are justly founded; for, if the bed of the lake is above the level of the waters of Elizabeth and Pasquotank Rivers, the flowing out by means of the canal, being greater than the influx, must undoubtedly drain the pond, and render it useless as a reservoir without these locks. But the places, at which it may be proper to establish them, must, I should suppose, depend upon the level, and suitableness of the ground to receive them after the cut is made, which should be begun at the extreme ends, that the water may run off, and, if with any velocity, contribute to the work.

If this cut is effected, the obstructions in the Roanoke removed, which will most assuredly follow, and the inland navigation of the rivers James and Potomac completed agreeably to law, it will open channels of convenience and wealth to the citizens of this State, which the imagination can hardly extend to, and make this the most favored country in the Universe. These measures only require a beginning, to show the practicability, ease, and advantage, with which they may be executed. The Rappahannoc and Shenandoah will follow the example, and I see nothing to prevent the two branches of York River from doing the same.

The consequence in the article of draught cattle alone, and to our roads, will be inconceivably great. The latter with small amendments will always be in good order, when the present number of carriages is no longer tearing them to pieces in the most inclement season of the year; and the saving in the former will be felt most sensibly by the farmer and planter in their annual operations.

But, until these things are accomplished, and even admitting they were done, do you not think, my good Sir, that the credit, the saving, and convenience of this country all require, that our great roads leading from one public place to another should be straightened, shortened, and established by law, and the power in the county courts to alter them be withdrawn? To me these things seem indispensably necessary, and it is my opinion they will take place in time. The longer, therefore, they are delayed, the more people will be injured by the alterations when they happen. It is equally clear to me, that, putting the lowest valuation upon the labor of the people, who work upon the roads under the existing law and customs of the present day, the repairs of them by way of contract, to be paid by an assessment on certain districts, until the period shall arrive when turnpikes may with propriety be established, would be infinitely less burthensome to the community than the present mode. In this case the contractor would meet with no favor; every man in the district would give information of neglects. Whereas negligence under the present system is winked at by the only people who know the particulars, or can inform against the overseers; for strangers had rather encounter the inconvenience of bad roads, than the trouble of an information, and go away prejudiced against the country for the polity of it. With great esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

TO JAMES RUMSEY.

Mount Vernon, 31 January, 1786.

SIR,

If you have no cause to change your opinion respecting your mechanical boat, and reasons unknown to me do not exist to delay the exhibition of it, I would advise you to give it to the public as soon as it can be prepared conveniently. The postponement creates distrust in the public mind; it gives time, also, for the imagination to work, and this is assisted by a little dropping from one, and something from another, to whom you have disclosed the secret. Should a mechanical genius, therefore, hit upon your plan, or something similar to it, I need not add, that it would place you in an awkward situation, and perhaps disconcert all your prospects concerning this useful discovery; for you are not, with your experience in life, now to learn, that the shoulders of the public are too broad to feel the weight of the complaints of an individual, or to regard promises, if they find it convenient, and have the shadow of plausibility on their side, to retract them. I will inform you further, that many people, in guessing at your plan, have come very near the mark; and that one, who had something of a similar nature to offer to the public, wanted a certificate from me, that it was different from yours. I told him, that as I was not at liberty to declare what your plan was, so I did not think it proper to say what it was not.

Whatever may be your determination after this hint, I have only to request, that my sentiments on the subject may be ascribed to friendly motives, and taken in good part.

I should be glad to know the exact state in which my houses at Bath are. I have fifty pounds ready, for which you may draw on me at any time, and I will settle for the whole as soon as possible.

Herewith you will receive a magazine containing the estimates of the expense of the canal in Scotland. It belongs to Mr. Johnson, who requested me to forward it to you, after I had read it. To him you will be pleased to return the book, when you have done with it. With esteem and regard, I am Sir, &c.

TO BATTAILE MUSE.

Mount Vernon, 8 March, 1786.

SIR,

I have just received your letter of the 20th of last month, and request that you will proceed as you have begun, that is, to do equal and impartial justice to the tenants and myself. I want no improper advantage of them, on the one hand; on the other, where leases are clearly forfeited, by a manifest intention on the part of the tenant to neglect all the covenants in them that were inserted for my benefit, and their sole aim has been to make traffic of the land, I shall have no scruple in setting them aside, and beginning afresh upon the best rents I can get for ten years.

At any rate, it is my wish that you would be as attentive to the other covenants of the leases, as to that which exacts the rent; particularly to those, which require a certain proportion of woodland to be left standing in one place, orchards, meadows, and buildings. These were as much objects with me, as the rent; nay more, because to these I looked, to have the value of my land enhanced, whilst I was, in the first instance, contenting myself with low rents. If, therefore, these have passed off unnoticed by the tenants, it should be punished equally with the non-payment of rents. I mention these things, because it is my wish they should be strictly complied with.

There is another matter or two, which, in renting my lands, I am desirous you should always keep in view; first, to lease to no person, who has lands of his own adjoining them; and secondly, to no one, who does not propose to live on the premises. My reasons are these. In the first case, my land will be cut down, worked, and destroyed to save his own, whilst the latter will receive all the improvements. In the second case, if the tenant does not live thereon, it will not meet a much better fate, and negro quarters and tobacco pens will probably be the best edifices of the tenement. One Grigg (I think his name is), an overseer to Colonel John Washington, must be an exception, because, at the instance of my brother, I consented to the purchase he has made.

Enclosed you have a letter for Mr. Robert Rutherford, of whom you will endeavour to receive the amount of the within. If you should succeed in this, you may carry it to my credit, and draw a commission thereon, as if collected for rent. I am, &c.

TO WILLIAM MOULTRIE, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mount Vernon, 25 May, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

The letter, which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me, of the 7th ultimo, came safely to hand; and I should feel very happy if I could render any services to the Company, who are engaged in the laudable and important design of opening a cut between the rivers Cooper and Santee.

Mr. Brindley, nephew to the celebrated person of that name, who conducted the work of the Duke of Bridgewater, and planned many others in England, possesses, I presume, more practical knowledge of cuts and locks, for the improvement of inland navigation, than any man among us, as he was an executive officer, he says, many years under his uncle in this particular business; but he is, I know, engaged with the Susquehanna Company, who are, I believe (for I saw Mr. Brindley about six weeks ago), in a critical part of their work. I have, notwithstanding, written to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who is not only a member of that Company, but one to whom the business is chiefly confided and near the spot, to know if Mr. Brindley's services can be dispensed with long enough to answer the purposes mentioned in your letter. His answer shall be forwarded as soon as it comes to my hands.

It gives me pleasure to find a spirit for inland navigation prevailing so generally. No country is more capable of improvements in this way than our own; none, which will be more benefited by them; and to begin well, as you justly observe, is all in all. Error in the commencement will not only be productive of unnecessary expense, but, what is still worse, of discouragements. It appears to me, therefore, that if the cost of bringing from Europe a professional man, of tried and acknowledged abilities, is too heavy for one work, it might be good policy for several companies to unite in it, contributing in proportion to the estimates and capital sums established by the several acts. I see no necessity for confining the services of such a person to a single undertaking. One man may plan for twenty to execute; and the distance from Delaware (between which and the Chesapeake a cut is in contemplation, and commissioners appointed by the two States to agree on a plan,) to the Cooper River, is not so great but that one person of activity might design for all between them, and visit the whole three or four times a year.

This is only a thought of my own. I have no authority for

suggesting it; but for my private satisfaction I had written both to England and France, to know on what terms a person of competent skill could be obtained. I have received the following answer from my friend the Marquis de Lafayette. "There is no doubt," says he, "but that a good engineer may be found in this country to conduct the work. France, in this point, exceeds England; and will have, I think, every advantage but that of the language, which is something, although it may be supplied by an interpreter. An application from Mr. Jefferson and myself to the ministry, and more particularly an intimation that you set a value on that measure, will insure to us the choice of a good engineer. They are different from the military ones, and are called *Ingénieurs des Ponts et Chaussées*. I think five hundred guineas a year, while the business lasts, and an assurance not to lose his rank in France, will be sufficient to provide you with the gentleman you want."

I have also received an acknowledgment of the letter I had written to England; but the gentleman there goes no further than to assure me he will make every necessary inquiry, and has no doubt but that a person may be obtained. He says nothing, however, respecting the terms on which he could be had. Mrs. Washington joins me in compliments, and every good wish for Mrs. Moultrie and yourself. With great esteem and respect, I am, &c.

TO WAKELJN WELCH, LONDON.

Mount Vernon, July, 1786.

SIR,

I have received the paper-hangings and watch by Captain Andrews. With the last Mrs. Washington is well pleased, and I thank you in her name for your attention to the making of it. If the stocks keep up, and there is not a moral certainty of their rising higher in a short time, it is my wish and desire, that my interest in the Bank may be immediately sold, and the money arising therefrom made subject to my drafts in your hands, some of which, at sixty days' sight, may soon follow this letter.

The footing on which you have placed the interest of my debt to you is all I require. To stand on equal ground with others, who owe money to the merchants in England, and who were not so prompt in their payment of the principal as I have been, is all I aim at. Whatever the two countries may finally decide with respect to interest, or whatever general agreement or compromise may

be come to between British creditors and American debtors, I am willing to abide by; nor should I again have touched upon this subject in this letter, had you not introduced a case, which, in my opinion, has no similitude with the point in question. You say I have received interest at the Bank for the money which was there. Granted; but, besides remarking that only part of this money was mine, permit me to ask if Great Britain was not enabled, by means of the Bank, to continue the war with this country? Whether this war did not deprive us of the means of paying our debts? And whether the interest I received from this source did or could bear any proportion to the losses I sustained by having my grain, my tobacco, and every article of produce rendered unsalable and left to perish on my hands? However, I again repeat, that I ask no discrimination of you in my favor; for, had there been no stipulation by treaty to secure debts, nay more, had there even been an exemption by the legislative authority or practice of this country against it, I would, from a conviction of the propriety and justice of the measure, have discharged my original debt to you.

But from the moment our ports were shut, and our markets were stopped by the hostile fleets and armies of Great Britain, till the first were opened and the others revived, I should, for the reasons I have (though very cursorily) assigned, have thought the interest during that epocha stood upon a very different footing.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

Mount Vernon, 6 August, 1786.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 7th of January from Bradfield Hall in Suffolk, and thank you for opening a correspondence, the advantages of which will be so much in my favor.

Agriculture has ever been among the most favored of my amusements, though I never have possessed much skill in the art, and nine years' total inattention to it has added nothing to a knowledge, which is best understood from practice; but, with the means you have been so obliging as to furnish me, I shall return to it, though rather late in the day, with more alacrity than ever.

The system of agriculture, if it deserves the epithet of *system*, which is in use in this part of the United States, is as unproductive

to the practitioners, as it is ruinous to the landholders. Yet it is pertinaciously adhered to. To forsake it; to pursue a course of husbandry, which is altogether different, and new to the gazing multitude, ever averse to novelty in matters of this sort, and much attached to the customs of their forefathers, requires resolution, and, without a good practical guide, may be dangerous; because, of the many volumes which have been written on this subject, few have been founded on experimental knowledge; are verbose, contradictory, and bewildering. Your *Annals*, therefore, shall be this guide. The plan on which they are published gives them a reputation, which inspires confidence; and for the favor of sending them to me, I pray you to accept my very best acknowledgments. To continue them will add much to the obligation.

To evince with what avidity and with how little reserve I embrace the polite and friendly offer you have made, of supplying me with "men, cattle, tools, seeds, or any thing else that may add to my rural amusements," I will give you the trouble, Sir, of providing, and sending to the care of Wakelin Welch, of London, merchant, the following articles.

Two of the simplest and best constructed ploughs for land, which is neither very heavy nor sandy; to be drawn by two horses; to have spare shares and coulters; and a mould, on which to form new irons, when the old ones are worn out, or will require repairing. I will take the liberty to observe, that some years ago, from a description or recommendation thereof, which I had somewhere met with, I sent to England for what was then called the Rotherham or patent plough; and, till it began to wear and was ruined by a bungling country smith, that no plough could have done better work, or appeared to have gone easier with two horses; but for want of a mould, which I neglected to order with the plough, it became useless, after the irons, which came with it, were much worn.

A little of the best kind of cabbage seed for field culture.

Twenty pounds of the best turnip seed.

Ten bushels of sainfoin seed.

Eight bushels of the winter vetches.

Two bushels of rye-grass seed.

Fifty pounds of hop-clover seed.

And if it is decided (for much has been said for and against it), that burnet, as an early food, is valuable, I should be glad of one bushel of this seed also. Red clover seed is to be had on easy terms in this country; but if there are any other kinds of

grass seeds, not included in the above, that you may think valuable, especially for early seeding or cutting, you would oblige me by adding a small quantity of the seeds, to put me in stock. Early grasses, unless a species can be found that will stand a hot sun, and oftentimes severe droughts in the summer months, without much expense of cultivation, would suit our climate best.

You see, Sir, that, with very little ceremony, I avail myself of your kind offer; but, should you find, in the course of our correspondence, that I am likely to become troublesome, you can easily check me. Enclosed I give you an order upon Wakelin Welch for the cost of such things as you may have the goodness to send me. I do not, at this time, ask for any other implements of husbandry than the plough; but when I have read your "Annals" (for they are but just come to hand), I may request more. In the mean time, permit me to ask what a good ploughman may be had for at annual wages; to be found (being a single man) in board, lodging, and washing? The writers upon husbandry estimate the hire of laborers so differently in England, that it is not easy to discover from them, whether one of the class I am speaking of would cost eight or eighteen pounds a year. A good ploughman at low wages would come very opportunely with the plough I have requested.

By means of the application to my friend, Mr. Fairfax of Bath, and through the medium of Mr. Rack, a bailiff is sent to me, who, if he is acquainted with the best courses of cropping, will answer my purposes as a director or superintendent of my farms. He has the appearance of a plain honest farmer; is industrious, and from the character given of him by a Mr. Peacy, with whom he has lived many years, is understanding in the management of stock, and of most matters for which he is employed. How far his abilities may be equal to a pretty extensive concern, is questionable. And, what is still worse, he has come over with improper ideas; for, instead of preparing his mind for a ruinous course of cropping, exhausted lands, and numberless inconveniences into which we had been thrown by an eight years' war, he seems to have expected, that he was coming to well-organized farms, and that he was to meet ploughs, harrows, and all the different implements of husbandry, in as high a state, as the best farming counties in England could have exhibited them. How far his fortitude will enable him to encounter these disappointments, or his patience and perseverance will carry him towards effecting a reform, remains to be decided. With great esteem, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.

TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

Mount Vernon, 15 November, 1786.

Sir,

The enclosed is a duplicate of the letter I had the honor of writing to you the 6th of August. The evil genius of the vessel by which it was sent, which had detained her many weeks in this country after the letters intended to go by her were ready agreeably to the owner's appointment, pursued her to sea, and obliged the captain, when many days out, by the leaky condition in which she appeared, to return to an American port. The uncertainty of his conduct, with respect to the letters, is the apology I offer for giving you the trouble of the enclosed.

Since the date of it, I have had much satisfaction in perusing the "Annals of Agriculture," which you did me the honor to send me. If the testimony of my approbation, Sir, of your disinterested conduct and perseverance in publishing so useful and beneficial a work (than which nothing in my opinion can be more conducive to the welfare of your country) will add aught to the satisfaction you must feel from the conscious discharge of this interesting duty to it, I give it with equal willingness and sincerity.

In addition to the articles, which my last requested the favor of you to procure me, I pray you to have the goodness of forwarding what follows;

Eight bushels of what you call velvet * wheat, of which I perceive you are an admirer.

Four bushels of beans, of the kind you most approve for the purposes of a farm.

Eight bushels of the best kind of spring barley.

Eight bushels of the best kind of oats.

And eight bushels of sainfoin seed. All to be in good sacks.

My soil will come under the description of loam; with a hard clay, or (if it had as much of the properties as the appearance, it might be denominated) marl, from eighteen inches to three feet below the surface. The heaviest soil I have, would hardly be called a stiff or binding clay in England; and none of it is a blowing sand. The sort, which approaches nearest the former, is a light grey; and that to the latter, of a yellow red. In a word, the staple has been good, but, by use and abuse, it is brought into bad condition.

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* The books being at a bookbinder's, I may have miscalled this wheat.

I have added this information, Sir, that you may be better able to decide on the kind of seed most proper for my farm.

Permit me to ask one thing more. It is to favor me with your opinion, and a plan, of the most complete and useful farm-yard, for farms of about five hundred acres. In this I mean to comprehend the barn, and every appurtenance which ought to be annexed to the yard. The simplest and most economical plan would be preferred, provided the requisites are all included. Mr. Welch will answer your draft for the cost of these articles, as before. He is advised of it. I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.

TO GEORGE M^cCORMICK.

Mount Vernon, 27 November, 1786.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 31st of October, and thank you for the information contained therein. Since which I have obtained a full account of the decisions in my favor against the settlers of my land on Miller's Run, from Mr. Smith.

Although those people have little right to look to me for favor or indulgences, and were told, if they run me to the expense of a law-suit, that they were not to expect any; yet, as they are now in my power, it is not my wish or intention to distress them more than the recovery of my property obliges me. They may, therefore, continue on their respective places, either as tenants, at an equitable rent, which shall be deemed reasonable between man and man, or as purchasers, if the terms can be agreed on between us; but neither they, nor any others, will ever get it for twenty shillings per acre. This is five shillings less per acre than these people would have given whilst the matter was in dispute, could we have agreed on the security and times of payment. It will be a matter of indifference to me whether I sell the land altogether, or in parcels of two, three, four, or five hundred acres, provided in the latter case the price is proportioned to the quality of the land and the improvements thereon; and provided also, that it is laid off in a regular form, and in such a manner as not to injure the rest. Nor should I be very solicitous about the payments, if the principal is well secured, and the interest regularly paid at my own house, without giving me any trouble in the collection of it. For, if this should be the case, I would immediately put the bond or bonds in suit. A part of the purchase

money I should require down, or at a short period; perhaps one fourth. On these terms, also, I would dispose of my land in Fayette county, near Youghiogany.

If I had known, that you had removed from your former place of abode near my land to Catfish, I should not have taken the liberty of referring those, who might wish to become purchasers of it, to you, to show them the land, as it was too inconvenient for you to do it; but would have requested this favor of Colonel Cannon, who lives more convenient. The same cause prevents my requesting you to have an eye to it now. It could only suit a person, who lives near, and can know almost every day what is doing on the places, to take charge of them if the present occupants are determined to remove. But if your Jersey friends, or others, should want to become purchasers, you might oblige them, and me too, by letting them know that my lands are for sale.

If it is really necessary to have the outlines of the tract run, in order to ascertain the boundaries of it, I am very willing to pay the expense; but the course by which this was done ought to have been taken from the patent, as the final act.

Mr. Lear, a young gentleman who lives with me, and who is the bearer of this letter, will probably deliver it. If he should stand in need of your advice or assistance, I pray you to give it to him. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS PETERS.

Mount Vernon, 4 December, 1786.

SIR,

Your letter of the 18th ultimo came duly to hand. From the number of fruitless inquiries I had made after spring barley before I applied to you, and the intervention, between the date of my letter and your answer, being considerable, I despaired of obtaining any of this grain; and therefore seeded the ground, which was at first designated for this crop, with wheat and rye.

I have also since heard, that many gentlemen, who have tried it (especially some on West River, where I know the lands are very fine, and such as I thought well adapted to this grain), do not find it answerable to their expectation. Nevertheless, as I wish to divide my seed-time, and am desirous of sowing clover and other grasses with barley, in preference to other grain, I would gladly take fifty bushels of it, and will depend absolutely upon

you for this quantity, which I pray may be sent to me, as soon as it can be obtained, by the packet. With respect to the latter I am anxious, because, having the seed in my possession, I can prepare accordingly, and not postpone my oat season in expectation of a barley one, and be disappointed at last, as was the case last year.

If I find this essay likely to answer my expectation, I shall be better able to talk with you on a contract. The barley may be accompanied by the machine you speak of, as eligible for cleaning it, and I shall thank you for sending one. Let me know decidedly, if you please, whether I may depend upon the above quantity, in the manner mentioned. I have it now in my power (for it is offered to me) to get what I want from a brewer in Philadelphia, but I may even fail there, if your answer is delayed.

Can good clover seed (not imported seed, for that rarely is so,) be bought at Baltimore? In what quantity, and at what price? There is not, I believe, a bushel of barley, of any kind, in this neighbourhood for sale. A Mr. Wales, who brews in Alexandria, gets all of this he can. I am, Sir, &c.

TO CLEMENT BIDDLE.

Mount Vernon, 5 December, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

For your trouble in negotiating my certificate I thank you. If it is necessary, in order that you may receive the half-yearly interest thereon, I would wish you to keep it; if you can draw this without, it may be returned to me. In the mean time, inform me, if you please, if this certificate can be converted into cash, and upon what terms; that, if I should have occasion to make any purchases in Philadelphia, I may know the amount of this fund. The indents, to the amount of eighty-four dollars, I have received, and note the credit given me for the year and half interest.

The curtain stuff and nails are at hand safe, and will answer very well. The uncertainty of getting good spring barley (for I had made many fruitless inquiries in this State, and the parts of Maryland bordering on it, before I wrote to you,) induced me to put the ground, which I had first allotted for this grain, into wheat and rye; but, if you could secure and send to me, by one of the first vessels bound from your port to Alexandria, fifty bushels, I

will yet find as much ground as will receive this quantity of seed; or, if you have engaged one hundred bushels of this grain from Reuben Haines, as the expression of your letter seems to import, I will readily take it, but would not choose to be under any promise of supplying him with the produce of it; first, because being uncertain of the yield, and inclining to go pretty largely upon it if I find it likely to answer my purpose, I shall want a good deal for seed; and, secondly, because the freight around, it is to be feared, would sink too deep in the scales to render me any profit upon a small quantity.

The clover seed, as I conceived this had been a productive year of it, is high; yet I would beg you to send me three hundred weight. As soon as I know the precise cost of this, and the barley, the money shall be remitted; or, if you have any dealings in Alexandria, and an order on me will answer your purposes equally as well, it shall be immediately paid.

If it is the same thing to Mr. Haines, whether I take fifty or a hundred bushels, I shall, under the circumstances already mentioned, prefer the former quantity. It is so essential to every farmer to have his seeds by him in time, that I would urge in strong terms, that these now acquired be sent to me by the first good water conveyance. The uncertainties and disappointments of last spring will always make me anxious to obtain all my seeds long before the season for sowing them shall have arrived. At any rate, let me know by post what it is I have to expect. Best wishes attend Mrs. Biddle. I am, dear Sir, &c.

P. S. Is the Jerusalem artichoke to be had in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Could as much of the root, or the seed, be got as would stock an acre? I want to bring it in with my other experiments for the benefit of stock.

TO THEODORIC BLAND.

Mount Vernon, 28 December, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I am now about to fulfil my promise with respect to the drill plough and timothy seed. Both accompany this letter to Norfolk, to the care of Mr. Newton. The latter I presume is good, as I had it from a gentleman on whom I can depend. The former, it is scarcely necessary to inform you, will not work to good effect

in land that is very full either of stumps, stones, or large clods; but, where the ground is tolerably free from these and in good tilth, and particularly in light land, I am certain you will find it equal to your most sanguine expectation, for Indian corn, wheat, barley, pease, or any other tolerably round grain, that you may wish to sow, or plant in this manner. I have sown oats very well with it, which is among the most inconvenient and unfit grains for this machine.

To give you a just idea of the use and management of it, I must observe, that the barrel at present has only one set of holes, and those adapted for the planting of Indian corn, only eight inches apart in the row; but, by corking these, the same barrel may receive others, of a size fitted for any other grain. To make the holes, observe this rule; begin small and increase the size, till they admit the number of grains, or thereabouts, you would choose to deposit in a place. They should be burnt, and done by a guage, that all may be of a size, and made widest on the outside, to prevent the seeds choking them. You may, in a degree, emit more or less through the same holes, by increasing or lessening the quantity of seed in the barrel. The less there is in it, the faster it issues. The compressure is increased by the quantity, and the discharge is retarded thereby. The use of the band is to prevent the seeds issuing out of more holes than one at a time. It may be slackened or braced according to the influence the atmosphere has on the leather. The tighter it is, provided the wheel revolves easily, the better. By decreasing or multiplying the holes in the barrel, you may plant at any distance you please. The circumference of the wheels being six feet, or seventy-two inches, divide the latter by the number of inches you intend your plants shall be asunder, and it gives the number of holes required in the barrel.

By the sparse situation of the teeth in the harrow, it is designed that the ground may be raked without the harrow being clogged, if the ground should be cloddy or grassy. The string, when this happens to be the case, will raise and clear it with great ease, and is of service in turning at the ends of rows; at which time the wheels, by means of the handles, are raised off the ground, as well as the harrow, to prevent the waste of seed. A small bag, containing about a peck of the seed you are sowing, is hung to the nails on the right handle, and with a small tin cup the barrel is replenished with convenience, whenever it is necessary, without loss of time, or waiting to come up with the seed-bag at

the end of the row. I had almost forgot to tell you, that, if the hole in the leather band, through which the seed is to pass, when it comes in contact with the hole in the barrel, should incline to gape, or the lips of it turn out, so as to admit the seed between the band and barrel, it must be remedied by riveting a piece of sheet tin, copper, or brass, the width of the band, and about four inches long, with a hole through it, the size of the one in the leather. I found this effectual. I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

Mount Vernon, 1 November, 1787.

SIR,

Your favor of the 1st of February came to hand about the middle of May last. An absence of more than four months from home, will be the best apology I can make for my silence till this time.

The grain, grass seeds, ploughs, &c., arrived at the same time, agreeably to the list; but some of the former were injured, as will always be the case, by being put into the hold of the vessel; however, upon the whole, they were in much better order than those things are generally found to be, when brought across the Atlantic.

I am at a loss, Sir, how to express the sense which I have of your particular attention to my commissions, and the very obliging manner in which you offer me your services in any matters relating to agriculture, that I may have to transact in England. If my warmest thanks will in any measure compensate for these favors, I must beg you to accept of them. I shall always be exceedingly happy to hear from you, and shall very readily and cheerfully give you any information relative to the state of agriculture in this country, that I am able.

I did myself the honor to hand the set of "Annals" to the Agricultural Society in Philadelphia, which you sent to that body through me. The president wrote a letter to you, expressive of the sense they entertained of the favor which you did them; and mentioned therein the effects of some experiments which had been made with plaster of Paris as a manure. I intended to have given you an account of it myself, as I find the subject is touched upon in your "Annals," but this letter has precluded the necessity of it.

The fifth volume of the "Annals," which was committed to the care of Mr. Athawes for me, did not come to hand till some time after I had received the sixth.

The quantity of sainfoin, which you sent me, was fully sufficient to answer my purpose; I have sown part of it, but find that it comes up very thin; which is likewise the case with the winter wheat, and some other seeds which I have sown.

I have a high opinion of beans, as a preparation for wheat, and shall enter as largely upon the cultivation of them next year, as the quantity of seed I can procure will admit.

I am very glad that you did not engage a ploughman for me at the high wages which you mention; for I agree with you, that that single circumstance, exclusive of the others which you enumerate, is sufficiently objectionable. I have tried the ploughs which you sent me, and find that they answer the description which you gave me of them; this is contrary to the opinion of almost every one, who saw them before they were used; for it was thought their great weight would be an insuperable objection to their being drawn by two horses.

I am now preparing materials to build a barn precisely agreeable to your plan, which I think an excellent one. Before I undertake to give the information you request, respecting the arrangements of farms in this neighbourhood, I must observe, that there is, perhaps, scarcely any part of America, where farming has been less attended to than in this State. The cultivation of tobacco has been almost the sole object with men of landed property, and consequently a regular course of crops has never been in view. The general custom has been, first to raise a crop of Indian corn (maize), which, according to the mode of cultivation, is a good preparation for wheat; then a crop of wheat; after which the ground is respited (except from weeds, and every trash that can contribute to its foulness,) for about eighteen months; and so on, alternately, without any dressing, till the land is exhausted; when it is turned out, without being sown with grass-seeds, or any method taken to restore it; and another piece is ruined in the same manner. No more cattle are raised, than can be supported by lowland meadows, swamps, &c., and the tops and blades of Indian corn; as very few persons have attended to sowing grasses, and connecting cattle with their crops. The Indian corn is the chief support of the laborers and horses. Our lands, as I mentioned in my first letter to you, were originally very good; but use and abuse have made them quite otherwise.

The above is the mode of cultivation which has been generally pursued here; but the system of husbandry, which has been found so beneficial in England, and which must be greatly promoted by your valuable "Annals," is now gaining ground. There are several, among whom I may class myself, who are endeavouring to get into your regular and systematic course of cropping, as fast as the nature of the business will admit; so that I hope in the course of a few years we shall make a more respectable figure as farmers, than we have hitherto done.

I will, agreeably to your desire, give you the prices of our products as nearly as I am able; but you will readily conceive from the foregoing account, that they cannot be given with any precision. Wheat, for the last four years, will average about 4*s.* sterling per bushel, of eight gallons. Rye, about 2*s.* 4*d.* Oats, 1*s.* 6*d.* Beans, pease, &c., have not been sold in any quantities. Barley is not made here, from a prevailing opinion that the climate is not adapted to it. I, however, in opposition to prejudice, sowed about fifty bushels last spring, and found that it yielded a proportionate quantity with any other kind of grain which I sowed; I might add, more. Cows may be bought at about £3 sterling per head. Cattle for slaughter vary from 2¼*d.* to 4½*d.* sterling per pound, the former being the current price in summer, the latter in the winter or spring. Sheep at 12*s.* sterling per head; and wool at about 1*s.* sterling per pound. I am not able to give you the price of labor, as the land is cultivated here wholly by slaves, and the price of labor in the towns is fluctuating, and governed altogether by circumstances.

Give me leave to repeat my thanks for your attention to me, and your polite offer to execute any business relating to husbandry, which I may have in England; and to assure you, that I shall not fail to apply to you for whatever I may have occasion for in that line. I am, Sir, with very great esteem, &c.

P. S. I observe in the sixth volume of your "Annals," there is a plate and description of Mr. Winlaw's mill, for separating the grain from the heads of corn. Its utility or inutility has, undoubtedly, been reduced to a certainty before this time; if it possesses all the properties and advantages mentioned in the description, and you can, from your own knowledge, or such information as you *entirely* rely on, recommend it as a useful machine, where laborers are scarce, I should be much obliged to you to procure one for me, to be paid for and forwarded by Mr. Welch, provided

it is so simple in its construction, as to be worked by ignorant persons, without danger of being spoiled, (for such only will manage it here,) and the price of it does not exceed £15, as mentioned in the "Annals," or thereabouts.

TO RICHARD PETERS.

Mount Vernon, 4 March, 1788.

SIR,

When I had the pleasure to be at your house last summer, you showed me a triangular harrow with trowel tines, for the purpose of cultivating your dell crops. The appearance was prepossessing. But I forget whether you spoke of its merits from theoretical or practical knowledge. If the latter, will you permit me request the favor of you to direct your workmen to furnish me with one complete in all its parts, accompanied with tines, or trowels, sufficient for four more. Colonel Biddle will pay the cost upon demand.

That you may be enabled to judge of the proper sizes, I will inform you for what particular uses they are intended.

From the experience of two years, one the wettest, the other the driest, that ever was felt in this neighbourhood, I am persuaded, that as much Indian corn can be raised in rows as in any manner, which has yet been tried, in such middling land, and with such management as is usually allowed for this grain, and that, by drilling potatoes between, the quantity of the latter will, at least, quadruple that of the former. Whether potatoes, in addition to the corn, will bear too hard upon the soil, is a question that has received an affirmative and negative answer, and both, it is said, from the experience of husbandry. I mean, therefore, to learn that which seems most profitable, and I am already making the experiment. These harrows, then, are to work the intervals between the corn and potatoes; which being four feet only, the dimensions of them must be proportioned to the space they are to operate in. But, notwithstanding the levelness of my land, and the straightness and equidistance of my rows, it would seem, nevertheless, dangerous to depend upon a single bout of this implement, because, if perchance the width between the rows should exceed four feet, the ground will not be broken, and, if it falls short, the plants will be cut up. Twice, therefore, in each row, seems necessary for safe and proper tillage. I mention it for your consideration only; my own opinion of the matter, I must con-

less, is (but it yields to experience), that two feet from centre to centre of the hindmost times would be a proper medium. This, with the outer times of the trowel, will stir near or quite two feet and a half of earth; and under certain circumstances may be sufficient, without going twice in the same row, for cultivation of the plants; at all events, two bouts will give part of it a double stirring.

I am, &c.

TO MATHEW CAREY.

Mount Vernon, 25 June, 1788.

Sir,

Although I believe the "American Museum," published by you, has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent judges, yet, I am sorry to find by your favor of the 19th, that, in a pecuniary view, it has not equalled your expectations. A discontinuance of the publication for want of proper support would, in my judgment, be an impeachment on the understanding of this country. For I am of opinion, that the work is not only eminently calculated to disseminate political, agricultural, philosophical, and other valuable information; but that it has been uniformly conducted with taste, attention, and propriety. If to these important objects be superadded the more immediate design of rescuing public documents from oblivion, I will venture to pronounce, as my sentiment, that a more useful literary plan has never been undertaken in America, or one more deserving public encouragement. By continuing to prosecute that plan with similar assiduity and discernment, the merit of your "Museum" must ultimately become as well known in some countries in Europe, as on this continent; and can scarcely fail of procuring an ample compensation for your trouble and expense.

For myself, I entertain a high idea of the utility of periodical publications, insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the "Museum," and magazines, as well as common gazettes, might be spread through every city, town, and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people.

With sincere wishes for the success of your undertaking in particular, and for the prosperity of the typographical art in general, I am, Sir, &c.

TO GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT.

Mount Vernon, 26 August, 1788.

SIR,

Your favor of the 7th of this month has been duly received, and I lose no time before I acknowledge the obligations under which you have placed me, by offering the copy of your History as a present. Aside from the honorable testimony of my friend, General Lincoln, the intrinsic merit of the work, so far as I am able to form a judgment from its perspicuity and impartiality, carries a sufficient recommendation.

The series of events, which followed from the conclusion of the war, forms a link of no ordinary magnitude in the chain of the American annals. That portion of domestic history, which you have selected for your narrative, deserved particularly to be discussed and set in its proper point of light, while materials for the purpose were attainable. Nor was it unbecoming or unimportant to enlighten the Europeans, who seem to have been extremely ignorant with regard to these transactions. While I comprehend fully the difficulty of stating facts on the spot, amidst the living actors and recent animosities, I approve the more cordially that candor, with which you appear to have done it.

I will only add, that I always feel a singular satisfaction in discovering proofs of talents and patriotism in those, who are soon to take the parts of the generation, which is now hastening to leave the stage, and that, with wishes for your prosperity, I remain, Sir, &c.

TO WILLIAM BARTON.

Mount Vernon, 7 September, 1788.

SIR,

At the same time I announce to you the receipt of your obliging letter of the 28th of last month, which covered an ingenious essay on *Heraldry*, I have to acknowledge my obligations for the sentiments your partiality has been indulgent enough to form of me, and my thanks for the terms in which your urbanity has been pleased to express them.

Imperfectly acquainted with the subject, as I profess myself to be, and persuaded of your skill as I am, it is far from my design to intimate an opinion, that heraldry, coat-armour, &c., might not

be rendered conducive to public and private uses with us; or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress and the States; all of which have established some kind of *Armorial Devices* to authenticate their official instruments. But, Sir, you must be sensible, that political sentiments are very various among the people in the several States, and that a formidable opposition to what appears to be the prevailing sense of the Union is but just declining into peaceable acquiescence. While, therefore, the minds of a certain portion of the community (possibly from turbulent or sinister views) are, or affect to be, haunted with the very spectre of innovation; while they are indefatigably striving to make the credulity of the less-informed part of the citizens subservient to their schemes, in believing that the proposed general government is pregnant with the seeds of discrimination, oligarchy, and despotism; while they are clamorously endeavouring to propagate an idea, that those, whom they wish invidiously to designate by the name of the "well-born," are meditating in the first instance to distinguish themselves from their compatriots, and to wrest the dearest privileges from the bulk of the people; and while the apprehensions of some, who have demonstrated themselves the sincere, but too jealous, friends of liberty, are feelingly alive to the effects of the actual revolution, and too much inclined to coincide with the prejudices above described; it might not, perhaps, be advisable to stir any question, that would tend to reanimate the dying embers of faction, or blow the dormant spark of jealousy into an inextinguishable flame. I need not say, that the deplorable consequences would be the same, allowing there should be no real foundation for jealousy, in the judgment of sober reason, as if there were demonstrable, even palpable, causes for it.

I make these observations with the greater freedom, because I have once been a witness to what I conceived to have been a most unreasonable prejudice against an innocent institution, I mean the Society of the Cincinnati. I was conscious, that my own proceedings on that subject were immaculate. I was also convinced, that the members, actuated by motives of sensibility, charity, and patriotism, were doing a laudable thing, in erecting that memorial of their common services, sufferings, and friendships; and I had not the most remote suspicion, that our conduct therein would have been unprofitable, or unpleasing, to our countrymen. Yet have we been virulently traduced, as to our designs; and I have not even escaped being represented as short-sighted in not fore-

seeing the consequences, or wanting in patriotism for not discouraging an establishment calculated to create distinctions in society, and subvert the principles of a republican government. Indeed, the phantom seems now to be pretty well laid; except on certain occasions, when it is conjured up by designing men, to work their own purposes upon terrified imaginations. You will recollect there have not been wanting, in the late political discussions, those, who were hardy enough to assert, that the proposed general government was the wicked and traitorous fabrication of the Cincinnati.

At this moment of general agitation and earnest solicitude, I should not be surprised to hear a violent outcry raised, by those who are hostile to the new constitution, that the proposition contained in your paper had verified their suspicions, and proved the design of establishing unjustifiable discriminations. Did I believe that to be the case, I should not hesitate to give it my hearty disapprobation. But I proceed on other grounds. Although I make not the clamor of credulous, disappointed, or unreasonable men the criterion of truth, yet I think their clamor might have an ungracious influence at the present critical juncture; and, in my judgment, some respect should not only be paid to prevalent opinions, but even some sacrifices might innocently be made to well-meant prejudices, in a popular government. Nor could we hope the evil impression would be sufficiently removed, should your account and illustrations be found adequate to produce conviction on candid and unprejudiced minds. For myself, I can readily acquit you of having any design of facilitating the setting up an "Order of Nobility." I do not doubt the rectitude of your intentions. But, under the existing circumstances, I would willingly decline the honor you have intended me, by your polite *inscription*, if there should be any danger of giving serious pretext, however ill founded in reality, for producing or confirming jealousy and dissension in a single instance, where harmony and accommodation are most essentially requisite to our public prosperity, perhaps to our national existence.

My remarks, you will please to observe, go only to the expediency, not to the merits of the proposition. What may be necessary and proper hereafter, I hold myself incompetent to decide, as I am but a private citizen. You may, however, rest satisfied, that your composition is calculated to give favorable impressions of the science, candor, and ingenuity, with which you have handled the subject; and that, in all personal considerations, I remain with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

TO JOHN FAIRFAX.

Mount Vernon, 31 March, 1789.

SIR,

As I am now in the act of bidding an adieu to my home, for a longer time perhaps than I wish, I will inform you that it is my intention, if your exertions shall appear to deserve it, to make the wages of the year you are now engaged for, fifty pounds instead of forty, although I consider myself under no obligation to do so; my own motives for it being to encourage you to use every endeavour in your power to promote my interest under the orders and directions of my nephew, who will be intrusted with the general management of all my concerns during my absence.

I have a very good opinion of your honesty, sobriety, and industry, and now is the time to give me proofs of your capacity and skill. The former, though of essential importance, are not sufficient without the latter. For, as I have often remarked to you, contrivance in business, and a judicious arrangement of it, should be the leading trait in the character of a manager. Indeed, they are of such infinite consequence, that no estate can be well conducted without them. Unless the different kinds of business, which occupy the laborers of every plantation or farm, can be brought into one view and seen at a distance, they will for ever be interfering with and treading on the heels of each other. By foresight, arrangement, and the execution of a due proportion of work, this jumble is to be avoided.

It is with pain I receive the Saturday-night reports, for no week passes away without a diminution of my stock. Nor is it less painful to me to see the condition of my work-horses; some dying, and others scarcely able to walk, unincumbered with a plough. And I might add, as a matter of no less concern, that it is vain and idle for me to attempt to stall-feed any kind of meats, when I have only my expense for my pains, without a morsel of meat fit to appear at my table or for market. But I will rest in hopes, that these things will undergo a change for the better.

I am not inclined to your keeping a horse. There is no occasion for it. My own are adequate to all the services, that my business will require, and more would add expense without profit; as I need not tell you that there must be no more running about, whilst I am absent, than if I were on the spot. Indeed, I have too good an opinion of you to suppose it necessary to remind you of this.

As I have already given you plans of those plantations, which are committed to your care, and have detailed the business of each in the best manner my time and judgment would enable me to do, I shall add nothing more on this head, than briefly to observe to you, that it is from my nephew, with whom I shall correspond, that you will receive further directions, with respect to such matters as have not been detailed, or concerning any alterations in those which have.

If you have any matrimonial scheme in view, I do not wish to be any let or bar to the accomplishment of it, or to your bringing a wife into the family, who may fare as you do in it.

I am, Sir, &c.

TO GEORGE CLANDENEN.

New York, 25 June, 1790.

SIR,

I have upon the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, between the two Kenhawas, several large and valuable tracts of land, which I have been long endeavouring to settle, but without effect. Some three or four years ago I wrote to Colonel Thomas Lewis, who lives in that neighbourhood, requesting his assistance or agency in this business, transmitting to him at the same time instructions expressive of my wishes as to the mode or terms of settlement, together with such other papers respecting the lands as were necessary for his information.

After a considerable lapse of time, Colonel Lewis returned the instructions and papers, declining any agency in the business, lest he should not be able to transact it to my satisfaction, as he had lands of his own to settle in that neighbourhood, which might cause a clashing or interfering of interests, that would be disagreeable or inconvenient to him. I, however, returned the same papers to him, requesting that he would accept the trust, and at the same time put the matter upon such a footing, as I conceived would do away the objections which he had stated.

It is now almost two years since the papers were last deposited in Colonel Lewis's hands, and I have not heard a syllable from him upon the subject, which leads me to believe that he still wishes to decline the trust.

It is therefore necessary for me to place this business in other hands; and your residence in that vicinity, with the knowledge

which you must have of the country, and the very favorable representations I have received of your character, have induced me to request, Sir, that you would assist me in the settlement of these lands, which, if you incline to do, I have requested Colonel Lewis (in the enclosed letter, left open for your perusal, and which, if you accept the trust, you will please to seal and forward to him,) to deliver into your hands, or to your order, the instructions and other papers respecting my lands, which he received from me. These will show you my general ideas on this subject, and give you better information respecting it, than I am able to do here, as all my land papers are at Mount Vernon.

I must however add, that, although I may, in my instructions to Colonel Lewis, have mentioned some particular terms, upon which I wished to have the lands rented, yet in my letters to him, if my recollection serves me, I desired him to be governed by the custom of the country in this business rather than by my instructions, and to get them settled on the best terms he could, provided the leases were not given for too long a period, and the taxes were paid by the tenant. This I would repeat to you; for my great object at present is, to have the lands settled, and be exonerated from the taxes. I do not expect they will yield me an immediate profit. I would not, however, wish to have the lands incumbered with long leases; for it is my opinion that property in that country will fast increase in value, and in that case long leases, upon the terms on which they will probably be given to first settlers, will be much against the landlord; and they are always considered as an obstacle to the sale of lands.

I will thank you, Sir, for an answer to this letter, as soon as it gets to your hands, that I may know upon what ground I stand, as to my property in that country. I am, Sir, &c.

TO ROBERT SINCLAIR, SCOTLAND.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1792.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 12th of December, in which you request information respecting Captain James Mackay, and likewise respecting the part of this country, which would be the most eligible for forming an establishment as a farmer or planter.

The only information in my power to give you on the first head is, that my acquaintance with Captain Mackay commenced in the army, in the year 1754, when I commanded the troops, which were sent to prevent the encroachments of the French upon the western boundaries of the then colonies. Captain Mackay then commanded an Independent Company, either from Georgia or South Carolina, and was captured with me by an army of French and Indians, at a place called the Great Meadows. In 1755, he left the service, sold out, and went to Georgia.

I heard nothing of him from that time till about five or six years ago, when he went by water from Georgia to Rhode Island on account of his health. On his return to Georgia by land, he was seized either by the complaint for which he had gone to Rhode Island, or by some other disorder, and died at Alexandria; not at my house, as your letter mentions. I was not informed of his being at Alexandria until after his death, which was a circumstance that I regretted much, not only on account of the regard which I had for him, from our former acquaintance, but because I understood that he was then on his way to pay me a visit, and had expressed an anxious desire to see me before he died. I do not know whether Captain Mackay left any family or not; for, from the time of his quitting the service until his death, as I observed before, I knew nothing of him. I have, however, been informed, that he was possessed of a handsome property in Georgia.

On the second head of your inquiry, I can hardly venture to give you an opinion. I do not, however, imagine, that an establishment on the banks of the Mississippi would, at this time, be a very desirable one; and even the western parts of the United States, lying on the waters running into the Mississippi, which is perhaps as fertile a country as any in the world, are now disturbed by the hostilities of some of the Indian tribes bordering upon them, and from that cause are at this moment unfriendly to new settlements. This evil will, however, I trust, be shortly removed, and settlers may sit down there in safety.

I can observe, generally, that the United States, from their extent, offer a variety of climate, soil, and situations, that no country in Europe can afford; and that, in cheapness of land, and in the blessings of civil and religious liberty, they stand perhaps unrivalled by any civilized nation on earth. To a person, who intends to pursue the farming or planting business, and is possessed of the capital which you mention, I should think some of the middle States, from New York to Virginia, both inclusive, would hold out the best advantages. They are free from the inconveniences peculiar to either extreme, and unite most of the advantages of both; they afford to the farmer a ready market for his produce; the country is intersected by large and numerous rivers, and the spirit which now prevails for improving inland navigation promises to secure a cheap and easy transportation from the most interior parts of the country to the shipping-ports.

Your idea of bringing over Highlanders appears to be a good one. They are a hardy, industrious people, well calculated to form new settlements, and will, in time, become valuable citizens.

Before I close this subject, I would observe, that many persons in Europe, who have purchased land in this country for the purpose of settling upon it themselves, have, on their arrival, after examining their purchase, been disappointed in their expectations respecting it. Exaggerations, if not misrepresentations, are apt to be made of objects at so great a distance; and those, who have lands for sale, will naturally give them a gloss, which, perhaps, a purchaser would hardly find.

It would, therefore, be much more satisfactory to the purchaser, and far more creditable to the country, if those persons, who wish to purchase land here, and become settlers upon it themselves, would come into the country and purchase upon the spot. They would then suit their taste in point of situation, have a variety to choose from, and see, and learn with truth, all the circumstances necessary for them to know, to become settlers.

When this method is pursued, I am persuaded that every one, who comes over with a view to establish himself here, may do it much to his satisfaction; and, if he has with him the means of purchasing, it can certainly be done on much better terms, than it could be through an agent. I am, Sir, &c.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT.*

Philadelphia, 18 December, 1792.

GENTLEMEN,

Your letter to the Secretary of State, dated, if I recollect rightly, the 5th instant, intimating, among other things, that you had failed in an attempt which had been made to import workmen from Scotland, equally with that for obtaining them from Holland, fills me with real concern; for I am very apprehensive, if your next campaign in the Federal City is not marked with vigor, it will cast such a cloud over this business, and will so arm the enemies of the measure, as to enable them to give it, if not its death blow, a wound from which it will not easily recover. No means, therefore, in my opinion should be left unessayed to facilitate the operations of next year. Every thing, in a manner, depends upon the celerity with which the public buildings are then carried on; sale of lots, private buildings, good or evil reports, all, all will be regulated thereby. Nothing, therefore, short of the absolute want of money ought to retard the work.

The more I consider the subject, the more I am convinced of the expediency of importing a number of workmen from Europe to be employed in the Federal City. The measure has not only economy to recommend it, but is important, by placing the quantity of labor, which may be performed by such persons, upon a certainty, for the term for which they shall be engaged.

Upon more minute inquiry I am informed, that neither the merchants here nor in Holland will undertake to procure redemptioners from Germany; and that the most eligible and certain mode of obtaining from thence such mechanics and laborers, as it may be thought advisable to procure from that quarter, will be to engage some person, a German, to go from hence into Germany, where he is acquainted, to procure the requisite number of men, and bring them to the shipping-port, which is generally Amsterdam or Rotterdam; and that any merchant here, who is engaged in shipping and trading to Holland, will engage to have a vessel ready to take them on board, at a time which shall be fixed, bring them to any port of the United States that may be

* It may be here remarked, that in Washington's letter-books is a very large correspondence on the subject of the District of Columbia. But these letters treat so exclusively on local topics, and run so much into details, that they are not suited to the plan of the present work. Two or three only are selected as specimens of the whole, and on account of their general interest.

specified, and receive the amount of their passage on delivery of them.

The person, who may be employed to go over to Germany, will expect, it is said, an advance of one guinea per head for the number wanted, to enable him to pay the expenses of such as may not be able to bear their own, from the place where he procures them to the shipping-port; and this advance is accounted for and taken into consideration at the time of paying for their passage when they arrive here. The customary passage, it seems, is eleven guineas per head; and the compensation of the person employed to procure them is either one guinea a head, for as many as he may deliver, part of which is paid by those who employ him to go over, and part by the merchant who furnishes the vessel to bring them, as he receives a benefit by the freight; or the person employed keeps an account of his necessary expenses while on this business, which is paid by his employers, and a consideration for his services is made him, according to a previous agreement.

The term of time, for which these people are bound to serve, depends much, it is added, upon their age or ability as laborers, or their skill as mechanics. The former generally serve three or four years; and the latter, if good workmen at their trade, two. But, in this case, that it would be better for the person, employed to get them, to have them indented at the time of engaging them, specifying the number of years they are to serve, to commence at the time of their landing in the United States; and that he ought to be furnished with the necessary forms of indentures, and particular instructions on this head, before he goes over; and, if mechanics of a particular description are most essential, it would be well, in order to secure their services beyond the term for which they might be engaged for their passages, to stipulate, at the time of engaging them, that they should serve one, two, or three years, over and above that time, at per annum. And, as it may happen, that some good mechanics may be willing to come over, who are able to pay their own passage, might it not be well to empower the person sent to engage them at per year for four years? In all cases to provide, that if those who engage as mechanics should be found incompetent to the business for which they engage, from a want of skill or knowledge in it, and shall appear to have used imposition in engaging themselves as such, they shall be obliged to serve the time of common laborers.

Should you be of opinion, that it would be expedient to import a number of workmen, and the mode here pointed out meets your ideas, no time should be lost in carrying it into effect; and, if you have not contemplated a proper character for this business, and will inform me thereof, I will endeavour to obtain one in this city to go over to Germany, and a merchant also to furnish the vessel, at the time and place which shall be agreed on between them.

It is not, however, my wish that the idea of importing workmen should be confined solely to Germany. I think it ought to be extended to other places, particularly Scotland, from whence many good and useful mechanics may undoubtedly be had. I have been more particular in respect to Germany, because they may probably be obtained from thence on better terms than from other quarters, and they are known to be a steady, laborious people. It will be necessary, if you should determine upon an importation from Germany, to state the number of mechanics you would wish in each trade to be brought from thence, as well as the number of laborers.

Mr. G. W., who is in this city, informs me, that he shall sail for Scotland about the first of January, and says, if he could render any service in this business, he would willingly do it. To get workmen is part of the business, which carries him over; but how far, after the part he has acted with respect to yourselves, you may choose to confide in him, is fitter for you than it is for me to decide; especially as I know no more of his private character and circumstances, than I do of the terms on which he would undertake to render the service.

A thought has also occurred to me, and, although crude and almost in embryo, I will nevertheless mention it. It is, if the character of Mr. Hallet, from the knowledge you have acquired of it, is such as to have impressed you with confidence in his abilities and activity, whether, in the unsettled state of things in France, he might not be employed this winter in engaging from that country, and bringing over in the spring, such workmen, and on such terms, as might be agreed upon.

Boston too has been mentioned, as a place from whence many and good workmen might be had; but the reasons, which have been assigned for the failure here, are not within my recollection, if I ever heard them.

Upon the whole, it will readily be perceived, in what a serious light I consider delay in the progress of the public buildings, and

how anxious I am to have them pushed forward. In a word, the next is the year that will give the tone to the city; if marked with energy, individuals will be inspirited, the sales will be enhanced, confidence diffused, and emulation created. Without it, I should not be surprised to find the lots unsalable, and every thing at a stand. With great and sincere regard and esteem, I am, Gentlemen, &c.

TO WILLIAM TILGHMAN.

Philadelphia, 21 July, 1793.

Dear Sir,

The death of my late manager, Mr. Anthony Whiting, making it necessary for me to look out for some person to supply his place, I take the advantage of your polite tender of your services, which you have heretofore been so obliging as to make to me, to beg your assistance in obtaining and conveying to me information of such characters in your part of the country, as are qualified to fill that station, and who can be obtained for that purpose.

Although my affairs at Mount Vernon suffer much, at present, for want of a manager, yet I have thought it better to bear this temporary evil, than to engage one immediately, who might not have all the necessary qualifications for that place. I have directed my inquiries for a manager to different parts of the country; but I think there is greater probability, that a person may be found in the best farming counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland to answer my purposes, than in almost any other quarter; for there seem to be more large estates cultivated altogether in the farming system there, than in other parts of the country.

It is hardly possible, and indeed it is not necessary here, to point out minutely all the qualifications required in, or duties expected from, a man of the character wanted. The leading points in such a person must be a complete knowledge of the farming business in its various branches; an ability to plan and direct generally the business of four or five large farms, adjoining each other, but under separate overseers; and a sufficient acquaintance with business and accounts to enable him to buy and sell, with discretion and judgment, such things as may be wanted for the use of the estate, and to be disposed of from it, and to keep an account of the same. An experience of many years can alone give the first qualification mentioned; and a residence of some

years in a part of the country where the labor is done by negroes, and having had the management of pretty extensive business in that line, can only give the second. As to the third, it is not necessary that a man should be a complete clerk, or particularly conversant in mercantile transactions. Perfect honesty, sobriety, and industry are indispensable. In fine, if I could find a man, as well qualified for my purposes as the late Mr. Whiting (whom I presume you knew, as he managed an estate of General Cadwalader's in your neighbourhood for some years), I should esteem myself very fortunate. A single man would suit me much better than one with a family. Indeed, such a one is almost indispensable, as he would live at the mansion-house; and I should like the age between thirty-five and forty-five, as that period seems most likely to unite experience with activity.

I have now, Sir, given you a pretty full detail of my wants and wishes on this subject, and shall feel obliged by any information you may give me relative to it, as well as for the mention of the terms upon which persons of the character before described are employed upon large estates on the Eastern Shore, and for what they may be induced to go to Virginia. The estate, for which I want a manager, lies about nine miles below Alexandria, on the river Potomac, and twelve from the Federal City. I am, &c.

TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

Philadelphia, 12 December, 1793.

SIR,

I wrote to you three months ago, or more, by my late secretary and friend, Mr. Lear; but, as his departure from this country for Great Britain was delayed longer than he or I expected, it is at least probable, that that letter will not have reached your hands at a much earlier period than the one I am now writing.

At the time it was written, the thoughts which I am now about to disclose to you were not even in embryo; and whether, in the opinion of others, there be impropriety or not in communicating the object which has given birth to them, is not for me to decide. My own mind reproaches me with none; but, if yours should view the subject differently, burn this letter, and the draught which accompanies it, and the whole matter will be consigned to oblivion.

All my landed property, east of the Appalachian Mountains, is

under rent, except the estate called Mount Vernon. This, hitherto, I have kept in my own hands; but, from my present situation, from my advanced time of life, from a wish to live free from care, and as much at my ease as possible, during the remainder of it, and from other causes, which are not necessary to detail, I have latterly entertained serious thoughts of letting this estate also, reserving the Mansion-House Farm for my own residence, occupation, and amusement in agriculture; provided I can obtain what is, in my own judgment, and in the opinion of others whom I have consulted, the low rent which I shall mention hereafter; and provided also I can settle it with good farmers.

The quantity of ploughable land (including meadow), the relative situation of the farms to one another, and the division of these farms into separate enclosures, with the quantity and situation of the woodland appertaining to the tract, will be better delineated by the sketch herewith sent (which is made from actual surveys, subject nevertheless to revision and correction), than by a volume of words.

No estate in United America is more pleasantly situated than this. It lies in a high, dry, and healthy country, three hundred miles by water from the sea, and, as you will see by the plan, on one of the finest rivers in the world. Its margin is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water; from the bed of which, and the innumerable coves, inlets, and small marshes, with which it abounds, an inexhaustible fund of rich mud may be drawn, as a manure, either to be used separately, or in a compost, according to the judgment of the farmer. It is situated in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold, and is the same distance by land and water, with good roads and the best navigation, to and from the Federal City, Alexandria, and Georgetown; distant from the first, twelve, from the second, nine, and from the last, sixteen miles. The Federal City, in the year 1800, will become the seat of the general government of the United States. It is increasing fast in buildings, and rising into consequence; and will, I have no doubt, from the advantages given to it by nature, and its proximity to a rich interior country, and the Western territory, become the emporium of the United States.

The soil of the tract, of which I am speaking, is a good loam, more inclined however to clay than sand. From use, and I might add, abuse, it is become more and more consolidated, and of course heavier to work. The greater part is a greyish clay; some part is a dark mould; a very little is inclined to sand; and

scarcely any to stone. A husbandman's wish would not lay the farms more level than they are; and yet some of the fields, but in no great degree, are washed into gullies, from which all of them have not as yet been recovered.

This river, which encompasses the land the distance above-mentioned, is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year; and, in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herrings, bass, carp, perch, sturgeon, &c. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate; the whole shore, in short, is one entire fishery.

There are, as you will perceive by the plan, four farms besides that at the mansion-house; these four contain three thousand two hundred and sixty acres of cultivable land, to which some hundreds more adjoining, as may be seen, might be added, if a greater quantity should be required; but as they were never designed for, so neither can it be said they are calculated to suit, tenants of either the first, or of the lower class; because those, who have the strength and resources proportioned to farms of from five hundred to twelve hundred acres (which these contain), would hardly be contented to live in such houses as are thereon; and, if they were to be divided and subdivided, so as to accommodate tenants of small means, say from fifty to one or two hundred acres, there would be none, except on the lots which might happen to include the present dwelling-houses of my overlookers (called bailiffs with you), barns, and negro-cabins; nor would I choose to have the woodland (already too much pillaged of its timber) ransacked, for the purpose of building many more. The soil, however, is excellent for bricks, or for mud-walls; and to the building of such houses there would be no limitation, nor to that of thatch for the cover of them.

The towns already mentioned, to those who might incline to encounter the expense, are able to furnish scantling, plank, and shingles, to any amount, and on reasonable terms; and they afford a ready market also for the produce of the land.

On what is called Union Farm (containing nine hundred and twenty-eight acres of arable and meadow), there is a newly-erected brick barn, equal perhaps to any in America, and for conveniences of all sorts, particularly for sheltering and feeding horses, cattle, &c., scarcely to be exceeded anywhere. A new house is now building in a central position, not far from the barn, for the overlooker; which will have two rooms, sixteen by eighteen feet, below, and one or two above, nearly of the same size. Convenient

thereto is sufficient accommodation for fifty-odd negroes, old and young: but these buildings might not be thought good enough for the workmen or day-laborers of your country.

Besides these, a little without the limits of the farm, as marked in the plan, are one or two other houses, very pleasantly situated, and which, in case this farm should be divided into two, as it formerly was, would answer well for the eastern division. The buildings thus enumerated are all that stand on the premises.

Dogue-Run Farm (six hundred and fifty acres) has a small, but new building for the overlooker; one room only below, and the same above, sixteen by twenty each; decent and comfortable for its size. It has also covering for forty-odd negroes, similar to what is mentioned on Union Farm. It has a new circular barn, now finishing, on a new construction; well calculated, it is conceived, for getting grain out of the straw more expeditiously than in the usual mode of threshing. There are good sheds also erecting, sufficient to cover thirty work-horses and oxen.

Muddy-Hole Farm (four hundred and seventy-six acres) has a house for the overlooker in size and appearance nearly like that at Dogue Run, but older; the same kind of covering for about thirty negroes, and a tolerably good barn, with stables for the work-horses.

River Farm, which is the largest of the four, and separated from the others by Little Hunting Creek, contains twelve hundred and seven acres of ploughable land, has an overlooker's house, of one large and two small rooms below, and one or two above; sufficient covering for fifty or sixty negroes, like those beforementioned; a large barn and stables, gone much to decay, but these will be replaced next year with new ones.

I have deemed it necessary to give this detail of the buildings, that a precise idea might be had of the conveniences and inconveniences of them; and I believe the recital is just in all its parts. The enclosures are precisely and accurately delineated in the plan; and the fences now are, or soon will be, in respectable order.

I would let these four farms to four substantial farmers, of wealth and strength sufficient to cultivate them, and who would insure to me the regular payment of the rents; and I would give them leases for seven or ten years, at the rate of a Spanish milled dollar, or other money current at the time in this country equivalent thereto, for every acre of ploughable and mowable ground, within the enclosures of the respective farms, as marked in the

plan; and would allow the tenants, during that period, to take fuel; and use timber from the woodland to repair the buildings, and to keep the fences in order until live fences could be substituted in place of dead ones; but in this case, no sub-tenants would be allowed.

Or, if these farms are adjudged too large, and the rents, of course, too heavy for such farmers as might incline to emigrate, I should have no insuperable objection against dividing each into as many small ones, as a society of them, formed for the purpose, could agree upon among themselves; even if it should be by the fields as they are now arranged (which the plan would enable them to do), provided such buildings, as they would be content with, should be erected at their own expense, in the manner already mentioned. In which case, as in the former, fuel, and timber for repairs, would be allowed; but, as an inducement to parcel out my grounds into such small tenements, and to compensate me at the same time for the greater consumption of fuel and timber, and for the trouble and expense of collecting small rents, I should expect a quarter of a dollar per acre, in addition to what I have already mentioned. But in order to make these small farms more valuable to the occupants, and by way of reimbursing them for the expense of their establishment thereon, I would grant them leases for fifteen or eighteen years; although I have weighty objections to the measure, founded on my own experience of the disadvantage it is to the lessor, in a country where lands are rising every year in value. As an instance in proof, about twenty years ago I gave leases for three lives, in land I held above the Blue Mountains, near the Shenandoah River, seventy miles from Alexandria, or any shipping-port, at a rent of one shilling per acre, no part being then cleared; and now land of similar quality in the vicinity, with very trifling improvements thereon, is renting currently at five and more shillings per acre, and even as high as eight.

My motives for letting this estate having been avowed, I will add, that the whole, except the Mansion-House Farm, or none, will be parted with, and that upon unequivocal terms; because my object is to fix my income, be it what it may, upon a solid basis in the hands of good farmers; because I am not inclined to make a medley of it; and, above all, because I could not relinquish my present course without a moral certainty of the substitute which is contemplated; for to break up these farms, remove

my negroes, and dispose of the property on them upon terms short of this, would be ruinous.

Having said thus much, I am disposed to add further, that it would be in my power, and certainly it would be my inclination, upon the principle above, to accommodate the wealthy, or the weak-handed farmer, and upon reasonable terms, with draught-horses, and working mules and oxen; with cattle, sheep, and hogs; and with such implements of husbandry, if they should not incline to bring them themselves, as are in use on the farms. On the four farms there are fifty-four draft-horses, twelve working mules, and a sufficiency of oxen, broke to the yoke; the precise number I am unable this moment to ascertain, as they are comprehended in the aggregate of the black cattle. Of the latter, there are three hundred and seventeen; of sheep, six hundred and thirty-four; of hogs, many; but, as these run pretty much at large in the woodland, which is all under fence, the number is uncertain. Many of the negroes, male and female, might be hired by the year, as laborers, if this should be preferred to the importation of that class of people; but it deserves consideration, how far the mixing of whites and blacks together is advisable; especially where the former are entirely unacquainted with the latter.

If there be those who are disposed to take these farms in their undivided state, on the terms which have been mentioned, it is an object of sufficient magnitude for them, or one of them, in behalf of the rest, to come over and investigate the premises thoroughly, that there may be nothing to reproach themselves, or me with, if (though unintentionally) there should be defects in any part of the information herein given; or, if a society of farmers are disposed to adventure, it is still more incumbent on them to send over an agent, for the purposes abovementioned; for with me the measure must be so fixed as to preclude any cavil or discussion thereafter. And it may not be *malapropos* to observe in this place, that our overlookers are generally engaged, and all the arrangements for the ensuing crops are made, before the first of September in every year. It will readily be perceived, then, that if this period is suffered to pass away, it is not to be regained until the next year. Possession might be given to the new comers at the season just mentioned, to enable them to put in their grain for the next crop; but the final relinquishment could not take place until the crops are gathered, which of Indian corn (maize) seldom happens till towards Christmas, as it must endure hard frosts before it can be safely housed.

I have endeavoured, as far as my recollection of facts would enable me, or the documents in my possession allow, to give such information of the actual state of the farms, as to enable persons at a distance to form as distinct ideas as the nature of the thing is susceptible of, short of one's own view; and, having communicated the motives which have inclined me to a change in my system, I will announce to you the origin of them.

First, few ships, of late, have arrived from any part of Great Britain or Ireland without a number of emigrants, and some of them, by report, very respectable and full-handed farmers. A number of others, they say, are desirous of following, but are unable to obtain passages; but their coming in that manner, even if I was apprized of their arrival in time, would not answer my views, for the reason already assigned; and which, as it is the ultimatum at present, I will take the liberty of repeating, namely, that I must carry my plan into complete execution, or not attempt it; and under such auspices, too, as to leave no doubt of the exact fulfilment; and,

Secondly, because, from the number of letters which I have received myself, and, as it would seem, from respectable people, inquiring into matters of this sort, with intimations of their wishes, and even intentions of migrating to this country, I can have no doubt of succeeding. But I have made no reply to these inquiries, or, if any, in very general terms; because I did not want to engage in correspondences of this sort with persons of whom I had no knowledge, nor indeed leisure for them, if I had been so disposed.

I shall now conclude as I began, with a desire, that if you see any impropriety in making these sentiments known to that class of people, who might wish to avail themselves of the occasion, that it may not be mentioned. By a law, or by some regulation of your government, artisans, I am well aware, are laid under restraints; and for this reason, I have studiously avoided any overtures to mechanics, although my occasions called for them. But never having heard that difficulties were thrown in the way of husbandmen by the government, is one reason for my bringing this matter to your view. A second is, that, having yourself expressed sentiments, which showed that you had cast an eye towards this country, and were not inattentive to the welfare of it, I was led to make my intentions known to you, that if you, or your friends, were disposed to avail yourselves of the knowledge, you might take prompt measures for the execution. And, thirdly, I was sure, if you had lost sight of the object yourself, I could, nevertheless,

rely upon such information, as you might see fit to give me, and upon such characters, too, as you might be disposed to recommend.

Lengthy as this epistle is, I will crave your patience while I add, that it is written in too much haste, and under too great a pressure of public business, at the commencement of an important session of Congress, to be correct or properly digested. But the season of the year, and the apprehension of ice, are hurrying away the last vessel bound from this port to London. I am driven, therefore, to the alternative of making the matter known in this hasty manner, and giving a rude sketch of the farms, which is the subject of it, or to encounter delay; the first I have preferred. It can hardly be necessary to add, that I have no desire that any formal promulgation of these sentiments should be made.

To accomplish my wishes, in the manner herein expressed, would be agreeable to me; and in a way that cannot be exceptionable, would be more so. With much esteem and regard, I am, Sir, &c.

FARMS, AND THEIR CONTENTS.

UNION FARM.

Field, No. I.	120 acres.	
II.	129	
III.	121	
IV.	120	
V.	110	
VI.	116	
VII.	125	
Meadow,	42	
	25	
	67	
Clover lots,	20	
		928

DOGUE-RUN FARM.

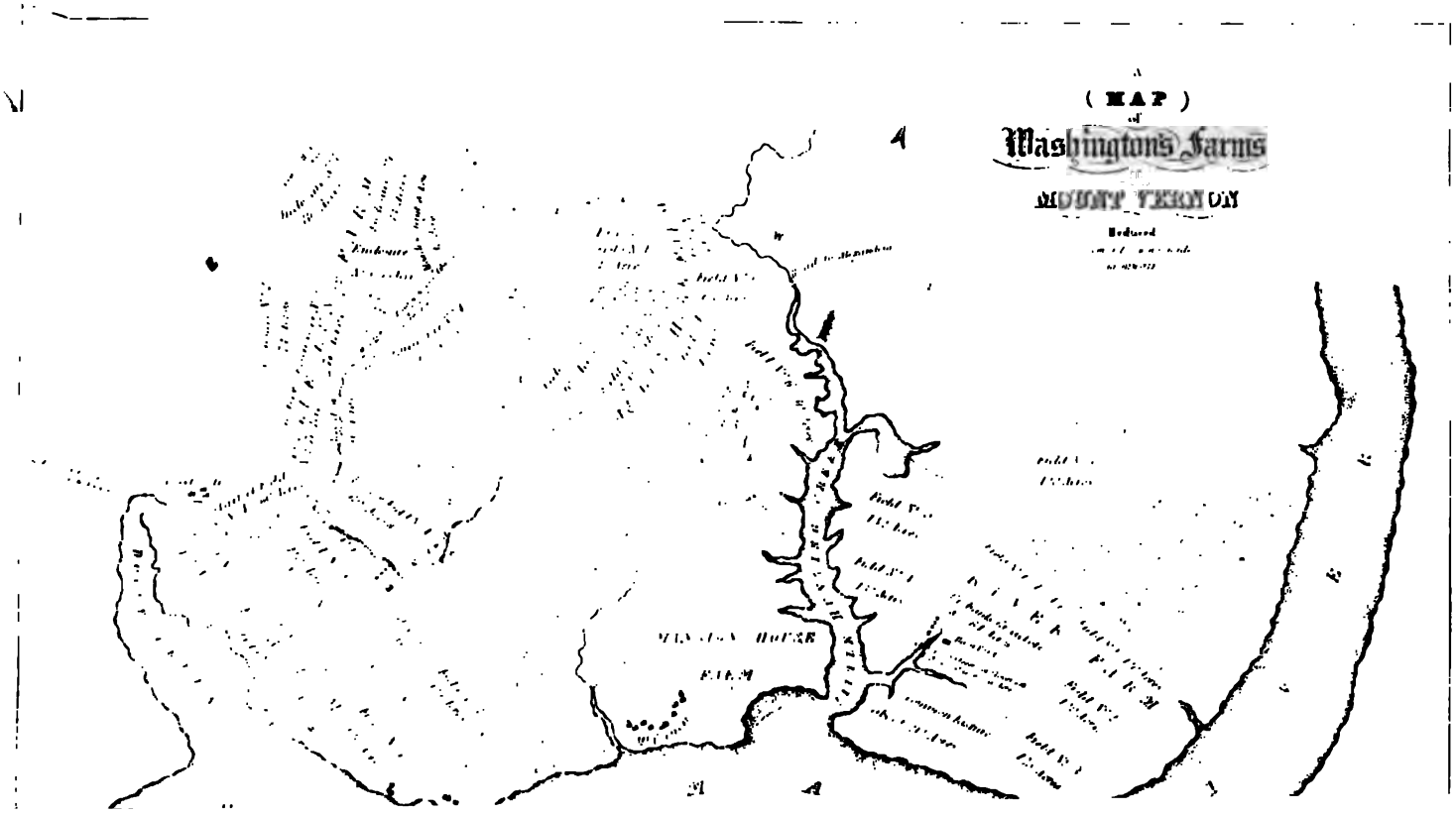
Field, No. I.	70 acres.	
II.	74	
III.	74	
IV.	71	
V.	75	
VI.	73	
VII.	80	
Meadow,	38	
	18	
	12	
	10	
	36	
	114	
Clover lots,	18	
		649

MUDDY-HOLE FARM.

Field, No. I.	63 acres.	
II.	68	
III.	52	
IV.	54	
V.	65	
VI.	80	
VII.	74	
Clover lots,	20	
		476

RIVER FARM.

Field, No. I.	120 acres.	
II.	120	
III.	125	
IV.	132	
V.	132	
VI.	130	
VII.	120	
Pasture,	212	
Orchards, &c.	84	
Clover lots,	32	
		1207
Union Farm,		928
Dogue-Run Farm,		649
Muddy-Hole Farm,		476
Total of the four farms,		3260


(MAP)
of
Washington's Farms
MOUNT VERNON

TO PRESLEY NEVILLE.

Philadelphia, 16 June, 1794.

SIR,

I should have written to you at an earlier period, but for the extreme hurry into which I was thrown at the close of the session of Congress, which did not terminate before Monday last, and from my not having adverted, in time, to the Pittsburg post-day of last week. This letter, as I shall set out for Virginia to-morrow, is left to go by next Saturday's mail.

Enclosed is a blank power, authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan, or any other with whose name you shall fill it, to collect the rents arising from my land in Fayette and Washington counties, in this State, together with such arrearages as may be due for the preceding years, if any there be. Another blank is also left, which I pray you to fill up with the per centage to be allowed, as a compensation for the trouble and expense of collection. The inducements to this are, first, because I do not recollect what Colonel Cannon has been allowed for his services; and, secondly, because there is no invariable allowance established, places and circumstances varying it.

A letter for Colonel Cannon is also enclosed, requesting him to give the necessary information to his successor, and to desire that he would discontinue all further agency in my business. This letter is left open for your insertion of the name of his successor. The emolument arising from this collection is too trifling to become an object worthy of your acceptance, or I should never have inquired for another before I had offered it to you.

From the experience of many years, I have found distant property in land more pregnant of perplexities than profit; I have, therefore, resolved to sell all I hold on the Western waters, if I can obtain the prices which I conceive their quality, their situation, and other advantages would authorize me to expect. Conversing with Mr. Ross, one of your senators, on this subject a day or two before he left the city, he gave it to me as his opinion, that the present juncture was favorable for the sale of my land in this State; and was so obliging as to offer his services to effect it. He thought the quality of my land in Fayette county, together with the improvements and show of iron ore within less than thirty yards of the mill door, ought on credit to command six dollars. The other I have always held at four dollars. The former tract

contains 1,644 acres; the latter, 2,813 acres, by the patent, but it measures more than 3,000 acres by a subsequent survey.

If, Sir, as you live at Pittsburg, the probable place of inquiring after land in that country, you should find it convenient, and not militating against any plans of your own to make mention of mine, and to aid Mr. Ross in the sale of these tracts, it would oblige me.

If a fourth of the purchase money is paid at the time of conveyance, a credit of four, five, or six years might be allowed for the remainder, provided it is fully secured, and the interest thereon regularly paid at one of the banks in this State, Baltimore, Georgetown, or Alexandria. To receive this without trouble, and with punctuality as it becomes due, will be insisted upon.

My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa Rivers, amounting to 32,373 acres, was once sold for sixty-five thousand French crowns to a French gentleman, who was very competent to the payment at the time the contract was made; but, getting a little embarrassed in his finances by the revolution in his country, by mutual agreement the bargain was cancelled. Lately I have been in treaty for the same land at three dollars and a third per acre for the whole quantity; but, being connected with other matters, it is not likely to result in a bargain, as I once expected, and therefore I am at liberty to seek another market.

To give a further description of these lands than to say they are the cream of the country in which they are, that they were the first choice of it, and that the whole is on the margin of the rivers and bounded thereby for fifty-eight miles, would be unnecessary to you, who must have a pretty accurate idea of them and their value. But it may not be amiss to add, for the information of others, that the quantity before mentioned is contained in seven surveys, to wit, three on the Ohio, east side, between the mouths of the Little and Great Kenhawas. The first is the first large bottom below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, containing 2,314 acres, and is bounded by the river five miles and a quarter. The second is the fourth large bottom, on the same side of the river, about sixteen miles lower down, containing 2,448 acres, bounded by the river three miles and a quarter. The third is the next large bottom, three miles and a half below, and opposite nearly to the Great Bend, containing 4,395 acres, with a margin on the river of five miles. The other four tracts are on the Great Kenhawa. The first of them contains 10,990 acres on the west side, and begins within two or three miles of the mouth of it, and

is bounded thereby for more than seventeen miles. The second is on the east side of the river, a little higher up, containing 7,276 acres, and bounded by the river thirteen miles. The other two are at the mouth of Cole River, on both sides and in the fork thereof, containing together 4,950 acres, and like the others are all interval land, having a front upon the water of twelve miles.

Besides these, I have the Round Bottom, opposite to Pipe Creek, about fifteen miles below Wheeling, which contains 587 acres, with two miles and a half front on the river, and of quality inferior to none thereon; and 234 acres at the Great Meadows on Braddock's Road, with the allowances.

For the whole of these tracts taken together, I would allow seven years' credit, without requiring a fourth of the purchase money to be paid down, provided the principal is amply secured, and the interest also, in the manner before mentioned; for to have no disappointment or trouble in the receipt of this must be a *sine quâ non*. If the tracts are sold separately, I should expect a fourth of the purchase to be paid down, and more than three dollars and a quarter per acre for the Round Bottom, and the tract of 10,990 acres on the Great Kenhawa, knowing from my own view the extraordinary value of these tracts. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mount Vernon, 4 October, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 12th ultimo, after travelling to Philadelphia and back again, was received by me at this place the 1st instant. The letter from Madame de Chastellux to me is short, referring to the one she has written to you for particulars respecting herself and infant son. Her application to me is unquestionably misplaced, and to Congress it would certainly be unavailing; as the Chevalier de Chastellux's pretensions (on which hers must be founded) to any allowance from this country were no greater than that of any and every other officer of the French army, who served in America the last war. To grant to one, therefore, would open a wide door to applications of a similar nature, and to consequent embarrassments. Probably the sum granted at the last session of Congress to the daughters of the Count de Grasse has given

rise to this application. That it has done so in other instances, I have good reasons to believe.

I am much pleased with the account you have given of the succory. This, like all other things of the sort with me, since my absence from home, has come to nothing; for neither my overseers nor manager will attend properly to any thing but the crops they have usually cultivated; and, in spite of all I can say, if there is the smallest discretionary power allowed them, they will fill the land with Indian corn, although even to themselves there are the most obvious traces of its baneful effects. I am resolved, however, as soon as it shall be in my power to attend a little more closely to my own concerns, to make this crop yield in a degree to other grain, to pulses, and to grasses. I am beginning again with chiccory, from a handful of seed given me by Mr. Strickland, which, though flourishing at present, has no appearance of seeding this year. Lucerne has not succeeded better with me than with you; but I will give it another and a fairer trial before it is abandoned altogether. Clover, when I can dress lots well, succeeds with me to my full expectation, but not on the fields in rotation, although I have been at much cost in seeding them. This has greatly disconcerted the system of rotation on which I had decided.

I wish you may succeed in getting good seed of the winter vetch. I have often imported it, but the seed never vegetated, or in so small a proportion, as to be destroyed by weeds. I believe it would be an acquisition, if it was once introduced properly in our farms. The Albany pea, which is the same as the field pea of Europe, I have tried, and found it will grow well; but is subject to the same bug which perforates the garden pea, and eats out the kernel. So it will happen, I fear, with the pea you propose to import. I had great expectation from a green dressing with buck-wheat, as a preparatory fallow for a crop of wheat, but it has not answered my expectation yet. I ascribe this, however, more to mismanagement in the times of seeding and ploughing in, than any defect of the system. The first ought to be so ordered, in point of time, as to meet a convenient season for ploughing it in, while the plant is in its most succulent state. But this has never been done on my farms, and consequently has drawn as much from, as it has given to the earth. It has always appeared to me that there were two modes in which buck-wheat might be used advantageously as a manure. One, to sow early, and, as soon as a sufficiency of seed is ripened, to stock the ground a second

time, to turn the whole in, and when the succeeding growth is getting in full bloom, to turn that in also, before the seed begins to ripen; and, when the fermentation and putrefaction ceases, to sow the ground in that state, and plough in the wheat. The other mode is, to sow the buckwheat so late, as that it shall be generally about a foot high at the usual seeding of wheat; then turn it in, and sow thereon immediately, as on a clover lay, harrowing in the seed lightly to avoid disturbing the buried buckwheat. I have never tried the latter method, but see no reason against its succeeding. The other, as I observed above, I have prosecuted, but the buckwheat has always stood too long, and consequently had got too dry and sticky to answer the end of a succulent plant.

But of all the improving and ameliorating crops, none in my opinion is equal to potatoes, on stiff and hard bound land, as mine is. I am satisfied, from a variety of instances, that on such land a crop of potatoes is equal to an ordinary dressing. In no instance have I failed of good wheat, oats, or clover, that followed potatoes; and I conceive they give the soil a darker hue. I shall thank you for the result of your proposed experiment relative to the winter vetch and pea, when they are made.

I am sorry to hear of the depredations committed by the weevil in your parts; it is a great calamity at all times, and this year, when the demand for wheat is so great, and the price so high, must be a mortifying one to the farmer. The rains have been very general, and more abundant since the 1st of August, than ever happened in a summer within the memory of man. Scarcely a mill-dam, or bridge, between this and Philadelphia, was able to resist them, and some were carried off a second and third time.

Mrs. Washington is thankful for your kind remembrance of her, and unites with me in best wishes for you. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT.

Mount Vernon, 21 October, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

According to my promise, I have given the several matters, contained in your letter of the 1st instant, the best consideration I am able. The following is the result; subject, however, to al-

terations, if upon fuller investigation and the discussion I mean to have with you on these topics on my way to Philadelphia, I should find cause therefor.

Had not those obstacles opposed themselves to it, which are enumerated by one of the commissioners, I should, for reasons which are now unnecessary to assign, have given a decided preference to the site, which was first had in contemplation for a university in the Federal City. But, as these obstacles appear to be insurmountable, the next best site for this purpose, in my opinion, is the square surrounded by numbers twenty-one, twenty-two, thirty-four, forty-five, sixty to sixty-three, and I decide in favor of it accordingly.

Conceiving, if there be space sufficient to afford it, that a botanical garden would be a good appendage to the institution of a university, part of this square might be applied to that purpose. If inadequate, and the square, designated in the plan of Major L'Enfant for a marine hospital, is susceptible of that institution and a botanical garden also, ground there might be appropriated to this use. If neither will admit of it, I see no solid objection against commencing this work within the President's square, it being previously understood, that it is not to be occupied for this purpose beyond a certain period; or until circumstances would enable or induce the public to improve it into pleasure-walks.

Although I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that all the squares, excepting those of the Capitol and President, designated for public purposes, are subject to such appropriations as will best accommodate public views; yet it is and always has been my belief, that it would impair the confidence, which ought to be had in the public, to convert them to private uses, or to dispose of them otherwise than temporarily to individuals. The plan which has been exhibited to, and dispersed through, all parts of the world, gives strong indications of a different design; and an innovation, in one instance, would lay the foundation for applications in many, and produce consequences, which cannot be foreseen, nor perhaps easily remedied. My doubts, therefore, with respect to designating the square on the Eastern Branch for a marine hospital, did not proceed from an idea that it might be converted, advantageously, into salable lots, but from the utility of having an hospital in the city at all. Finding, however, that it is usual in other countries to have them there, the practice, it is to be presumed, is founded in convenience; and, as it might be difficult to procure a site *out*

of the city, which would answer the purpose, I confirm the original idea of placing it where it is marked in L'Enfant's plan.

I am disposed to believe, if foreign states are inclined to erect buildings for their representatives near the government of the United States, that the sites for these buildings had better be left to the choice of their respective ministers. For, besides the reasons which have been already adduced against innovations, it is very questionable, whether ground so low as that in the Capitol square, west of the building, would be their choice. To fix them there, then, might be the means of defeating the object altogether.

As the business of the executive officers will be chiefly, if not altogether, with the President, sites for their offices ought to be convenient to his residence. But, as the identical spots can be better chosen on the ground, with the plan of the city before me, than by the latter alone, I will postpone this decision until my arrival therein; as I shall also do other appropriations of public squares, if it be necessary to take the matter up before my return to Philadelphia.

It might be well to amplify on those subjects, which you conceive ought to be laid before Congress, or the national council, and to suggest the mode, which you may have contemplated as best for the purpose, against my arrival, which, probably, will be on Tuesday or Wednesday next. With great esteem, I am, &c.

TO SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

Philadelphia, 11 December, 1796.

SIR,

The near view which you have of the revolution in France, and of the political state of things in Europe, especially those of Great Britain, has enabled you to form a judgment with so much more accuracy than I could do, of the probable result of the perturbed state of the countries, which compose that quarter of the globe, and of the principal actors on that theatre, that it would be presumption in one at the distance of three thousand miles, to give an opinion relative to either men or measures; and therefore I will proceed to the information required in your private letter of the 11th of September, which I will give from the best knowledge I possess, and with the candor you have a right to expect from me.

The United States, as you well know, are very extensive, more

than fifteen hundred miles between the northeastern and southwestern extremities; all parts of which, from the seaboard to the Appalachian Mountains, which divide the eastern from the western waters, are entirely settled; though not as compactly as they are susceptible of; and settlements are progressing rapidly beyond them.

Within so great a space, you are not to be told, that there is a great variety of climates, and you will readily suppose, too, that there are all sorts of land, differently improved, and of various prices, according to the quality of the soil, its contiguity to, or remoteness from, navigation, the nature of the improvements, and other local circumstances. These premises, however, are only sufficient for the formation of a general opinion; for there are material deviations, as I shall mention hereafter.

In the New England States, and to Pennsylvania inclusive, landed property is more divided than it is in the States south of them. The farms are smaller, the buildings and other improvements generally better, and, of consequence, the population is greater; but then the climate, especially to the eastward of Hudson's River, is cold; the winter long, consuming a great part of the summer's labor in support of their stock during the winter. A mildew, or blight, (I am speaking now of the New England States particularly,) prevents them from raising wheat adequate to their own consumption, and of other grains they export little or none, fish being their staple. They live well, notwithstanding, and are a happy people. Their numbers are not augmented by foreign emigrants; yet, from their circumscribed limits, compact situation, and natural population, they are filling the western parts of the State of New York, and the country on the Ohio, with their own surplusage.

New Jersey is a small State, and all parts of it except the southwestern are pleasant, healthy, and productive of all kinds of grain. Being surrounded on two sides by New York, and on the other two by Delaware River and the Atlantic, it has no land of its own to supply the surplus of its population; of course the emigrations from it are towards the Ohio.

Pennsylvania is a large State, and from the policy of its founder, and of the government since, and especially from the celebrity of Philadelphia, has become the general receptacle of foreigners from all countries, and of all descriptions; many of whom soon take an active part in the politics of the State; and, coming over full of prejudices against their own governments, some against all

governments, you will be enabled, without any comment of mine, to draw your own inference of their conduct.

Delaware is a very small State, the greater part of which lies low, and is supposed to be unhealthy. The Eastern Shore of Maryland is similar thereto. The lands in both, however, are good.

But the western parts of the last-mentioned State, and of Virginia, quite to the line of North Carolina, above tide-water, and more especially above the Blue Mountains, are similar to those of Pennsylvania, between the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers, in soil, climate, and productions; and in my opinion will be considered, if not considered so already, as the garden of America; forasmuch as they lie between the two extremes of heat and cold, partaking in a degree of the advantages of both, without feeling much the inconveniences of either; and, with truth it may be said, they are among the most fertile lands in America, east of the Appalachian Mountains.

The uplands of North and South Carolina and Georgia are not dissimilar in soil, but, as they approach the lower latitudes, are less congenial to wheat, and are supposed to be proportionably more unhealthy. Towards the seaboard of all the southern States, and further south more so, the lands are low, sandy, and unhealthy; for which reason I shall say little concerning them, for, as I should not choose to be an inhabitant of them myself, I ought not to say any thing that would induce others to be so.

This general description is furnished, that you may be enabled to form an idea of the part of the United States, which would be most congenial to your inclination. To pronounce, with any degree of precision, what lands could be obtained for, in the parts I have enumerated, is next to impossible, for the reasons I have before assigned; but, upon pretty good data, it may be said, that those in Pennsylvania are higher than those in Maryland, and I believe in any other State, declining in price as you go southerly, until the rice-swamps of South Carolina and Georgia are met with, and these are as much above the medium in price, as they are below it in health. I understand, however, that from thirty to forty dollars per acre (I fix on dollars because they apply equally to all the States, and because their relative value to sterling is well understood,) may be denominated the medium price in the vicinity of the Susquehanna in the State of Pennsylvania; from twenty to thirty on the Potomac, in what is called the Valley, lying between the North Mountains and Blue Mountains, which

are the richest lands we have; and less, as I have noticed before, as you proceed southerly. But, what may appear singular, and was alluded to in the former part of this letter, the lands in the parts of which I am now speaking, on and contiguous to tide-water, with local exceptions, are in lower estimation than those which are above, and more remote from navigation. The causes, however, are apparent. First, the land is better; secondly, higher and more healthy; thirdly, they are chiefly, if not altogether, in the occupation of farmers; and fourthly, from a combination of all of them, purchasers are attracted, and of consequence, the price rises in proportion to the demand.

The rise in the value of landed property in this country has been progressive ever since my attention has been turned to the subject, now more than forty years; but, for the last three or four of that period, it has increased beyond all calculation, owing in part to the attachment to, and the confidence which the people are beginning to place in, their form of government, and to the prosperity of the country, from a variety of concurring causes, none more than to the late high prices of its produce.

From what I have said, you will perceive, that the present prices of lands in Pennsylvania are higher than they are in Maryland and Virginia, although they are not of superior quality. Two reasons have already been assigned for this; first, that, in the settled part of it, the land is divided into smaller farms, and more improved; and, secondly, it is in a greater degree than any other the receptacle of emigrants, who receive their first impressions in Philadelphia, and rarely look beyond the limits of the State. But, besides these, two other causes, not a little operative, may be added, namely, that, until Congress passed general laws relative to naturalization and citizenship, foreigners found it easier to obtain the privileges annexed to them in this State, than elsewhere; and because there are laws here for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither of the two States above mentioned have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote.

Notwithstanding these abstracts, and although I may incur the charge of partiality in hazarding such an opinion at this time, I do not hesitate to pronounce, that the lands on the waters of the Potomac will in a few years be in greater demand and in higher estimation, than in any other part of the United States. But, as I ought not to advance this doctrine without assigning reasons for it, I will request you to examine a general map of the United

States, and the following facts will strike you at first view; that they lie in the most temperate latitude of the United States; that the main river runs in a *direct* course to the expanded parts of the western country, and approximates nearer to the principal branches of the Ohio, than any other eastern water, and of course must become a great, if not (under all circumstances) the best highway into that region; that the upper seaport of the Potomac is considerably nearer to a large portion of the State of Pennsylvania, than that portion is to Philadelphia, besides accommodating the settlers thereof with inland navigation for more than two hundred miles; that the amazing extent of tide navigation, afforded by the bay and rivers of the Chesapeake, has scarcely a parallel.

When to these it is added, that a site, at the junction of the inland and tide navigations of that river is chosen for the permanent seat of the general government, and is in rapid preparation for its reception; that the inland navigation is nearly completed, to the extent above mentioned; that its lateral branches are capable of great improvement at a small expense, through the most fertile parts of Virginia in a southerly direction, and crossing Maryland and extending into Pennsylvania in a northerly one, through which, independently of what may come from the Western country, an immensity of produce will be water-borne, thereby making the Federal City the great emporium of the United States; I say, when these things are taken into consideration, I am under no apprehension of having the opinion I have given, relative to the value of land on the Potomac, controverted by impartial men.

There are farms always and everywhere for sale. If, therefore, events should induce you to cast an eye towards America, there need be no apprehension of your being accommodated to your liking; and if I could be made useful to you therein, you might command my services with the greatest freedom.

Within full view of Mount Vernon, separated therefrom by water only, is one of the most beautiful seats on the river for sale, but of greater magnitude than you seem to have contemplated. It is called Belvoir, and belonged to George William Fairfax, who, were he living, would now be Baron of Cameron, as his younger brother in this country (George William dying without issue) at present is, though he does not take upon himself the title. This seat was the residence of the abovenamed gentleman before he went to England, and was accommodated with very good buildings, which were burnt soon after he left them. There are near two thousand acres of land belonging to the tract,

surrounded in a manner by water. The mansion-house stood on high and commanding ground; the soil is not of the best quality, but a considerable part of it, lying level, may, with proper management, be profitably cultivated. There are some small tenements on the estate, but the greater part thereof is in wood. At present it belongs to Thomas Fairfax, son of Bryan Fairfax, the gentleman who will not, as I said before, take upon himself the title of Baron of Cameron. A year or two ago, the price he fixed on the land, as I have been informed, was thirty-three dollars and a third per acre. Whether he could not get that sum, or whether he is no longer disposed to sell it, I am unable with precision to say; for I have heard nothing concerning his intentions lately.

With respect to the tenements I have offered to let, appertaining to my Mount Vernon estate, I can give no better description of them and of their appurtenances, than what is contained in the printed advertisement enclosed; but, that you may have a more distinct view of the farms, and their relative situation to the mansion-house, a sketch from actual survey is also enclosed; annexed to which, I have given you from memory the relative situation and form of the seat at Belvoir.

The terms, on which I had authorized the superintendent of my concerns at Mount Vernon to lease the farms there, are also enclosed; which, with the other papers, and the general information herein detailed, will throw all the light I am enabled to give you upon the subject of your inquiry. To have such a tenant as Sir John Sinclair (however desirable it might be) is an honor I dare not hope for; and to alienate any part of the fee simple estate of Mount Vernon is a measure I am not inclined to, as all the farms are connected and parts of a whole. With very great esteem and respect, I am, &c.

P. S. As I shall have an opportunity, in the course of the present session of Congress, to converse with the members thereof from different States, and from different parts of each State, I will write to you a supplementary account, if essential information should be obtained, which may add to, or correct, what is given in the foregoing sheets.

TO WILLIAM STRICKLAND, IN ENGLAND.

Mount Vernon, 15 July, 1797.

SIR,

I have been honored with yours of the 30th of May and 5th of September of last year. As the first was in part an answer to a letter I took the liberty of writing to you, and the latter arrived in the middle of an important session of Congress, which became more interesting as it drew more near to its close, inasmuch as it was limited by the constitution to the 3d of March, and on that day was to give political dissolution to the House of Representatives, a third part of the Senate, and the Chief Magistrate of the United States, I postponed, from the pressure of business occasioned thereby, the acknowledgment of all private letters, which did not require immediate answers, until I should be seated under my own vine and fig-tree, where I supposed I should have abundant leisure to discharge all my epistolary obligations.

In this, however, I have hitherto found myself mistaken; for at no period have I been more closely employed in repairing the ravages of an eight years' absence. Engaging workmen of different sorts, providing and looking after them, together with the necessary attention to my farms, have occupied all my time since I have been at home.

I was far from entertaining sanguine hopes of success in my attempt to procure tenants from Great Britain; but, being desirous of rendering the evening of my life as tranquil and free from care as the nature of things would admit, I was willing to make the experiment.

Your observation, with respect to occupiers and proprietors of land, has great weight, and, being congenial with my own ideas on the subject, was one reason, though I did not believe it would be so considered, why I offered my farms to be let. Instances have occurred, and do occur daily, to prove that capitalists from Europe have injured themselves by precipitate purchases of freehold estates, immediately upon their arrival in this country, while others have lessened their means in exploring States and places in search of locations; whereas, if on advantageous terms they could have been first seated as tenants, they would have had time and opportunities to become holders of land, and for making advantageous purchases. But it is so natural for man to wish to be the absolute lord and master of what he holds in occupancy, that his true interest is often made to yield to a false ambition. Among

these, the emigrants from the New England States may be classed, and this will account, in part, for their migration to the westward. Conviction of these things having left little hope of obtaining such tenants as would answer my purposes, I have had it in contemplation, ever since I returned home, to turn my farms to grazing principally, as fast as I can cover the fields sufficiently with grass. Labor, and of course expense, will be considerably diminished by this change, the net profit as great, and my attention less divided, whilst the fields will be improving.

Your strictures on the agriculture of this country are but too just. It is indeed wretched; but a leading, if not the primary, cause of its being so is, that, instead of improving a little ground well, we attempt much and do it ill. A half, a third, or even a fourth of what we mangle, well wrought and properly dressed, would produce more than the whole under our system of management; yet such is the force of habit, that we cannot depart from it. The consequence of which is, that we ruin the lands that are already cleared, and either cut down more wood, if we have it, or emigrate into the Western country. I have endeavoured, both in a public and private character, to encourage the establishment of boards of agriculture in this country, but hitherto in vain; and what is still more extraordinary, and scarcely to be believed, I have endeavoured ineffectually to discard the pernicious practice just mentioned from my own estate; but, in my absence, pretexts of one kind or another have always been paramount to orders Since the first establishment of the National Board of Agriculture in Great Britain, I have considered it as one of the most valuable institutions of modern times; and, conducted with so much ability and zeal, as it appears to be under the auspices of Sir John Sinclair, it must be productive of great advantages to the nation, and to mankind in general.

My system of agriculture is what you have described, and I am persuaded, were I to proceed on a large scale, would be improved by the alteration you have proposed. At the same time I must observe, that I have not found oats so great an exhauster, as they are represented to be; but in my system they follow wheat too closely to be proper, and the rotation will undergo a change in this, and perhaps in some other respects.

The vetches of Europe have not succeeded with me; our frosts in winter, and droughts in summer, are too severe for them. How far the mountain or wild pea would answer as a substitute, by cultivation, is difficult to decide, because I believe no trial has

been made of it, and because its spontaneous growth is in rich lands only. That it is nutritious in a great degree, in its wild state, admits of no doubt.

Spring barley, such as we grow in this country, has thriven no better with me than vetches. The result of an experiment, made with a little of the true sort, will be interesting. The field peas of England (different kinds) I have more than once tried, but not with encouragement to proceed; for, among other discouragements, they are perforated by a bug, which eats out the kernel. From the cultivation of the common black-eye peas, I have more hope, and am trying them this year, both as a crop, and for ploughing in as a manure; but the severe drought, under which we labor at present, may render the experiment inconclusive. It has, in a manner, destroyed my oats, and threatens to destroy my Indian corn.

The practice of ploughing in buckwheat twice in the season as a fertilizer is not new to me. It is what I have practised, or, I ought rather to have said, attempted to practise, the last two or three years; but, like most things else in my absence, it has been so badly executed, that is, the turning in of the plants has been so ill timed, as to give no result. I am not discouraged, however, by these failures; for, if pulverizing the soil, by fallowing and turning in vegetable substances for manure, is a proper preparation for the crop that is to follow, there can be no question, that a double portion of the latter, without an increase of the ploughing, must be highly beneficial. I am in the act of making another experiment of this sort, and shall myself attend to the operation, which, however, may again prove abortive, from the cause I have mentioned, namely, the drought.

The lightness of our oats is attributed, more than it ought to be, to the unfitness of the climate of the middle States. That this may be the case in part, and nearer the seaboard in a greater degree, I will not controvert; but it is a well-known fact, that no country produces better oats than those that grow on the Allegany Mountains, immediately westward of us. I have heard it affirmed, that they weigh upwards of fifty pounds the Winchester bushel. This may be occasioned by the fertility of the soil, and the attraction of moisture by the mountains; but another reason, and a powerful one too, may be assigned for the inferiority of ours, namely, that we are not choice in our seeds, and do not change them as we ought.

The seeds you were so obliging as to give me shared the same

fate that Colonel Wadsworth's did, and as I believe seeds from England generally will do, if they are put into the hold of the vessel. For this reason, I always made it a point, whilst I was in the habit of importing seeds, to request my merchants and the masters of vessels, by which they were sent, to keep them from the heat thereof.

You make a distinction, and no doubt a just one, between what in England is called barley, and *big*, or *bere*. If there be none of the true barley in this country, it is not for us, without experience, to pronounce upon the growth of it; and therefore, as noticed in a former part of this letter, it might be interesting to ascertain, whether our climate and soil would produce it to advantage. No doubt, as your observations while you were in the United States appear to have been extensive and accurate, it did not escape you, that both winter and spring barley are cultivated among us. The latter is considered as an uncertain crop south of New York, and I have found it so on my farms. Of the former I have not made sufficient trial to hazard an opinion of success. About Philadelphia it succeeds well.

The Eastern Shore bean, as it is denominated here, has obtained a higher reputation than it deserves; and, like most things unnaturally puffed, sinks into disrepute. Ten or more years ago, led away by exaggerated accounts of its fertilizing quality, I was induced to give a very high price for some of the seed; and, attending to the growth in all its stages, I found that my own fields, which had been uncultivated for two or three years, abounded with the same plants, without perceiving any of those advantages, which had been attributed to them.

I am not surprised that our mode of fencing should be disgusting to a European eye. Happy would it have been for us, if it had appeared so in our own eyes; for no sort of fencing is more expensive or wasteful of timber. I have been endeavouring for years to substitute live fences in place of them; but my long absence from home has in this, as in every thing else, frustrated all my plans, that required time and particular attention to effect them. I shall now, although it is too late in the day for me to see the result, begin in good earnest to ditch and hedge; the latter I am attempting with various things, but believe none will be found better than cedar, although I have several kinds of white thorn growing spontaneously on my own grounds.

Rollers I have been in the constant use of for many years, in the way you mention, and find considerable benefit in passing them

over my winter grain in the spring, as soon as the ground will admit a hoof on it. I use them also on spring grain and grass seeds, after sowing and sometimes before, to reduce the clods when the ground is rough. My clover generally is sown with spring grain; but, where the ground is not too stiff and binding, it succeeds very well on wheat. Sown on a light snow in February, or the beginning of March, it sinks with the snow and takes good root. And orchard grass, of all others, is in my opinion the best mixture with clover; it blooms precisely at the same time, rises quick again after cutting, stands thick, yields well, and both horses and cattle are fond of it, green or in hay. Alone, unless it is sown very thick, it is apt to form tussocks. If of this, or any other seeds I can procure, you should be in want, I shall have great pleasure in furnishing them.

I should have been very happy in forming an acquaintance with the gentleman, of whom you speak so highly, (Mr. Smith of Ross Hall;) but, unless he has been introduced on a public day and among strangers, unaccompanied by any expression to catch the attention, I have not yet had the pleasure to see him; nor have I heard more of Mr. Parsons, than what is mentioned of him in your letter. Your sentiments of these gentlemen, or others, on giving letters of introduction to any of your acquaintance, require no apology, as I shall always be happy in showing civility to whomsoever you may recommend.

For the detailed account of your observations on the husbandry of these United States, and your reflections thereon, I feel myself much obliged, and shall at all times be thankful for any suggestions on agricultural subjects, which you may find leisure and inclination to favor me with, as the remainder of my life, which, in the common course of things, now in my sixty-sixth year, cannot be of long continuance, will be devoted wholly to rural and agricultural pursuits.

For the trouble you took in going to Hull, to see if any of the emigrants, who were on the point of sailing from thence to America, would answer my purposes as tenants; and for your very kind and friendly offer of rendering me services, I pray you to accept my sincere thanks, and an assurance of the esteem and regard with which I am, Sir, &c.

TO ALEXANDER WHITE.

Mount Vernon, 25 March, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

Your favors of the 10th and 14th instant have been duly received, and for the information contained therein I feel grateful. Rarely going from home, I have nothing in the way of news to offer you in return.

It has always been my opinion, and so I have expressed it, that the proprietors of the city of Washington, with some exceptions, are, by their jealousies and the modes they pursue to promote their local interests, amongst its worst enemies. But, if your present exertion to obtain a loan from Congress should succeed, of which the prospect seems good, all doubts respecting the intentions of that body towards the permanent establishment of the government at that place will be removed. Confidence will take place in every mind, and the public buildings will be accompanied by private ones for the accommodation of its members. My wishes and my labors have always tended to the accomplishment of these points. The first is all I have left to offer, and these shall be fervent. The principle, which operated for fixing the site for the two principal buildings, was understood and found necessary at the time, to obtain the primary object, that is, the ground and means for each purpose. But it is always easy, from an ignorant or partial view of a measure, to distort and place it in an unfavorable attitude.

Nothing short of insanity can remove Congress from the building intended for its sittings to any other part of the city, in the present progress of the work. Where or how the houses for the President and other public officers may be fixed, is to me, as an individual, a matter of moonshine; but the reverse of the President's reason for placing the latter near the Capitol was my motive for fixing them near the President's house. The daily intercourse, which the secretaries of the departments must have with the President, would render a distant situation extremely inconvenient to them, and not much less so would one be close to the Capitol; for it was the universal complaint of them all, that, while the legislature was in session, they could do little or no business, so much were they interrupted by the visits of individual members in office hours, and by calls for papers. Many of them have declared to me, that they have been obliged often to go home and deny themselves in order to transact the current business.

No person will congratulate you more sincerely than I shall on the final success of your mission, if it answers your expectations; nor is there any one who reprobates more than I do improper interferences of all sorts. As your perseverance, however, is likely to be accepted, and as this will open a view, which promises a pleasing prospect, I hope you will suffer no difficulties or differences to divert you from your course, and that you will not give up the business, until you see the legislature seated in the Capitol of the United States.

The last message from the President to the Houses of Congress has brought the matter to an issue. I am, &c.

No. II.

AGRICULTURAL PAPERS.*

DIRECTIONS FOR GEORGE A. WASHINGTON, RESPECTING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PLANTATIONS AND OTHER AFFAIRS AT MOUNT VERNON.

31 March, 1789.

Having given very full and ample details of the intended crops, and my ideas of the modes of managing them at the several plantations, little, if these are observed, needs be added on this subject. But as the profit of every farm is greater or less, in proportion to the quantity of manure, which is made thereon, or can be obtained by keeping the fields in good condition, these two important requisites ought never to be lost sight of.

To effect the former, besides the ordinary means of farm-yards, cow-pens, sheep-folds, stables, &c., it would be of essential use, if a certain proportion of the force of each plantation could be appropriated, in the summer or early part of autumn, to the purpose of getting up mud to be ameliorated by the frosts of winter for the spring crops, which are to follow. And to accomplish the latter, the gullies in these fields, previous to their being sown with grain and grass-seeds, ought invariably to be filled up. By so

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* The agricultural papers among Washington's manuscripts are numerous, containing instructions to his managers, remarks on the various modes of cultivating lands and on the different kinds of products, abstracts from the best treatises on agriculture, tables of rotations of crops, diaries, estimates, and records of his experiments and their results. The diaries were continued many years. In these he noted down, almost every day, the kind and quantity of work done on his farms, the times of planting, cultivating, and gathering the crops of each lot, the amount of labor bestowed, and in general every circumstance, which could tend to make him thoroughly acquainted with the details of the business from day to day, and enlarge his knowledge by experience. These papers are monuments of his prodigious industry and attention to affairs; but, from the nature of the subject to which they relate, and from their comparatively small intrinsic value, they are not suited to the present work. A few specimens only are here presented, as indicating the habits of Washington, and as affording hints to practical agriculturists. They are all taken from originals in his own handwriting.

When he assumed the office of President of the United States, he committed the superintendence of his private concerns to his nephew, George A. Washington, who then resided with him at Mount Vernon.

doing, and a small sprinkling of manure thereon, they will acquire a green sward, and strength of soil sufficient to preserve them. These are the only means I know of, by which exhausted lands can be recovered, and an estate rescued from destruction.

Although a precise number of tobacco hills is by my general directions allotted to each plantation, yet my real intention is, that no more ground shall be appropriated to this crop, than what is either naturally *very* good (for which purpose small spots may be chosen), or what can be made strong by manure of some kind or other; for my object is to labor for profit, and therefore to regard quality, instead of quantity, there being, except in the article of manuring, no difference between attending a good plant and an indifferent one. But in any event, let the precise number of hills be ascertained, that an estimate may be formed of their yield to the thousand.

Being thoroughly convinced, from experience, that embezzlement and waste of crops (to say nothing of the various accidents to which they are liable by delays) are increased proportionably to the time they are suffered to remain on hand, my wish is, as soon as circumstances will permit after the grain is harvested, that it may be got out of the straw, especially at the plantations where there are no barns, and either disposed of in proper deposites, or sold, if it is wheat, and the price is tolerable, after it has been converted into flour. When this work is set about as the sole, or as a serious business, it will be executed properly. But when a little is done now, and a little then, there is more waste, even if there should be no embezzlement, than can well be conceived.

One or two other matters I beg may be invariably attended to. The first is to begin harvest as soon as the grain can be cut with safety; and the next, to get it in the ground in due season. Wheat should be sown by the last of August; at any rate by the 10th of September; and other fall grain as soon after as possible. Spring grain and grass seeds should be sown as soon as the ground can possibly, with propriety, be prepared for their reception.

For such essential purposes as may absolutely require the aid of the ditchers, they may be taken from that work. At all other times they must proceed in the manner, which has been directed formerly; and in making the new roads from the Ferry to the Mill, and from the Tumbling Dam across the Neck, till it communicates with the Alexandria road, as has been pointed out on the spot. The ditch from the Ferry to the Mill along this road may

be a common four-feet one. But from the Mill to the Tumbling Dam, and thence across to the head of the old field by Muddy-Hole fence, it must be five feet wide at top, but no deeper than the four-feet one, and the same width at bottom as the latter.

After the carpenters have given security to the old barn in the Neck, they must proceed to the completion of the new one at the Ferry, according to the plan and the explanations, which have been given. Gunner and Davis should get bricks made for this purpose; and if John Knowles could be spared (his work, not only with respect to time, but quantity and quality to be amply returned) to examine the bilged walls, and the security of them, but to level and lay the foundations of the other work, when the bricks are ready, it would be rendering me an essential service; and, as the work might be returned in proper season, would be no detriment to your building.

When the brick work is executed at the Ferry Barn, Gunner and Davis must repair to Dogue Run, and make bricks there; at the place and in the manner, which have been directed, that I may have no salmon bricks in that building.

Oyster shells should be bought, whenever they are offered for sale, if good and on reasonable terms.

Such moneys as you may receive for flour, barley, fish, as also for other things, which can be spared and sold; and for rents, the use of the jacks, &c.; and for book debts, which may be tried, though little is expected from the justice of those who have been long indulged; may be applied to the payment of workmen's wages as they arise, Fairfax, and the taxes, and likewise to the payment of any just debts, which I may be owing in small sums, and have not been able to discharge previous to my leaving the State. The residue may await further orders.

As I shall want shingles, plank, nails, rum for harvest, scantling, and such like things, which would cost me money at another time, fish may be bartered for them. The scantling, if any is taken, must be such as will suit for the barn now about to be built, or that at Dogue Run, without waste and of good quality.

I find it is indispensably necessary, for two reasons, to save my own clover and timothy seed; first, because it is the only certain means of having it good and in due season; and, secondly, because I find it is a heavy article to purchase.

Save all the honey-locusts you can, of those which belong to me; if more could be obtained, the better. And, in the fall, plant them on the ditches where they are to remain, about six inches apart, one seed from another.

The seeds, which are on the case in my study, ought, without loss of time, to be sown and planted in my botanical garden, and proper memoranda kept of the times and places.

You will use your best endeavours to obtain the means for support of G. and L. Washington, who, I expect, will board, till something further can be decided on, with Dr. Craik; who must be requested to see that they are decently and properly provided with clothes from Mr. Porter's store. He will give them a credit on my becoming answerable to him for the payment. And, as I know of no resource, that H. has for supplies but from me, Fanny will, from time to time, as occasion may require, have such things got for her, on my account, as she shall judge necessary. Mrs. Washington will, I expect, leave her tolerably well provided with common articles, for the present.

My memorandum books, which will be left in my study, will inform you of the times and places, when, and where, different kinds of wheat, grass-seeds, &c., were sown. Let particular attention be paid to the quality and quantity of each sort, that a proper judgment of them may be formed. To do this, great care must be taken to prevent mixture of the several sorts, as they are so contiguous to each other.

The general superintendence of my affairs is all I require of you; for it is neither my desire nor wish, that you should become a drudge to it, or that you should refrain from any amusements or visitings, which may be agreeable, either to Fanny or yourself to make or receive. If Fairfax the farmer, and Thomas Green, on each of whom I have endeavoured to impress a proper sense of their duty, will act their part with propriety and fidelity, nothing more will be necessary for you to do, than would comport with amusement and that exercise which is conducive to health. Nor is it my wish, that you should live in too parsimonious a manner. Frugality and economy are undoubtedly commendable, and all that is required. Happily for this country, these virtues prevail more and more every day among all classes of citizens. I have heard of, and I have seen with pleasure, a remarkable change in the mode of living from what it was a year or two ago; and nothing but the event, which I dreaded would take place soon, has prevented my following the example. Indeed, necessity, if this had not happened, would have forced me into the measure, as my means are not adequate to the expense at which I have lived since my retirement to what is called private life. Sincerely wishing you health and happiness, I am ever your warm friend and affectionate uncle.

A VIEW OF THE WORK AT THE SEVERAL PLANTATIONS AT MOUNT VERNON, IN THE YEAR 1789, AND GENERAL DIRECTIONS FOR THE EXECUTION OF IT.

From the plans of the plantations, from the courses of the crops, which are annexed to these plans, and from the mode of managing them as there prescribed, may be derived a full and comprehensive view of my designs, after the rotation is once perfectly established, in the succession that is proposed. But as this cannot, at all the plantations, be adopted this year, every thing in the mean time must be made to tend to it, against the next, as far as circumstances will admit.

Muddy-Hole Farm.

The ploughs belonging to this plantation, together with those from Dogue Run, are to continue, without interruption or delay, when not prevented by frost or rain, to break up field No. 5 for Indian corn. And, when this is accomplished, next to break up No. 4 for buckwheat, which is to be sowed in April, and ploughed in before harvest, as a manure for the crop of wheat, which is to be sown therein in the month of August next, after these ploughings are performed.

Then, as there is no field at this plantation, which can with convenience be appropriated for spring grain, or for the crop of sundries this year, and as the ploughs at Dogue Run, especially if the winter should prove hard and unfavorable, will not be able, of themselves, to break up fields No. 4 and No. 6 at their own plantation, and at the same time prepare those of No. 3 for barley and oats, and No. 7 for Indian corn, in due season, the whole may go to Dogue Run, till the corn at Muddy Hole shall want them, and work in No. 6, if the condition of it is such as to admit thereof; or in No. 4 at the same place, if it is not; for the respective crops which are designed for them.

The fence on the Ferry road, from the division between the fields No. 4 and No. 5 to the lane on the Mill road, must be repaired with new rails; but from thence to the gate leading to the barn from the overseer's house it should be made tolerably secure with rails, which may be taken from the opposite side.

As the days are short, walking bad, and the different kinds of stock will require careful attendance, it may perhaps be best to relinquish the idea of the people of this place having any thing

further to do with the new ground at the Mansion House; and when not employed, in open weather, with their fencing, to be threshing out grain. But there is a work of great importance, if the weather and other circumstances would concur for the execution of it in season. I mean, that of getting up rich mud from the most convenient parts of the creek, and laying it in small heaps, for amelioration, to be carried over the poor parts of No. 5, which will be in corn. If this last-mentioned work can be accomplished, (and it must be done soon, if any effect is expected from it this year, in order that the frost may have time to operate,) the cart may be employed in hauling it to the ground.

Another piece of work to be done here, as I propose to make a small quantity of tobacco at this, as well as at my other plantations, is, to hill the ground that is marked off for it, in time. But, previous to hilling, it must be laid off with the plough into three-feet squares, that the hills may be made directly on the cross; so that, in the early stages of the growth of the tobacco, it may be tended with a plough each way.

If these several kinds of work should not afford sufficient employment for the hoe people, with the cultivation of the ground, which will be marked out for potatoes and carrots, and which ought to be ploughed up immediately, they may be preparing field No. 6, on the creek, for corn in 1790. In the execution of this work, the cedar trees are not to be cut down, but trimmed only; and other trees left here and there for shades. The brush and rubbish, of all sorts, are to be thrown into the gullies and covered over, so as to admit the ploughs to pass.

Both parts of field No. 1 should from this time be withheld from stock of all kinds, that there may be, in the spring, early food for the ewes, lambs, and calves. Field No. 3, now in wheat and rye, must be sown with clover and timothy on the first snow that falls, six pints of the first, and two of the latter per acre.

Dogue-Run Farm.

The ploughs belonging to this plantation, when they have performed what has already been directed for them at Muddy Hole, together with those of the latter, are to begin, if the ground will admit of it, to break up No. 6 for buckwheat, to be sown in April. But if this, on account of the levelness of the field and the water which may stand on it, cannot be done, then plough No. 4 for the crop of sundries. But, as it is of essential importance, that the oats and barley should be sown early, and the working of the

fields for Indian corn not so much delayed as to endanger the prospect for that crop, the ploughings of both No. 6 and No. 4 must be delayed, at least till the oats and barley are in, if they cannot be broken up in season for the above purposes. The oats ought to be sown in February, next the post-and-rail fence; and the barley as soon after as possible, on the other side, adjoining the corn. With both, clover and timothy, in the proportions already mentioned, are to be sown.

After the above work is accomplished, it will be time to cross-plough and sow such parts of No. 4 as are intended for carrots, and this is to be done in drills four feet asunder; and, if the ground is dry enough, in the month of March, and for flax, which should be sown in April.

By the time these are done, possibly before it, the fields for corn will want listing. This corn, in the south part of the field, next to the woods, may be planted at five feet each way, with two stalks in a hill, and in the north part, next to Colonel Mason's, at four feet each way, with one stalk in a hill. The ploughings and harrowings necessary for which, without going into detail with respect to the manner and times, must be given when wanted.

The sowing of buckwheat in April for manure seems to be the next thing which calls for the ploughs; because it ought to be in the ground as soon as all danger of frost is over, that it may be in the proper state (full bloom) for ploughing in before harvest.

After buckwheat, pease will come next, and the ground for these, as for the tobacco, must be laid off in squares for hilling, that they may, before they begin to run and spread, be ploughed each way. They ought to be planted in May.

Pumpkins, potatoes, turnips, and buckwheat for a crop, in the order they are mentioned, will next claim the assistance of the ploughs. The first should be planted in May, in hills eight feet apart, and well manured. The second in June, in drills four feet apart, and a foot asunder in the rows, with a large handful of manure on each potato, which should be uncut and of the largest sort. The third, that is, turnips, to be sown partly in June, and partly in July. And the fourth, buckwheat, as near as may be to the 10th of July.

This field of sundries may be thus apportioned; carrots, five acres; potatoes, five; pumpkins, one; turnips, one; pease, fifteen; flax, three; tobacco, five; buckwheat, thirty-five; being seventy acres in all.

That it may be ascertained, by repeated experiments, whether

carrots or potatoes are the most productive and valuable root, I would have the ten acres allotted for them in one square, and the rows for each alternate through the whole square, and each to have the same quantity of manure allowed to it.

The work, which has been mentioned for the ploughs, together with the ploughing in of the buckwheat before harvest, the wheat after harvest, with the workings of the several species of crops during their growth, is all the employment that can be recollected at present for this part of the force of the plantation, until the autumn ploughing for the next year's crop commences. But, as these, till the system is brought more into practice, and the preceding crop is a better preparation of the ground for the succeeding one than is the case at present, will require much exertion and an addition of ploughs; one may be added to the number at Dogue Run, which will make five there; and another at Muddy Hole, which will make four there.

Much fencing is necessary at this plantation, before it can be said to be advantageously laid off, and in good order. That, which requires to be first done, is the one which divides field No. 4 from the meadow; but, as the rails, which are about the stacks, will be most convenient for this work, it may be delayed until they can be spared. In the mean time, no heavy stock must run in that field, to trample and poach the meadow.

The next, that requires doing, is the line from the head of the meadow to the new road, which is to be laid off, thence with the road to the Tumbling Dam, and thence round field No. 7, agreeably to the ploughing, and the rails which have been laid there.

Next after these, the cross fence between field No. 5 and the wood should be done, and then the fence, which was begun last year, but not finished, between fields No. 2 and No. 3. The fence which divides the first of these, that is, No. 2, from the great meadow, requires doing also. All these are essential; as it also is, to strengthen the post-and-rail fence, which divides No. 1 from No. 2 and No. 3; but, as this never can be made a good one, until the whole is taken down, and both posts and rails shortened, it must be postponed till there is time to do this; righting it up in such a manner, as to make it answer for the present, being all that can be attempted this year.

Lastly, when time will admit, after the posting and railing from the Tumbling Dam to the Mill is completed, the rails, which at present run upon that line, may serve to separate the great meadow into three divisions, as will be marked out.

Every thing, that the hoe people can do in the course of the winter towards getting the old crop off hand, and preparing for the new one, ought to be the first object of consideration, and must be closely attended to. Carrying out manure, when the cart can be spared and the ground is in order for its reception, either for carrots, potatoes, tobacco, or other things, is not to be neglected. Grubbing and filling up gullies, in the fields which are to receive crops this year, is also essential. And, if these should not afford sufficient employment, the overplus time may be spent in clearing swamps, or the sides of them, so that they may hereafter, when drained effectually, be tended in tobacco previous to their being laid down in grass.

At this place, I propose to plant about thirty thousand tobacco plants, in field No. 4, round the houses and stacks, where they will be most convenient to the manure; and, where the ground is not very rich, I would join a gallon or a large double handful of manure to each hill. The ground for the crop ought to be broken up early, either with the ploughs or hoes, that the green sward may have time to rot. If thirty thousand hills cannot be got here, the deficiency may be made up by the gate that goes into field No. 5.

River Farm.

Early and good ploughing at this place is indispensably necessary. The field No. 7, intended for spring grain, that is, barley and oats, would, if justice were done to it, call for a second or cross ploughing by the time the ploughs will begin to break it up. Consequently, field No. 1, designed for corn, will hardly get more than a listing, and the field No. 4, which ought to have received a crop of sundries, must go altogether uncultivated this year.

After field No. 7 is sown with barley, oats, and grass-seed, the latter in the proportion mentioned at the other places, if the preparation of No. 1 for corn cannot be postponed, without involving injurious consequences to that crop, the ploughs must go there next, and do all that is necessary for getting it planted in time, and in good order.

But, as I do not mean to plant potatoes or carrots among corn this year, as was the case last year, inclining to allot separate spots for this purpose, these spots, and that which is intended for tobacco, ought to be immediately ploughed; that the weeds and grass, where there are any, may have time to rot, and the ground

be in order to receive manure. The spot, which I would principally appropriate for carrots and potatoes, is that whereon the flax grew last year, but if more can be conveniently obtained elsewhere, it ought to be had, as that spot is insufficient. The ground for tobacco (forty thousand plants) I mean to lay off in a long square, from the farm-pen up to field No. 2, which, when ploughed and checkered, will be ready to receive manure at times when the carts can with convenience carry it out.

All the ploughings, which are here enumerated, being accomplished, the season probably will have arrived when No. 8 will require to be cross-ploughed, and sowed with buckwheat for manure, in April. This is, in all respects, to be managed as has been directed for Dogue Run, and after harvest is to receive wheat, in August, as there mentioned.

These, with the necessary workings of the several species of crops, which must not be neglected, will, it is presumed, give sufficient employment for the ploughs. If not, there can be no difficulty in finding work for them.

Much fencing is wanting on this plantation, before it can be in the order I wish to see it; but, among the most essential of these, is the fence which is to enclose field No. 1 for corn; that which runs from the second gate, going into the plantation, to the creek, dividing my land from Colonel Mason's; and that which is to form the lane, which is to lead from the barn into the lane which now goes to Johnson's, and which must continue the other way, so as to open a communication with the fields No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4. As timber is very scarce on this tract, it must in fencing, as well as in other things, be made to go as far as possible; consequently, posts and rails, of a good and substantial kind, must be substituted instead of the usual kind of worm fences.

To point out all the work for the hoe people of this plantation is unnecessary. To finish the old, and to prepare for the new crop; to put up fences; to heap up the manure early, that it may get well and soon rotted; to carry it out, and to lay it in the furrows intended for carrots and potatoes, and on the ground intended for tobacco; making hills for the tobacco; grubbing and filling gullies in the fields, which are to receive crops this year, with old rails, old stumps, old trees, and such other rubbish as can be had conveniently; levelling the bank, on which a fence formerly ran through field No. 8; will, with the cultivation of the crops that will be planted and sown, and gathering them in, compose the

greater part, if not all, of their labor. But if there should, notwithstanding, be time for other things, I know of nothing in which they could be more advantageously employed, than in getting up rich mud from the branches in field No. 8, to spread over the poor and washed parts of that field, before it is sown in wheat next August.

Mansion-House Farm.

The ditchers, after the post-and-rail fence, which they are now about, to the Tumbling Dam is completed, and a strong one put up across the Mill Run, as will be marked off, may continue on to the Mill by the line of stakes, which will be set up; but they are not to use for this purpose those posts, which were got by Marley's house, as they will be more convenient for the lane, which is to form the new road from the Ferry by the Mill, as authorized by the court. After this work is performed, it will be time enough to point out more.

To say what the other part of the force at this place shall be employed about, is next to impossible, since there is such a variety of jobs for them to attend to, besides fishing, hay-making, and the grain harvest in their respective seasons, which must unavoidably employ them while they last.

But, as it is designed to raise tobacco, and to tend in corn that part, at least, of the new ground in front of the house, which was cleared last year, in order that it may be laid down in the fall in wheat and orchard grass, they must prepare for them accordingly, and, under the circumstances above mentioned, attempt as much of the first, that is, tobacco, as there is a moral certainty of their tending well. The men may be employed in getting posts and rails of a good kind for the purpose of enclosing this tobacco. But it is essential, if any labor is expected from the girls and boys, who are about this house, to keep some person with them, who will not only make them work, but who will see that the work is well executed, and that the idleness, which they appear every day in the practice of, may be avoided.

FIRST STATEMENT OF THE CROPS IN 1789.

	Acres.	Acres.	Harrowed.
Corn; 375 acres. 1 ploughing in the fall of 1788	375		
Listing the field in March, about ½ of the above work,	94		
Opening the furrows in April, ¼ of the last work,	31		
Breaking up the balks in May, ¾ of the whole,	281		
Ploughing do. in June, do. do.	281		
Do. do. in July, do. do.	281		
		1343	
Three times harrowed, do. do. each 281,			843
Rye; 375 acres. Once ploughed for seeding in September,		281	
Once harrowed do.			281
Buckwheat; 375 acres. One ploughing after Rye comes off,	375		
One do. in April,	375		
		750	
Three harrowings, 1 before, and 2 after sowing,			1125
Wheat; 375 acres. Ploughing in buckwheat in June,	375		
do. seeding ground with wheat in Aug.	375		
		750	
One harrowing after sowing,			375
Sundries; 375 acres. One ploughing in the fall of 1788,	375		
75 do. in Pease ploughed into 3 ft. ridges in Apr.	75		
Checkered, about ¼ of above work in April,	19		
234 do. in Buckwheat for a crop, ploughed in Apr.	234		
do. 1st July,	234		
Three times harrowed 1st of July,			702
8 do. Scarcity ploughed in March,	8		
do. May,	8		
do. July,	8		
8 do. Pumpkins, ploughed in March,	8		
do. May,	8		
do. July,	8		
20 do. Flax, ploughed in March,	20		
do. April,	20		
		1025	
Three times harrowed,			60
Barley; 375 acres. First ploughing January or February,	375		
Second do. February or March,	375	750	
Three times harrowed,			1125
		4899	4511

Of the above Work,

Between the 1st of October and Christmas, Corn amounts to	375		
Buckwheat " "	375		
Sundries " "	375		
		1125	
In January and February, Barley, first ploughing,		375	
February and May, do. second "		375	1125
March, listing for Corn as above,	94		
Ploughing first time for Root of Scarcity,	8		
Do. do. Flax,	20		
Do. do. Pumpkins	8		
		130	
Carried over,		2005	1125

	Acres.	Acres.	Harrowed.
Brought over,		2005	1125
April, second ploughing for Flax,	20		60
do. Pease, in three-feet ridges,	75		
Do. checkered,	19		
Opening Corn lists for planting,	31		
Buckwheat for manure,	375	520	1125
May, Do. for seed,	234		
Pumpkins, second ploughing, 8; Root of Scarcity, 8,	16		
Breaking balks between Corn,	281	531	281
June, ploughing Corn second time,	281		281
do. Buckwheat for manure,	375	656	
July, Buckwheat for seed,	234		702
Third ploughing of Corn,	281		281
Third do. Root of Scarcity, 8; Pumpkins, 8,	16	531	
August, Wheat,		375	375
September, Rye,		281	281
		4899	4511

Results of the First Statement.

Dr.	£.	s.	d.	Cr.	£.	s.	d.
For 375 bushels Rye for seed at 3s.	56	5	0	By 5625 bushels Corn, at 3s.	843	0	0
375 bushels Buckwheat, for seed at 2s.	37	10	0	5625 do. Rye, 3s.	843	0	0
375 do. Wheat, do. 5s.	93	15	0	5625 do. Potatoes, 1s.	281	5	0
750 do. Barley do. 3s. 6d.	131	5	0	4500 do. Barley, 3s. 6d.	787	0	0
Sundries, viz.				3750 do. Wheat, 5s.	937	10	0
75 bush. Pease for seed, at 4s.	15	0	0	Sundries, viz.			
234 do. Buckwheat, 2s.	23	8	0	1404 bushels Buckwheat, at 2s.	140	8	0
30 do. Flax, 3s. 6d.	5	5	0	375 do. Pease, 4s.	75	0	0
3750 lbs. Clover seed, 8d.	125	0	0	100 do. Flax seed, 3s. 6d.	17	10	0
3120 bushels of Corn for negroes, at 3s.	468	0	0	Dressed Flax			
2750 bushels of Rye for horses, 3s.	412	10	0	Buckwheat, 375 acres for manure.			
100 do. Salt, 2s. 6d.	12	10	0		3924	13	0
330 gallons Rum, 2s.	33	00	0	375 acres Clover, 20s.	375		
750 bushels of Potatoes, for seed, 1s.	37	10	0		4299	13	0
				100 thousand Tobacco hills, 20 hhds. £7. 10s.	150		
	£1450	18	0		£4449	13	0

SECOND STATEMENT OF CROPS IN 1789.

	Acres.	Acres	Harrowed.
Corn; 375 acres. Same in all respects as No. 1,		1343	843
Buckwheat; 375 acres. First ploughing in April,	375		
Second do. last of June,	375	750	
Three harrowings,			1125
Wheat; 375 acres. One ploughing after the Buckwheat is cut,		375	
Two harrowings,			750
Sundries; 375 acres. The same as No. 1,		1025	762
Barley; 375 acres. The same as No. 1,		750	1125
		4243	4605

Of the above Work,

	Acres.	Acres.	Harrowed.
One ploughing for Corn, 1788,		375	
Fall, one ploughing for Sundries, do.		375	
January and February, first ploughing for Barley,	375		
February and March, second do. Do.	375		
		750	1125
March, listing for Corn,	94		
ploughing first time for Root of Scarcity,	8		
do. do. Flax,	20		
do. do. Pumpkins,	8		
		130	
April, second ploughing for Flax,	20		60
do. Pease, in three-feet ridges,	75		
do. checkered	19		
Opening Corn lists,	31		
First ploughing for Buckwheat for a crop,	375		
		520	
May, first ploughing of Buckwheat among the sundries,	234		
Pumpkins, second ploughing, 8 acres; Scarcity, 8 do.	16		
ploughing balks between Corn, first time,	281		
		531	281
June, ploughing Corn second time,	281		281
second do. of Buckwheat,	375		
		656	1125
July, the same,	234		702
Corn third time,	281		281
third ploughing for Scarcity, 8; for Pumpkins, 8	16		
		531	
August, ploughing for Wheat,		375	750
		4243	4605

Results of the Second Statement.

DR.

	£.	s.	d.
For 375 bushels of Buckwheat for seed, 2s.	37	10	0
375 do. seed Wheat, 5s.	93	15	0
Sundries, viz.			
75 bushels Pease, 4s.	15	0	0
234 do. Buckwheat, 2s.	23	8	0
30 do. Flax seed, 3s. 6d.	5	5	0
750 do. Barley, 3s. 6d.	131	5	0
3750 lbs. Clover seed, 8d.	125	0	0
3120 bushels of Corn, 3s.	468	0	0
2750 do. Rye, 3s.	412	10	0
100 do. Salt, 2s. 6d.	12	10	0
330 gallons Rum, 2s.	33	0	0
750 bushels Potatoes for seed, 1s.	37	10	0
	£1,394	13	0

CR.

	£.	s.	d.
By 5625 bushels of Corn, 3s.	843	0	0
5625 do. Potatoes, 1s.	281	5	0
Buckwheat ploughed in for manure.			
3750 bushels Wheat, 5s.	937	10	0
Sundries, viz.			
375 bushels of Pease, 4s.	75	0	0
1404 do. Buckwheat, 2s.	140	8	0
4500 do. Barley, 3s. 6d.	787	0	0
100 do. Flax seed, 3s. 6d.	17	10	0
	£3,081	13	0
Dressed Flax.			
375 acres Clover, 20s.	375		
375 do. do. do.	375		
	£3,831	13	0

THIRD STATEMENT OF CROPS FOR 1789.

	Acres.	Har. rowed.
Corn; 375 acres. The same as No. 1 and No. 2,	1343	843
Barley; 375 acres. do. do. do.	750	1125
Buckwheat; 375 acres. Ploughed in fall, in March and April,	1125	1125
Wheat; 375 acres. Ploughed in June, to cover Buckwheat and Corn in August,	750	375
Flax; 20 acres. Ploughed twice, harrowed three times,	40	60
	4008	3528

Of the above Work,

	Acres.	Acres.	Har. rowed.
Fall, one ploughing for Corn, 1788,	375		
do. Buckwheat, do.	375		
		750	
January and February, first ploughing for Barley,	375		
February and March, second do. do.	375		
		750	1125
March, listing for Corn,	94		
Second ploughing for Buckwheat,	375		
First do. Flax,	20		
		489	
April, second do. do.	20		60
Third do. Buckwheat,	375		750
Opening Corn lists,	31		
		426	
May, breaking up the balks between Corn,		281	281
June, second ploughing of Corn,	281		281
Ploughing in Buckwheat,	375		
		656	
July, ploughing Corn the third time,	281		281
Ploughing for Wheat or Buckwheat,	375		
		656	750
		4008	3528

Results of Third Statement.

Dr.	£.	s.	d.
For 750 bushels of Barley, for seed, at 3s. 6d.	131	15	0
375 do. Buckwheat, 2s.	37	10	0
375 do. Wheat, 5s.	93	15	0
3750 lbs. Clover seed, 8d.	125	0	0
30 bushels of Flax seed,	5	5	0
3120 do. Corn, 3s.	468	0	0
2750 do. Rye, for horses,	412	10	0
100 do. Salt, 2s. 6d.	12	10	0
330 gallons of Rum, 2s.	33	10	0
750 bushels of Potatoes for seed, 1s.	37	10	0
	£1,357	5	0

Cr.	£.	s.	d.
By 5625 bushels of Corn, 3s.	843	0	0
5625 do. Potatoes, 1s.	281	5	0
4500 do. Barley, 3s 6d.	787	0	0
3750 do. Wheat, 5s.	937	10	0
Buckwheat for manure.			
100 bush. Flax seed, 3s. 6d.	17	10	0
	£2,866	5	0
375 acres of Clover, 20s.	375		
375 do. do. do.	375		
375 do. do. do.	375		
	£3,091	5	0

MANAGER'S WEEKLY REPORT,*

APRIL 14TH, 1792.

Meteorological Table.

	Morning.	Noon.	Night.
April 8th,	E. Clear.	S. E. Cloudy.	S. E. Rain.
" 9*th*,	S. E. Rain.	S. E. Cloudy.	S. E. Cloudy.
" 10*th*,	S. W. Cloudy.	S. W. Rain.	60 S. E. Rain.
" 11*th*,	58 E. Rain.	S. E. Rain.	58 S. E. Rain.
" 12*th*,	57 N. E. Rain.	56 N. E. Hard Rain	54 N. E. Cloudy.
" 13*th*,	52 N. E. Cloudy.	56 N. E. Rain.	58 N. E. Rain.
" 14*th*,	54 N. W. Cloudy.	58 N. W. Cloudy.	52 N. W. Clear.

DR.	Days.
MANSION-HOUSE FARM for the work of 12 men, 6 boys, and 4 girls, amounting per week to	132
CR.	
By a wagon hauling posts and rails to Ferry-Barn lane,	1
By do. hauling hay 1, stocks 1, timber for shafts for carts and moving park rails 1,	3
By hauling 6 barrels salt to Major Washington's landing, and bringing home straw,	1
By carts hauling manure from Ferry Barn to No. 2 French's,	6
By cleaning loose manure about stables, and hauling it to lot intended for lucerne,	5
By hauling corn from Ferry, and bran and meal from Mill wood to Mansion,	2
By hauling stones to repair the crossing-place of Muddy-Hole Swamp, at the head of French's meadow,	2
By Old Jack in care of granary 6, Old Frank in care of stock 6,	12
By Peter, in care of mares, mules, and jacks,	6
By Gunner digging brick earth 3, cutting poles to build a brick house 2,	5
By putting up post-and-rail fence leading to Ferry Barn,	5
By hauling seine, cleaning, striking, and packing fish,	41
By Easter Monday,	22
By sickness Boatswain 6, Mima 3, Richmond 3, Postilion Joe 3, Lynna 3, Sam 3,	21
Total,	132

* While Washington was absent from home, in discharging the duties of President of the United States, it was his custom to exact from the manager at Mount Vernon, once in each week, a full report of the proceedings on all the farms. This paper is a sample of those reports. In the meteorological table, the figures denote the state of the thermometer, and the initial letters the direction of the wind. The design of this table was to communicate a knowledge of the weather, by which a more correct judgment could be formed of the amount of time, that the laborers could properly be employed at their work. Each report was accompanied with an explanatory letter from the manager, containing other particulars. These were regularly answered once a week by the President, and sometimes oftener. His letters frequently filled two or three sheets closely written. The importance he attached to these letters, and his diligence in preparing them, may be understood from the fact, that he first made rough drafts, which were copied out by himself in a fair hand before they were sent off. Press-copies were then taken, which he preserved. This habit was pursued, without intermission, from the beginning to the end of the Presidency.

Increase, 2 Calves and 2 Mules. Received from Mill, 22 bushels of Meal, and 29 bushels of Bran; from Ferry, 3 barrels of Corn. Stock, 11 head of Cattle, 4 Calves, 60 Sheep, 28 Lambs, 4 working Mares, 4 do. Horses, 5 Colts, 4 spring do., 2 Jacks, 2 old Jennies, 1 do. three years old, 1 do. two years old, 1 do. one year old, 15 Mules, 10 one year old, 2 spring do.; and 11 Mares.

Dr.	Days.
Ditchers, for the work of 6 men, amounting per week to	36
Cr.	
By Baths and Paschal mortising posts 1, fencing Ferry-Barn new lane 4,	10
By Boatswain and Robin mauling rails 1, and fencing as above 4,	10
By Charles hauling seine, ...	5
By Dundee sawing trunnels with Dogue-Run hands, ...	5
By Easter Monday, ...	6
Total, . .	36

N. B. There has been almost one day and part of another lost by rain this week.

Dr.	Days.
Muddy-Hole Farm for the work of 3 men and 9 women, amounting per week to	72
Cr.	
By listing in No. 2, ...	4
By a cart hauling stakes and trunnels to the fence between Nos. 1 and 7,	3
By hauling rails to No. 1 Lane fence, ...	1
By raising the bank with a plough and hoes between No. 1 and No. 7,	11
By putting up fences on said bank 19, cutting stakes and trunnels for do. 7, ...	26
By taking down and new setting the Lane fence of No. 1, . . .	7
By Easter Monday, ...	12
By sickness, Kate 3, Amy 2, Molly 3, ...	8
Total, . .	72

Received from Mill 6 bushels of Meal, and 6 bushels of Rye Meal. — Stock, 37 head of cattle, 5 Calves, 30 Sheep, 8 working Horses, and 1 Mule.

Dr.	Days.
Ferry and French's Farms for the work of 7 men, 16 women, and 4 boys, amounting per week to	162
Cr.	
By listing new ground in French's meadow, ...	16
By carts hauling stakes, rails, and trunnels to different fences, . . .	6
By hauling manure to No. 2 French's 3, hauling corn to Mill 1, . . .	4
By repairing fences, 34, burning logs and brush in the swamp, 30, .	64
By heaping manure 4, beating out corn 4, cutting and mauling stakes and trunnels 4, ...	12
By spinning 3, hauling seine 5, French's Tom at Mansion-House 5, .	13
By Easter Monday, ...	27
By sickness, Doll 6, Old Daph 5, Betty 4, Rose 3, Delia 2, . . .	20
Total, . . .	162

Increase 2 Calves, and 5 Lambs. — Received from Mill, 12½ bushels of Meal, sent do. 54 bushels of Corn. To Mansion-House 3 barrels of do., feed to Horses 1 barrel of do. — Stock, 83 head of Cattle, 5 Calves, 136 Sheep, 60 Lambs, 16 working Horses, and 2 Mules.

Dr.	Days.
River Farm for the work of 9 men, 18 women, and 1 girl, amounting per week to	168
Cr.	
By listing in No. 6, ...	10
By carts hauling manure on do.	6
By hauling rails 2, going to Mill 1, ...	3

By loading carts with manure 6, cutting straw 3,	9
By plashing thorn hedge 4, repairing the bank of Lane fence No. 6, 2,	6
By stopping hog-hole in do. 6, putting up new fence next to the woods of do. 18,	24
By cutting cornstalks, and getting them off,	56
Lost by rain, or very little done,	20
By Easter Monday,	28
By Cornelia in childbed,	6
Total,	168

Increase, 2 Calves. — Received from Mill, 9¾ bushels of Meal, and 10 bushels of Rye Meal. — Stock, 83 head of Cattle, 5 Calves, 221 Sheep, 45 Lambs, 4 working Mares, 13 working Horses, and 1 Mule.

Dr.	Days.
DOGUE-RUN FARM for the work of 6 men, 8 women, and 2 girls, amounting per week to	96
Cr.	
By listing in No. 2, 5, by ploughing in Mill meadow 2,	7
By raising a bank with a plough and hoes in Mill meadow for the fence,	19
By sawing trunnels 5, mauling do. 5, cutting in Mill meadow 2,	12
By repairing fence around the middle meadow,	10
By repairing fence around No. 2, 7, by spinning 2,	9
By hauling post and rails to Ferry-Barn new lane,	5
By hauling rails to Mill meadow fence,	3
By hauling rails to the middle meadow fence,	2
By Easter Monday,	16
By sickness, Grace 3, Molly 3, Sall 3, Cicely 4,	13
Total,	96

Received from Mill, 6¾ bushels of Meal. — Stock, 57 head of Cattle, 1 Calf, 124 Sheep, 9 working Horses, and 1 Mule.

Dr.	Days.
JOINERS AND CARPENTERS for the work of 6 men and 2 boys, amounting per week to	48
Cr.	
By Thomas Green making sashes for the new quarter,	5
By Mahony putting up the berths in do.	5
By Isaac making and mending ploughs 4, getting ash for rake-handles 1,	5
By Jam making a new cart and shafts, and getting beach stocks for planes,	5
By Sambo and David sawing gate stuff 2, getting stocks and ash for rake-handles 6,	8
By Sambo ripping plank on account of rain	1
By David with Isaac on account of do.	1
By Joe planing plank,	5
By Christopher at do. 4, and 1 day with the wagon,	5
By Easter Monday,	8
Total,	48

Dr. MILL FOR SUNDRIES.	Corn.	Cr.	Meal.	Bran.	Rye Meal.
Ferry and French's,	53	By Dogue-Run Plantation,	6¾		
Toll Corn received,	9½	By River Plantation,	9¾		10
		By Muddy Hole,	6		6
Total received,	62½	By Ferry and French's,	12¼		
		By Mansion-House,	22		
Toll Corn ground,	56	Total delivered,	56¾	20	16
		By Coopers and Miller,	1		

TO ANTHONY WHITING.*

Philadelphia, 11 November, 1792.

MR. WHITING,

Since my last, I have received your letters of the 2d and 7th instant, and shall notice such parts of them as require it, and give such directions respecting my business, committed to your management, as may occur to me.

I shall again express my wish, and, as the raising of corn at the Mansion-House is given up, will also add my anxiety, to have all the ground (except single trees and clumps here and there) cleared, and well cleared, as mentioned in a former letter, between the old clover lot and the sunken ground quite from the wharf to Richard's house and the gate; but, previously, do what has been desired from the cross fence by the spring, to the wharf. In clearing the whole of this ground, let all the ivy and flowering trees and shrubs remain on it, over and above the clumps, and other single trees where they may be thought requisite, for ornament. The present growing pines within that enclosure might be thinned, and brought more into form. When this is done, and all the low land from the river up to the gate laid down in grass, it will add much to the appearance of the place, and be a real benefit and convenience, as it will yield an abundance of grass.

All the hands, that can be conveniently spared, may be kept steadily at this work until it is accomplished, or till they are called off for other essential purposes. The ditchers too, when not employed about more essential work, may aid in this. And it will be necessary for you to think of some crop for the new part of the ground, that will require cultivation through the summer; otherwise the clearing of it will be labor in vain, as in a year or two, without cultivation, it will be as foul as ever.

By a vessel called the *President*, Captain Carhart, you will receive, I hope, the articles contained in the enclosed invoice and bill of lading. The linen, I expect will be cut out and used to the best advantage. You will perceive there are two prices; let that, which bears the lowest price, be given to the boys and girls, and the highest price and best, to the grown and most deserving

* This letter is directed to his manager, and may serve as a sample of the communications on the subject of his farms, which, as heretofore stated, he usually wrote once a week.

men and women, and the surplus (for there is more than you required) be put away securely.

The mulberry trees may be planted about in clumps, as mentioned in my letter by last post to the gardener. They are not trimmed, because, as I am informed, these trees may be propagated by cuttings from them, and save me the trouble and expense of sending more from this place. With respect to the shrubs from Mr. Bartram's botanical garden, directions at the foot of the list are given so fully, as to render it unnecessary to add aught concerning them in this letter; but the grapes the gardener must take particular care of, as they are of a very fine kind.

I send you, also, under cover with this letter, some seeds, which were given to me by an English farmer from the county of Essex, in England, lately arrived in this country to settle, and who appears to be a very sensible and judicious man, and a person of property. He also gave me a pamphlet upon the construction of the kind of plough, which he has used for many years; and the principles for putting the parts together, to make it work true and easy, which I will send to you so soon as I shall receive it from a gentleman to whom I lent it. The plough is simple in its make. The oats, which he gave me as a sample, exceed very little, if any, what I have grown myself. They may, however, in the spring be put into the ground by single seeds, to try what can be made of them. The cattle cabbage may also be tried.

Mr. Lambert, the name of the farmer from whom I had these things, says that the land, on which he and his father before him have lived for fifty or sixty years, is a stiff white clay; and, being at a distance from any source of manure, besides that which is made on the farm, they have pursued a different mode of cropping from that which is usually followed in England; and by so doing, with the aid of the internal manure of the farm, they have brought their poor, stiff land, which originally did not yield them more than five or six bushels of wheat to the acre, and other grain in proportion, to produce very generally from twenty-five to thirty of wheat, and from forty to fifty of barley. Their method has been to keep the arable land always perfectly clean, and alternately in crop or fallow; that is, to take a corn crop from it one year, and have it under the plough in a naked fallow, by way of preparation for the next crop, the next year; beginning this fallow in the autumn, when the ground is dry, again in the spring, as soon as it becomes dry, and three or four times after, before seeding for wheat (if wheat is the crop); never ploughing it wet, which

is the cause, he says, of its running. He seems to understand the principles as well as the practice of husbandry, being a sensible man, and inured for a number of years (I suppose he is sixty) to the labor and practice of it. He has travelled a good deal about this country, and is of opinion that our great error lies in not keeping our arable land clean, and free from weeds. I observed to him, that the people of this country are of opinion, that naked fallows under our hot sun are injurious. He will not by any means admit the principle or the fact; but ascribes the impoverished state of our lands and bad crops to the weeds which he everywhere sees, and which both exhaust and foul it. By constant ploughing, these, he says, are eradicated; and when the fields come to be laid in grass, which is sown, the hay will be pure and unmixed with any thing hurtful to it.

The giving way of the post-and-rail fencing proves, in a strong point of view, the necessity of seeing that all which is made hereafter be of a more substantial kind; that is, the posts larger, and the rails shorter; and it proves, too, the necessity of what I can never too often nor too strongly impress upon you, and that is, to begin and make a business of rearing hedges, without the loss of a single season; for really there is no time to lose. Set about it effectually. I am sure every plantation is now of sufficient force to spare labor for this purpose; not merely to scratch a little trench along the banks of the ditches, and therein put a few seeds, or cuttings, among weeds, briars, and every kind of trash, which will prevent their coming up, or choke them if they do. I would wish to have the seeds or cuttings of any thing tried, rather than that the attempt should be delayed, as it has hitherto been, from one season to another.

Desire Thomas Green to date his reports. That of the week before last I send back for explanation of his measurement of the sawing. I fancy it will puzzle him to make out 508 feet in the twenty-four plank there set down; for, as plank, length and breadth only could be measured. This would amount to no more than 296 feet. As scantling, length and side and edge would be measured, and this would give only about 310 or 312 feet. If he goes on at this rate, he will, in appearance, amend their work, though it will not in reality be any better. But, admitting that the true admeasurement was 508 feet, this would make but a miserable quantity for the time they were about it. That these people (sawyers I mean) may have no pretence for such idleness, not only get them two saws, but let them be of the

largest and best kind. I have already told you, that the oak scantling is to be got on the estate, and the place where. Let Thomas Green, while he is in the Neck, repair the overseer's house, as well as it can be done at this season. The scantling that is to be bought, should be got as soon as possible, that the carpenters may be framing it in the winter, or early in the spring.

Direct the miller to report every week the state of his manufactory of the wheat; as well as the receipts and delivery of the grain into and from the mill, that I may see how he proceeds in that business, and what flour he has on hand, that I may govern my directions accordingly.

I am very well satisfied with the reasons you assign for opening my letter to Mrs. Fanny Washington. It might, as you observe, have contained a request, which, as she was gone, you might have complied with.

You have never mentioned in any of your letters what has become of the mare I left at Georgetown, and which was to have been sent to Mount Vernon. I hope she got there safe, and is now well; in that case you may, occasionally, ride her; keeping her in good order against I may call for her.

How does your growing wheat look at this time? I hope no appearance of the Hessian fly is among it. On Patuxent, not far from you, I am told it is making such havoc amongst the growing wheat, as to render it necessary to sow over again. I am sorry to find No. 1, at French's, turn out so poor a crop of wheat, and that the fields at Muddy Hole have yielded still worse. How much wheat at that place came off the lot by the overseer's house?

In ploughing fields No. 3 and No. 4, Dogue Run, let them be so begun as that the rows when planted may run north and south, or as nearly so as the situation of the fields will admit.

In making your weekly reports, instead of referring to the preceding week or weeks, for the state of your stock of different kinds, enumerate the number of each. I shall have it in my power then to see at one view the precise state of it without resorting to old accounts. And let me entreat, that you will examine them yourself, frequently, as a check upon the overseers; without which, rather than be themselves at the trouble of counting them, they will make you that kind of general report.

The coffee and tea, that I sent you some time ago, you are very welcome to use, and it is my desire you should do it.

The sheriff's bill for the taxes, which you paid while I was at

home, cannot here be got at, as it is filed amongst my papers; but, as I want a copy of it for a particular reason, I should be glad if you would procure one from the sheriff, and send it to me exactly as it was handed in and paid. I want no receipt annexed to it. The account only is all I desire, containing the whole items of charges. I am your friend and well-wisher,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

P. S. In clearing the wood, mark a road by an easy and graduated ascent from the marsh or low ground, up the hollow which leads into the lot beyond the fallen chestnut, about midway of the lot; and leave the trees standing thick on both sides of it, for a shade to it. On the west side of this hollow, if I recollect rightly, there was an old road formerly, but not laid out agreeably to the directions here given. It would look well, and perhaps might be convenient, if there was a road on both sides of this hollow, notwithstanding the hill-side on the east is steep. At any rate, trees where the road would go, if made, might be left for future decision, as they might also be along the side of the low land at the foot of the hill quite from the wharf to the gate by Richard's house. If that meadow should ever be thoroughly reclaimed, and in good grass, a walk along the edge of it would be an agreeable thing; and leaving trees for this purpose may not be amiss, as they may at any time be removed, although time only can restore them if taken away in the first instance. And this would be a good general rule for you to observe in other parts of the same ground; as, if too thick, they can always be thinned; but, if too thin, there is no remedy but time to retrieve the error.

TO JAMES ANDERSON, MANAGER OF THE FARMS.

Mount Vernon, 10 December, 1799.*

MR. ANDERSON,

From the various plans suggested by you at different times for cropping the farms, which I propose to retain in my own hands, in the year 1800, and with a reduced force of the laborers on them, and the operations necessary to carry them into effect; comparing these with the best reflections I have been able to make on the subject; and considering, moreover, the exhausted state of my arable fields, and how important it is to adopt some system by which the evil may be arrested, and the fields in some measure restored by a rotation of crops, which will not press hard upon them, while sufficient intervals are allowed for improvement; I have digested the following instructions for my manager, and for the government of my overseers, and request that they may be most *strictly* and *pointedly* attended to and executed, as far as the measures therein required will admit.

A *system* closely pursued, although it may not in all its parts be the best that could be devised, is attended with innumerable advantages. The conductor of the business, in this case, can never be in any dilemma in his proceedings. The overseers, and even the laborers, know what is to be done, and what they are capable of doing, in ordinary seasons. The force to be employed may be in due proportion to the work which is to be performed, and a reasonable and tolerably accurate estimate may be made of the product. But when no plan is fixed, when directions flow from day to day, the business becomes a mere chaos, frequently shifting, and sometimes at a stand, for want of knowing what to do, or the manner of doing it. Thus is occasioned a waste of time, which is of more importance, than is generally imagined.

Nothing can so effectually obviate the evil, as an established *system*, made known to all who are actors in it, that all may be enabled thereby to do their parts to advantage. This gives ease to the principal conductor of the business, and is more satisfactory to the persons who immediately overlook it, less harassing to the laborers, as well as more beneficial to the employer.

Under this view of the subject, the principal service, which you can render me, is to explain to the overseers (who will be fur-

* Dated only four days before the writer's death.

nished with duplicates) the plan, in all its parts, which is hereafter detailed; to hear their ideas with respect to the order in which the different sorts of work therein pointed out shall succeed each other, for the purpose of carrying it on to the best advantage; to correct any erroneous projects they may be disposed to adopt; and then to see, that they adhere strictly to whatever may be resolved on, and that they are always (except when otherwise permitted) on their farms, and with their people. The work, under such circumstances, will go on smoothly; and, that the stock may be well fed, littered, and taken care of according to the directions, it will be necessary to inspect the conduct of the overseers in this particular, and those also whose immediate business it is to attend upon them, with a watchful eye; otherwise, and generally in severe weather, when attention and care are most needed, they will be most neglected.

Economy in all things is as commendable in the manager, as it is beneficial and desirable to the employer; and, on a farm, it shows itself in nothing more evidently, or more essentially, than in not suffering the provender to be wasted, but, on the contrary, in taking care that every atom of it be used to the best advantage; and, likewise, in not permitting the ploughs, harness, and other implements of husbandry, and the gears belonging to them, to be unnecessarily exposed, trodden under foot, run over by carts, and abused in other respects. More good is derived from attending to the minutiæ of a farm, than strikes people at first view; and examining the farm-yard fences, and looking into the fields to see that nothing is there but what is allowed to be there, is oftentimes the means of producing more good, or at least of avoiding more evil, than can be accomplished by riding from one working party or overseer to another. I have mentioned these things not only because they have occurred to me, but because, although apparently trifles, they prove far otherwise in the result.

The account for the present quarter must be made final, as an entire new scene will take place afterwards. In doing this, advertise in the Alexandria paper for the claims of every kind and nature whatsoever against me, to be brought to you by the 1st of January, that I may wipe them off, and begin on a fresh score All balances in my favor must either be received, or reduced to specialties, that there may be no disputes hereafter.

I am, Sir, &c.

RIVER FARM.

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING CROPS FOR THE RIVER FARM, AND OPERATIONS THEREON, FOR THE YEAR 1800.*

FIELD No. 1, — Is now partly in wheat; part is to be sown with oats; another part may be sown with pease, broad cast; part is in meadow, and will remain so; the most broken, washed, and indifferent part is to remain uncultivated, but to be harrowed and smoothed in the spring, and the worst portions, if practicable, to be covered with litter, straw, weeds, or any kind of vegetable rubbish, to prevent them from running into gullies.

No. 2. — One fourth is to be in corn, and to be sown with wheat; another fourth in buckwheat and pease, half of it in the one, and half in the other, sown in April, to be ploughed in as a green dressing, and by actual experiment to ascertain which is best. The whole of this fourth is to be sown with wheat also; another fourth part is to be naked fallow for wheat; and the other and last quarter to be appropriated for pumpkins, cymlins, turnips, Yateman pease, in hills, and such other things of this kind as may be required; and to be sown likewise with rye, after they are taken off, for seed.

No. 3, — Is now in wheat, to be harvested in the year 1800; the stubble of which, immediately after harvest, is to be ploughed in and sown thin with rye; and such parts thereof as are low, or produce a luxuriant growth of grain, are to have grass-seeds sprinkled over them. The whole for sheep to run on in the day (but housed at night) during the winter and spring months. If it should be found expedient, part thereof in the spring might be reserved for the purpose of seed.

No. 4, — Will be in corn, and is to be sown in the autumn of that year with wheat, to be harvested in 1801; and to be treated in all respects as has been directed for No. 3, the preceding year. It is to be manured as much as the means will permit, with such aids as can be procured during the present winter and ensuing spring.

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* The "plan" alluded to in the preceding letter contained directions for the management and cultivation of three farms, and extended to thirty closely written folio pages. The parts relating to two farms only are here printed. These minute and detailed instructions are the more singular, as Washington expected to reside at home, and exercise a superintendence himself over the whole.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, — Are to remain as they are, but nothing suffered to run upon them; as ground will be allotted for the sole purpose of pasturage, and invariably used as such.

Clover Lots.

No. 1, — Counting from the Spring Branch is to be planted in potatoes.

No. 2, — That part thereof which is now in turnips is to be sown with oats and clover; the other part, being now in clover, is to remain so until it comes into potatoes by rotation.

No. 3, — Is also in clover at present, and is to remain so, as just mentioned, for No. 2.

No. 4, — Is partly in clover and partly in timothy, and so to be, until its turn for potatoes.

The rotation for these lots invariably is to be, 1. Potatoes, highly manured; 2. Oats, and clover sown therewith; 3. Clover; 4. Clover. Then to begin again with potatoes, and proceed as before. The present clover lots must be plastered.

All green sward, rough ground, or that which is heavily covered with weeds, bottle-brush grass, and such things as being turned in will ferment, putrefy, and meliorate the soil, should in autumn be ploughed in, and at such times in winter as it can be done while the ground is dry, and in condition for it.

Pasture Grounds.

The large lot adjoining the negro houses and orchard is to have oats sown on the potato and pumpkin ground; with which, and on the rye also in that lot, and on the melon part, orchard grass-seeds are to be sown; and thereafter to be kept as a standing calf pasture, and for ewes (which may require extra care) at yeaning, or after they have yeaned.

The other large lot, northeast of the barn lane, is to be appropriated *always* as a pasture for the milch cows, and probably working oxen during the summer season.

The woodland, and the old field commonly called Johnston's, are designed for *common* pasture, and to be so applied always. To which, if it should be found inadequate to the stock of the farm, field No. 8, and the woodland therein, may be added.

Meadows.

Those already established and in train must continue, and the next to be added to them is the arms of the creek, which runs

up to the spring-house, and forks, both prongs of which must be grubbed up, and wrought upon at every convenient moment when the weather will permit, down to the line of the ditch, which encloses the lots for clover, &c.

And, as the fields come into cultivation, or as labor can be spared from other work, and circumstances will permit, the heads of all the inlets in them must be reclaimed, and laid to grass, whether they be large or small. Forasmuch as nothing will run on, or can trespass upon, or injure the grass, no fencing is required.

Mud for Compost.

The season is now too far advanced, and too cold, to be engaged in a work, that will expose the hands to wet; but it is of such essential importance, that it should be set about seriously and with spirit next year, for the summer's sun and the winter's frost to prepare it for the corn and other crops of 1801. All the hands of the farm, not indispensably engaged in the crops, should, so soon as corn-planting is completed in the spring, be uninterruptedly employed in raising mud from the *pocosons*,* and from the bed of the creek, into the scow; and the carts, so soon as the manure for the corn and potatoes in 1800 is carried out, are to be incessantly drawing it to the compost heaps in the fields, which are to be manured by it. What number of hands can be set apart for this all-important work, remains to be considered and decided upon.

Penning Cattle and Folding Sheep

On the fields intended for wheat, from the first of May, when the former should be turned out to pasture, until the first of November, when they ought to be housed, must be practised invariably; and to do it with regularity and propriety, the pen for the former, and the fold for the latter, should be proportioned to the number of each kind of stock; and both these to as much ground as they will manure sufficiently in the space of a week for wheat, beyond which they are not to remain in a place, except on the poorest spots; and even these had better be aided by litter or something else, than to depart from an established rule, of removing the pens on a certain day in each week. For in this, as in every thing else, system is essential to carry on business well, and with ease.

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* *Pocoson* is a word used in Virginia to denote a small swamp or marshy place.

Feeding.

The work-horses and mules are always to be in their stalls, and all littered and cleaned, when they are out of harness; and they are to be plenteously fed with cut straw, and as much chopped grain, meal, or bran, with a little salt mixed therewith, as will keep them *always* in good condition for work; seeing also, that they are watered as regularly as they are fed; this is their winter feed. For spring, summer, and autumn, it is expected, that soiling them on green food, first with rye, then with lucerne, and next with clover, with very little grain, will enable them to perform their work.

The oxen, and other horned cattle, are to be housed from the first of November until the first of May; and to be fed as well as the means on the farm will admit. The first (oxen) must always be kept in good condition, housed in the stalls designed for them; and the cows (so many of them as can find places), on the opposite side. The rest, with the other cattle, must be in the newly-erected sheds; and the whole carefully watered every day; the ice, in frozen weather, being broken, so as to admit them to clean water.

With respect to the sheep, they must receive the best protection that can be given them this winter; against the next, I hope they will be better provided for.

And with regard to the hogs, the plan must be, to raise a given number of good ones, instead of an indiscriminate number of indifferent ones, half of which die or are stolen before the period arrives for putting them up as porkers. To accomplish this, a sufficient number of the best sows should be appropriated to the purpose; and so many pigs raised from them as will insure the quantity of pork, which the farm ought to furnish.

Whether it will be most advisable to restrain these hogs from running at large or not, can be decided with more precision after the result of those now in close pens is better known.

The exact quantity of corn used by those, which are now in pens, should be ascertained and regularly reported, in order to learn the result.

Stables and Farm Pens.

These ought to be kept well littered, and the stalls clean; as well for the comfort of the creatures that are contained in them, as for the purpose of manure; but, as straw cannot be afforded for this purpose, leaves and such spoiled straw or weeds as will

not do for food, must serve for the stables; and leaves and cornstalks are all that can be applied to the pens. To do this work effectually, let the cornstalks be cut down by a few careful people with sharp hoes, so low as never to be in the way of scythes at harvest; and, whenever the wheat will admit carts to run on it without injury, let them be brought off and stacked near the farm pens. In like manner, let the people, with their blankets, go every evening, or as often as occasion may require, to the nearest wood, and fill them with leaves for the purposes above mentioned; bottoming the beds with cornstalks, and covering them thick with leaves. A measure of this sort will be, if strictly attended to, and punctually performed, of great utility in every point of view. It will save food, make the cattle lie warm and comfortable, and produce much manure. The hogs also in pens must be well bedded in leaves.

Fencing.

As stock of no kind, according to this plan, will be suffered to run on the arable fields or clover lots, (except sheep in the day on the rye fields, as has been mentioned before,) partition fences between the fields, until they can be raised of quicks, may be dispensed with. But it is of great importance, that all the exterior or outer fences should be substantially good; and those also, which divide the common or woodland pasture from the fields and clover lots, are to be very respectable.

To accomplish this desirable object in as short a time as possible, and with the smallest expense of timber, the post-and-rail fence which runs from the negro quarters, or rather from the corner of the lot enclosing them, up to the division between fields Nos. 7 and 8, may be placed on the bank (which must be raised higher) running to the creek. In like manner, the fence from the gate, which opens into No. 2, quite down to the river, along the Cedar Hedge-row, as also those rails which are between Nos. 1 and 2, and between Nos. 2 and No. 3, may all be taken away, and applied to the outer fences, and the fences of the lanes from the barn into the woodland pasture, and from the former (the barn) into No. 5; for the fences of all these lanes must be good, as the stock must have a free passage along them at all times, from the barn-yard to the woodland pasture.

All the fencing from the last-mentioned place, (between me and Mr. Mason,) until it joins Mr. Lear's farm, and thence with the line between him and me, until it comes to the river, will require

to be substantially good; at its termination on the river, dependence must be placed in a water fence; for if made of common rails, they would be carried off by boatmen for fire-wood. The fences separating fields No. 1 and No. 8 from the woodland pasture must also be made good, to prevent depredations on the fields by my own stock.

Crops, &c. for 1801.

No. 5 is to be in corn, and to be invariably in that article. It is to be planted (if drills are thought to be ineligible until the ground is much improved) in rows six feet by four, or seven feet by three and a half, the wide part open to the south. These hills are to be manured as highly as the means will admit; and the corn planted every year in the middle of the rows of the preceding year; by doing which, and mixing the manure and earth by the plough and other workings, the whole in time will be enriched.

The washed and gullied parts of this field should be levelled, and as much improved as possible, or left uncultivated. Although it is more broken than some of the other fields, it has its advantages. 1st, It has several inlets extending into it, with easy ascents therefrom; secondly, it is convenient to the mud in the bed of the creek, whensoever (by means of the scow) resort is had thereto, and has good landing-places; and, thirdly, it is as near to the barn as any other, when a bridge and causeway shall be made over the Spring Branch. To these may be added, that it is more remote from squirrels than any other.

No. 6 and No. 7, or such part thereof as is not so much washed or gullied, as to render ploughing ineligible, are to be fallowed for wheat. One of which, if both cannot, is to have the stubble ploughed in and sown with rye, and the low and strong parts to have timothy or orchard grass seeds, perhaps both, in different places, sprinkled over them, for the purpose of raising seed. On the rye pasture the sheep are to be fed in winter and spring, and treated in all respects as No. 3 in 1800.

In the years 1802, 1803, *and so on.*

The corn ground remaining the same, two fields, in the following numbers, will be fallowed for wheat, and treated in all respects as mentioned above; and if pumpkins, cymlins, turnips, pease, and such like growth, are found beneficial to the land, or useful and profitable to the stock, ground may readily be found for them.

These are the great outlines of a plan, and the operations of it,

for the next year, and for years to come, for the *River Farm*. To carry it into effect advantageously, it becomes the indispensable duty of him, who is employed to overlook and conduct the operations, to take a prospective and comprehensive view of the whole business, which is laid before him, that the several parts thereof may be so ordered and arranged, as that one sort of work may follow another sort in proper succession, and without loss of labor or of time; for nothing is a greater waste of the latter, and consequently of the former, (time producing labor, and labor money,) than shifting from one thing to another before it is finished, as if chance or the impulse of the moment, not judgment and foresight, directed the measure. It will be acknowledged, that weather and other circumstances may at times interrupt a regular course of proceedings; but, if a plan is well digested beforehand, they cannot interfere long, with a man who is acquainted with the nature of the business, and the crops he is to attend to.

Every attentive and discerning person, who has the whole business of the year laid before him, and is acquainted with the nature of the work, can be at no loss to lay it out to advantage. There are many sorts of *in-doors* work, which can be executed in hail, rain, or snow, as well as in sunshine; and if they are set about in fair weather (unless there be a necessity for it), there will be nothing to do in foul weather; the people therefore must be idle. The man of prudence and foresight will always keep these things in view, and order his work accordingly, so as to suffer no waste of time, or idleness. These same observations apply with equal force to frozen ground, and to ground too wet to work in, or which, if worked, will be injured thereby.

These observations might be spun to a greater length, but they are sufficient to produce reflection; and reflection, with industry and proper attention, will produce the end that is to be wished.

There is one thing, however, I cannot forbear to add, and in strong terms; it is, that whenever I order a thing to be done, it must be done, or a reason given at the time, or as soon as the impracticability is discovered, why it cannot be done, which will produce a countermand or change. But it is not for the person receiving the order to suspend, or dispense with, its execution; and, after it has been supposed to have gone into effect, to tell me, that nothing has been done in it, that it *will* be done, or that it could not be done; either of these is unpleasant and disagreeable to me, having been all my life accustomed to more regularity and punctuality. Nothing but system and method are required to accomplish any reasonable requests.

Union Farm.

Directions concerning crops for the Union Farm, and operations thereon, for the year 1800.

Field No. 1, — Is now sown with wheat, to be harvested in 1800; the stubble of which is to be immediately ploughed in, and rye sowed thereon for a sheep pasture. Grass-seeds must be sown therewith, on such parts as will yield grass for seed, to supply my own wants, and the market, so far as it can be spared. This field, after the rye has been eaten off by the sheep, is to be kept from stock of all kinds, and nothing suffered to run thereon, until it comes, in course, to be cultivated, in the regular routine of crops.

No. 2, — Will be in corn, and, although but an indifferent field, washed in some places, gullied in others, and rich in none, is, all things considered, best to be appropriated constantly for this crop. First, and specially, because it is most contiguous to the barn, and the corn therein more easily secured and attended to. Secondly, because it is as handy to the mud from the *pocoson* and the bed of the creek as any other, to mix in a compost, and more convenient to the manure from the farm-yard and stables. Thirdly, because it is entirely out of the reach of squirrels. And, fourthly, because it is hoped and expected, from the manner of treating it, that it will be so much amended as to become more and more productive every year, and the impoverished places, if not restored to some degree of fertility, prevented from getting worse, and becoming such eye-sores as they now are.

The corn will be planted in rows, six feet by four, or seven by three and a half; the wide part open to the south. It must be as highly manured in the hill as the means on the farm (respect being had to other species of crops) will admit. The rows of the succeeding year will be in the middle of the last, and alternately shifted; by which means, and the workings the field will yearly receive, the whole will be enriched, and, it is hoped, restored.

No. 3. — As No. 2 is to be appropriated as a standing field for corn, and of course cannot be sown with wheat in the autumn of 1800, this field, that is, No. 3, ought, if it be practicable, to be fallowed, and sown with that article; otherwise the farm will produce no wheat the following year, and the stock must suffer for want of the straw; and it is to be treated in every respect as has been directed for No. 1, that is, the stubble to be ploughed in

immediately after harvest, and rye sowed thereon, with grass-seeds where the soil is strong enough to rear them, for the purpose of producing seed again.

No. 4. — The part thereof which lies northeast of the meadow, commonly called Manley's Field, is to remain well enclosed, and no stock suffered to run thereon until it comes in rotation to be fallowed for wheat in 1801. The other part of the same No. 4 is to be equally well enclosed, and kept from stock; and, except the part along Muddy-Hole Branch (which is to be added to No. 5, in order to supply the deficiency occasioned by taking the clover lot No. 2 from it), is to be planted with peach trees, at sixteen feet and a half asunder, except so much of it as lies flat, by the gate on the Mill road, which, if properly prepared, it is supposed would bring grass, and on that account is to be planted at double that distance, namely, at thirty-three feet apart. What is here meant by enclosing this part of No. 4 well, is, that the outer fence shall be secure, for it will remain as now undivided from No. 3, otherwise than by the Branch.

No. 5, — Is also to be kept from stock; and, when it comes in course to be fallowed for wheat, is to have the addition above mentioned, along the Branch, added thereto, and sown in this article.

No. 6, — Will receive such an addition to its size from No. 7, as will make it, exclusive of the lot for clover, lucerne, &c., of equal size thereto. Part of this field is now sown with, and will be in wheat in 1800. Part will be in oats, particularly where the pease grew; and all that part of it, and No. 7 also, which lies low, from the meadow fence by the overseer's house, quite up to the head springs of the Branch, reclaimed in the spring, is to be planted with rare-ripe corn; and in the fall to be treated in every respect as the great meadow at this farm (but at an earlier period) has been this year. For, although I am not sanguine enough to expect, that it will make good mowing meadow, I shall be much disappointed if it does not produce grass, yielding a good deal of seed, which, until the fields come into cultivation, in regular rotation, and afterwards, if it answer expectation, will be an annual profit without any other labor than gathering it. The other part of No. 6, which will be taken from No. 7, lying south of this low ground between it and No. 1, might, if it does not involve too much ploughing, be put in corn also; but this is a measure, which will require consideration, and probably must depend upon circumstances. The poor and washed parts of No. 6 must remain

uncultivated; but ought, if it be practicable, to be levelled, harrowed, and such trash of some kind to be thrown thereon, as will keep them from growing worse.

No. 7. — Some parts of this field may be sown with buckwheat, in no great quantity, and a part may be planted with the Yateman pease, in hills, both for a crop; some of the other kind of pease may be sown broad-cast, and mowed at a proper season for the stock. The rest of the ground, by lying uncultivated, and nothing running thereon, will be increasing in strength while idle.

Clover Lots.

No. 1, — Next the overseer's house, same side of the lane, (excepting the ground now in and designed for lucerne, south of the slash by the barn, and two acres where the turnips grew, or at the other end for experiments) is to be in oats, and to be sown with clover seed.

No. 2, — Opposite thereto, and at present part of No. 5, is to be well manured and planted with potatoes; whether in hills, or drills, may be considered.

No. 3, — May receive pumpkins, cymlins, turnips, and melons, there being no sown grass remaining on it; and the manure for, and shade occasioned by, these vines, together with the working the lot will get, will be of service instead of a detriment to the potato crop which will follow.

No. 4, — Is to remain in clover, until, by rotation, it comes into potatoes again.

The rotation for these lots is uniformly to be, 1. Potatoes, highly manured; 2. oats, and clover sown therewith; 3. clover; 4. clover. Then to begin again with potatoes, and proceed as before.

The present clover lots must be plastered.

All green sward, rough ground, or that which is heavily covered with weeds, bottle-brush grass, and such things as by being turned in will ferment, putrefy, and ameliorate the soil, should in the autumn be ploughed in, and at such time in winter as it can be done while the ground is dry and in condition for working.

Pasture Ground.

As stock of all sorts, except sheep upon the rye, are to be excluded from the arable fields and clover lots, resort must be had to the woodland and unreclaimed swamps therein for pasture for them; and this will be provided by a fence extending from the southwest corner of Muddy-Hole field No. 2, to the southeast cor-

ner of Dogue-Run field No. 4, leaving all south of it for this farm; as the north part will be for Muddy-Hole farm; and, as it will be for the mutual benefit of both farms, the fence must be erected at the joint expense of both.

Fencing.

The one just mentioned must be completed in the course of the winter; and every possible exertion must be made to strengthen, and render substantially good, the whole of the exterior or outer fence of the farm. To do this, and to avoid all unnecessary consumption of timber, the partition fence between the fields No. 6 and No. 7, as it now stands, quite up to the woods, and thence to the fence leading from the Ferry to the Mill road from the Mansion-House, may be taken away and applied to that fence, and to the trunnel-fence on the Mill road, where they unite, until it comes to the meadow fence at the bridge; leaving the fields No. 6 and No. 7, and the woodland adjoining, under one enclosure. In like manner, the fences dividing No. 1 from No. 2, and No. 2 from No. 3, may be used for a fence around the creek, until it unites with that opposite to the Mill house; without which neither of those fields will be secure, as hogs have been taught, or of themselves have learnt, to cross the creek in pursuit of food. For strengthening effectually the fence from the plank bridge by the Barn lane to the Branch opposite to the Mill house, new rails must be got in the nearest wood between the Mill road and the road leading to the Gum Spring.

The west fence of No. 5 must, next year, or as soon as it can be accomplished, be removed across the Branch, and placed in a line with the new ditch fence of the lower meadow, until it comes in range with the south line of the said field; and, until a fence is run from the end thereof to the nearest part of the outer fence opposite to the Mill, and a second gate established thereat, or until that intercourse between the Barn and Mill is effectually barred, which would be the cheapest and most convenient mode, there would be no security for any crop growing in fields Nos. 1, 2, and 3, as leaving the gate by the Mill run open only five minutes might deluge the whole with the hogs at that place; and they might be there a night or two, perhaps more, before they were discovered, and do irreparable damage. Indeed, the latter mode has so much the advantage of the former, especially as my intercourse with the Mill will in a great measure cease, that I see no cause to hesitate a moment in adopting it; and, to prevent opening

the fence where the gate now is, a deep ditch and high bank would be necessary, from some distance below to the foot of the hill above, if not quite up to the meadow. One among other advantages resulting from this measure would be, that the west and even south fence of No. 5 might, if occasion required it, be applied, instead of new rails, in making the fence from the meadow towards the Mill, and around the creek, more substantial; for it must be repeated again, that, as there will be few or no inner fences, the outer ones must be unassailable by the most vicious stock.

The fences that are already around the meadows may remain, but there is no occasion for their being formidable. To guard them against hogs, if any should by chance get through the outer fence, is all that would be necessary.

Meadows.

The large meadow below the Barn lane, and half of that above the lane, have had every thing done for them that is requisite, except manuring when necessary and the means are to be had. The remaining part of the last-mentioned meadow above must receive a complete summer fallow, to cleanse it of rubbish of all sorts, and be sown in proper season with timothy, with a protecting crop of rye for soiling the working mules in the spring.

Although I may find myself mistaken, I am inclined to put the other prong of this swamp, running through No. 6 and heading in No. 7, into meadow; and I have for this reason already directed the mode to be pursued for accomplishing it. Next to this, let as much of the inlet in No. 2 as can be laid dry enough for corn, be planted therewith, in order to eradicate the wild growth. When this is effected, lay it to grass. As the fields come round, the unreclaimed inlets may be prepared for grass, if circumstances and the force of the farm will admit of it. Of these there is one, besides a swamp in No. 3, which is susceptible of being converted into good grass ground; and the flat and low ground in No. 4, it is presumed, would bring grass also. Whether the part proposed to be added to field No. 5 had better be retained for arable uses, or laid to meadow, can be determined better after it is cleared, and cleansed of the wild growth, than now. But the inlets at the Ferry, between the dwelling and fish houses, might, by a small change of the fence from the gate of No. 1, be thrown into that field and brought into excellent meadow at very little expense, whensoever time and labor can be afforded for this purpose. To

dwell on the advantages of meadow would be a mere waste of time, as the produce is always in demand in the market and for my purposes, and obtained at no other expense, than that of cutting the grass and making it into hay.

Crops, &c. for 1801.

No. 2, — Being the field appropriated for corn, will be planted with this article accordingly, as already directed for 1800; the poor and washed parts continuing to receive all the aid that can be given to them.

No. 3, — Supposing it to have been fallowed and sown the year before, will this year produce a crop of wheat, the stubble of which, immediately after harvest, is to be turned in, and be sown with rye for the benefit of sheep in the day, during winter and spring, but which are to be housed at night. All the low and rich spots, capable of producing grass, must be sown with timothy or orchard-grass seeds, for the purpose of supplying seeds again; and a part of the field may be reserved for a rye crop, or the sheep taken off early enough for the whole to yield enough of this grain to pay for the harvesting of it.

Nos. 4 and 5. — That part of No. 4, which lies next to the Mill, is, as has been directed already, to be planted with peach trees; the other part, called Manley's Field, with all that can be added to it, not exceeding forty acres, of woodland adjoining No. 6, and the upper meadow below the plank bridge, are to be fallowed for wheat, as No. 5 also is to be, with the addition at the west end taken from No. 4; and both of them, if it can be accomplished, but one certainly, must have the stubble, when the wheat comes off, sowed with rye for the sheep, and with grass-seeds upon low and rich places, for the purpose of raising seed. They are to be treated in all other respects as has been directed for No. 3.

The reason for preferring an addition to No. 4 from the woods east of the meadow, although the land is of inferior quality, is, because it requires no additional fencing, for the same fence that encloses Nos. 6 and 7 encompasses this also; because it will be more convenient for supplying the Mansion with fire-wood; and because it will give a better form and appearance to the farm, than breaking into the woodland on the north side of the Mill road.

Crops for 1802, 1803, and so on.

The corn ground remaining the same *always*, two fields, in following summers, will every year be fallowed for wheat, and treated in all respects as has been mentioned before. And, if pumpkins, cymlins, turnips, and such like growths are found beneficial to the land, or useful and profitable for stock, places enough may be found to raise them in.

All unnecessary wood is to be cut down, and removed from the fields, as they are cultivated in rotation.

Mud and Rich Earth for Composts,
Penning Cattle and Folding Sheep,
Feeding,
Stables and Farm Pens,

are all to be managed precisely as is directed for River Farm.

Rotation of Crops.

To understand the tables of *Rotation of Crops* which follow, it should be observed, that they all apply to one and the same farm, which contained 525 acres, and was divided into seven fields. The first part of each table indicates the kind of products destined for each field, under the respective years. Then follow the times for ploughing the different fields, and the number of days it will take; next, an estimate of the probable quantity and value of the products; lastly, remarks on the plan of the table, and on the results of the rotation.

In a note attached to these tables, Washington says, "The ploughing is calculated at three fourths of an acre per day. If, then, one plough will go over a seventy-five acre field in one hundred days, five ploughs will do it in twenty days. In some ground, according to the state of it, and the seasons, an acre at least ought to be ploughed per day by each team; but the estimate is made at three fourths of an acre, in order to reduce it to more certainty. The fields are all estimated at seventy-five acres each (although they run a little more or less), for the sake of more easy calculation of the crops, and to show their comparative yield."

Rotation No. 1.

No. of the Fields.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.
3	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.
4	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.
5	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.
6	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.
7	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.
1	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.
2	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Clover or Grass.	Corn and Potatoes.

Number of ploughings, times at which they must be given, and number of days it will take.

	Acres.		Fall.	Wint.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Total.
No. 3.	75	Corn and Potatoes.										
		Breaking up	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100
		Laying off, & listing	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
		Crossing for planting	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	10
		Ploughing balks	..	..	..	..	70	..	..	..	..	70
		Crossing them	..	..	..	..	..	70	..	..	..	70
		Re-crossing	..	..	..	..	..	..	70	..	..	70
		Sowing Wheat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	..	75
4 5 6	225	Clover or Grass	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
1.	75	Buckwheat for manure.										
		Breaking up	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100
		Crossing for sowing	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
		Ploughing in	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	100
2.	75	Wheat. Corn ground	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
7.	75	Do. or Buckwheat,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	100
	525		200	..	60	110	70	170	70	175	..	855

Probable Yield.

No. 3.	75 ac. in Corn, a.	12½ bushels	937½ bush.	a. 2*s.* 6*d.*	£117	3*s.* 9*d.*
	Potatoes,	12½	937½	1	46	17 6
2, 7.	150 Wheat,	10	1500	5	375	0 0
1.	75 Buckwheat for manure.					
4, 5, 6.	225 Clover or Grass.					
	525		3375		£539	1*s.* 3*d.*

REMARKS. — The above rotation favors the land very much; inasmuch as there are but three corn crops taken in seven years from any field, and the first wheat crop is followed by a buckwheat manure for the second wheat crop, which is to succeed it, and which, by being laid to clover or grass, and continued therein three years, will afford much mowing or grazing, according as the seasons happen to be, besides being a restorative to the soil. But, then, the produce of the salable crops is small, unless increased by the improving state of the fields.

Rotation No. 2.

No. of the Fields.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.
3	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.
4	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.
5	Pasture.	Pasture.	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover.
6	Pasture.	Wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.
7	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.
1	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Buck-wheat.
2	Wheat.	Buck-wheat for Manure.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.

Ploughings, &c. for the above Crops.

	Acres.	Fall.	Wint.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Total.
No. 3.	75 Corn and Potatoes, same as No. 1.	100	..	60	10	70	70	70	75	..	455
4. 6.	150 Clover	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
1.	75 Buckwheat crop. Breaking up	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	100
	Second ploughing,	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	100
2.	75 Wheat. Corn ground	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
7.	75 Do. or Buckwheat. Breaking up	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100
	Crossing and sowing	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	100
	Ploughing in Buckw.	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	100
	Sowing wheat	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	100
5.	75 Buckwheat for manure, as above,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
	525	200	..	160	110	70	270	70	175	..	1055

Probable Yield.

	Acres.	Bushels.	Bushels.				
No. 3.	75 in Corn, a.	12½	937½	a. 2s. 6d.	£117	3s.	9d.
	and Potatoes,	12½	937½	1	46	17	6
4. 5. 6.	225 Clover and Grass.						
2. 7.	150 Wheat,	10	1500	5	375	0	0
1.	75 Supposed in Buckwheat,	12	900	1 8	75	0	0
	525		4275		£614	1s.	3d.

REMARKS. — By the above rotation, 900 bushels of buckwheat, amounting to £75, is added to the proceeds of No. 7, at the expense of 200 days' more ploughing; and no two corn crops follow in immediate succession. Wheat, in one instance, follows a clover lay on a single ploughing; the success of this, though well ascertained in England, may not answer so well in this country, where our lands, from the exhausted state of them, require more manure than the farm can afford, and our seasons are very precarious.

Rotation No. 3.

No. of the Fields.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.
3	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.
4	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.
5	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.
6	Clover.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.
7	Wheat.	Clover.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.
1	Buck-wheat.	Wheat.	Clover.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.
2	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Wheat.	Clover.	Buck-wheat.	Clover.	Corn and Potatoes.

Ploughings, &c. for the above Crops.

	Acres.		Fall.	Wint.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Total.
No. 3.	75	Corn and Potatoes	100	..	60	10	70	70	70	75	..	455
4. 6.	150	Clover	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
5. 1.	150	Buckwheat.										
		Breaking up	..	..	..	100	100	..	..	..	..	200
		Sowing	..	..	..	..	..	100	100	..	..	200
7. 2.	150	Wheat.										
		1 field follows Corn	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
		The other Clover, one ploughing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	100
	525		100	..	60	110	170	170	170	175	..	955

Probable Yield.

No 3.	75 ac.	in Corn, a.	12½ bushels	937½ bush.	a. 2*s.* 6*d.*	£117	3*s.*	9*d.*
		Potatoes,	12½	937½	1	46	17	6
4. 6.	150	Clover.						
5, 1.	150	Buckwheat	12	1800	1 8	150	0	0
7, 2.	150	Wheat,	10	1500	5	375	0	0
	525			5175		£689	1*s.*	3*d.*

REMARKS.—This rotation, for quantity of grain and the profit arising from it, is more productive than either of the preceding; and with no more ploughing; excepting No. 1. No field gives more than three corn crops in seven years, except the crop of buckwheat; the last of which, with the Indian corn, will be more than adequate for all the demands of the farm. The clover is to be sown with the buckwheat in July; and, by being only one year in the ground, may be too expensive on account of the seed. Nor will the fields in this course receive much manure; and the advantages of sowing wheat on a clover lay, in this country, are not well ascertained. Again, preparing two fields for buckwheat may, in practice, be found difficult. Wheat stubble might be ploughed in here for spring food.

Rotation No. 4.

No. of the Fields.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.	1797.	1798.	1799.
3	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.
4	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.
5	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.
6	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.
7	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.	Clover.
1	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.	Wheat.
2	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Clover.	Wheat.	Buck-wheat.	Corn and Potatoes.

Ploughings, &c. for the above Crops.

	Acres.		Fall.	Wint.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Total.
No. 3.	75	Corn and Potatoes	100	..	60	10	70	70	70	75	..	455
4.	75	Buckwheat.										
		Breaking up .	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100
		Second ploughing	..	..	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	100
6. 1.	150	Clover . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
2.	75	Wheat. Corn ground	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
5. 7.	150	Do. or Clover, one ploughing	..	..	..	..	..	*	..	105	105	210
	525		100	100	60	10	70	170	70	180	105	865

Probable Yield.

	Acres.		Bushels.	Bushels.				
No. 3.	75	in Corn, - a.	12½	937½	a.	2s. 6d.	£117	3s. 9d
		Same in Potatoes,	12½	937½		1	46	17 3
4.	75	Buckwheat,	12	900		1 8	75	0 0
6, 1.	150	Clover.						
2, 5, 7.	225	Wheat, - - -	10	2250		5	562	10 0
	525			5025			£801	11s. 0d.

REMARKS. — By the above rotation, the quantity of grain is *nearly* equal to that of No. 3, and the value of it greater; occasioned by the increase of wheat. This rotation is effected with as little ploughing as No. 1, and with less than in either of the other two numbers, 2 and 3. But in this course no green manure is introduced, unless ploughing in clover, is so considered; and the quality of the clover on much reduced land is to be questioned, and the practice of sowing on it, as has been observed in some of the other numbers, not much used, nor the advantages of it well ascertained. Besides, there is the expense of clover-seed for 150 acres every year to be encountered.

EXTRACT FROM AN AGRICULTURAL DIARY.*

April 7th, 1785. — Cut two or three rows of the wheat (Cape wheat) within six inches of the ground, it being near eighteen inches high, that which was first sown, and the blades of the whole singed with the frost.

8th. — Sowed oats to-day in drills at Muddy Hole with my barrel plough. Ground much too wet; some of it had been manured, but had been twice ploughed, then listed, then twice harrowed before sowing; which, had it not been for the frequent rains, would have put the ground in fine tilth. Ploughed up the turnip patch at home for orchard grass.

10th. — Began bricklaying to-day. Completed sowing, with twenty-four quarts of oats, thirty-eight rows at Muddy Hole ten feet apart, in the ground intended for corn.

11th. — Sowed twenty-six rows of barley in the same field at Muddy Hole in the same manner, with the drill plough, and with precisely the same workings the oats had adjoining thereto. This was done with twelve quarts of seed. After three ploughings and three harrowings, sowed millet in eleven rows three feet apart, opposite to the overseer's house in the Neck. Perceived the last sowed oats at Dogue Run, and those sown in the Neck, were coming up.

12th. — Sowed sixteen acres of Siberian wheat, with eighteen quarts, in rows between corn, eight feet apart. This ground had been prepared in the following manner. 1. A single furrow; 2. another in the same to deepen it; 3. four furrows to throw the earth back into the two first, which made ridges of five furrows. These, being done some time ago, and the sowing retarded by frequent rains, had got hard; therefore, 4. before the seed was sown, these ridges were split again by running twice in the middle of them, both times in the same furrow; 5. after which the ridges were harrowed; and, 6. where the ground was lumpy, run a spiked roller with a harrow at the tail of it, which was found very efficacious in breaking the clods and pulverizing the earth, and would have done it perfectly, if there had not been too much moisture remaining from the late rains. After this, harrowing and rolling where necessary, the wheat was sown with the drill plough on the reduced ridges eight feet apart, as above mentioned, and har-

* It was his custom for many years to keep a record of the daily proceedings on the farms. This is an extract from a diary of that description for one week.

rowed in with the small harrow belonging to the plough. But it should have been observed, that, after the ridges were split by the middle double furrows, and before they were closed again by the harrow, a little manure was sprinkled in them.

At Dogue Run, listing the ground intended for Siberian wheat, barley, &c., a second time.

At Muddy Hole sowed with the drill plough two rows of the Albany pease between the corn rows, to see whether they would come to any thing for want of the support which they give one another when sown broad-cast. The same management given the ground as for oats and barley at this place.

13*th*. — Sowed oats in drills ten feet apart, between corn rows in the Neck, twenty-four rows, in the following manner. 1. A single furrow; 2. another and deep furrow in this; 3. four bouts to these; 4. ploughed again in the same manner; 5. a single furrow in the middle of these; 6. manure sprinkled in this furrow; 7. the great harrow over all these; and, 8. the seed sowed after the harrow with the drill or barrel plough, and harrowed in with the harrow at the tail of it. *Note.* — It should have been observed, that the field intended for experiments at this plantation is divided into three parts, by bouting rows running crosswise; and that manure, and the *last* single furrow, are (at least for the present) bestowed on the most westerly of those nearest the Barn.

14*th*. — Harrowed the ground at Muddy Hole, which had been twice ploughed, for Albany pease in broad-cast. At Dogue Run began to sow the remainder of the Siberian wheat, about fourteen quarts, which had been left at the Ferry; run deep furrows in the middle, and made five-feet ridges. Did the same for carrots in the same field on the west side next the meadow. Ordered a piece of ground, two acres, to be ploughed at the Ferry around the old corn-house, to be drilled with corn and potatoes between, each ten feet apart, row from row of the same kind. Sowed in the Neck, or rather planted, next to the eleven rows of millet, thirty-five rows of the rib-grass seeds, three feet apart, and one foot asunder in the rows.

15*th*. — Sowed six bushels of the Albany pease broad-cast at Muddy Hole, on about an acre and a half of ground, which was harrowed yesterday as mentioned above.

Sowed in the Neck along side of the rib-grass fifty rows of burnet seed, exactly as the last was put in; that is, in three feet rows, and one foot in the row.

EXTRACT FROM A DIARY FOR DECEMBER, 1799.*

December 7th. — Rainy morning, with the wind at north; mercury at 37. Afternoon, clear and pleasant; wind westerly. Mercury 41 at night. Dined at Lord Fairfax's.

8th. — Morning perfectly clear, calm, and pleasant; but about nine o'clock the wind came from the northwest and blew frost. Mercury 38 in the morning, and 40 at night.

9th. — Morning clear and pleasant, with a light wind from northwest. Mercury at 33. Pleasant all day; afternoon calm. Mercury 39 at night. Mr. Howell Lewis and wife set off on their return home after breakfast; and Mr. Lawrence Lewis and Washington Custis, on a journey to New Kent.

10th. — Morning clear and calm; mercury at 31. Afternoon lowering; mercury at 42, and wind brisk from the southward. A very large hoar-frost this morning.

11th. — But little wind, and raining. Mercury 44 in the morning, and 38 at night. About nine o'clock the wind shifted to the northwest, and it ceased raining, but continued cloudy. Lord Fairfax, his son Thomas, and daughter, Mrs. Warner Washington and son Whiting, and Mr. John Herbert, dined here, and returned after dinner.

12th. — Morning cloudy; wind at northeast; mercury 33. A large circle round the moon last night. About one o'clock it began to snow; soon after, to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. Mercury 28 at night.

13th. — Morning snowing, and about three inches deep. Wind at northeast, and mercury at 30. Continued snowing till one o'clock, and about four it became perfectly clear. Wind in the same place, but not hard. Mercury 28 at night.

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* This extract has no other interest, than that derived from its being the part of Washington's diary written during the last week of his life. The words, in which the entry is made on the 13th of December, are probably the last he ever wrote, as he was attacked that night with the disorder of which he died.

No. III. p. 235.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

The curiosity, which has been expressed respecting the authorship of the FAREWELL ADDRESS, would seem to require some notice of the subject in this work; although the question, as to the manner in which that address originated, is one of small moment, since its real importance consists in its being known to contain the sentiments of Washington, uttered on a solemn occasion, and designed for the benefit of his countrymen. Whether every idea embodied in it arose spontaneously from his own mind, or whether every word was first traced by his pen, or whether he acted as every wise man would naturally act under the same circumstances, and sought counsel from other sources claiming respect and confidence, or in what degree he pursued either or all of these methods, are points so unimportant, compared with the object and matter of the whole, as to be scarcely worth considering. Nor is it intended here to do any thing more than to state a few facts, leaving the reader to draw his own inferences.

When Washington accepted the Presidency, to which he had been called by the unanimous voice of the people, it was not his intention to remain in the office more than one term. Towards the close of that term, he wrote the following letter to Mr Madison, whom he had been in the habit of frequently consulting, and of whose ability, integrity, and practical wisdom, he entertained the highest opinion.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO JAMES MADISON.

"Mount Vernon, 20 May, 1792.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As there is a possibility, if not a probability, that I shall not see you on your return home; or, if I should see you, it may be on the road, and under circumstances, which may prevent my speaking to you on the subject we last conversed upon, I take the liberty of committing to paper the following thoughts and requests.

"I have not been unmindful of the sentiments expressed by you in the conversations just alluded to. On the contrary, I have again and again revolved them with thoughtful anxiety, but without

being able to dispose my mind to a longer continuation in the office I have now the honor to hold. I therefore still look forward with the fondest and most ardent wishes to spend the remainder of my days, which I cannot expect to be long, in ease and tranquillity.

"Nothing but a conviction, that my declining the chair of government, if it should be the desire of the people to continue me in it, would involve the country in serious disputes respecting the chief magistrate, and the disagreeable consequences which might result therefrom in the floating and divided opinions, which seem to prevail at present, could in any wise induce me to relinquish the determination I have formed; and of this I do not see how any evidence can be obtained previous to the election. My vanity, I am sure, is not of the cast to allow me to view the subject in this light.

"Under these impressions, then, permit me to reiterate the request I made to you at our last meeting, namely, to think of the proper time and the best mode of announcing the intention, and that you would prepare the latter. In revolving this subject myself, my judgment has always been embarrassed. On the one hand, a previous declaration to retire, not only carries with it the appearance of vanity and self-importance, but it may be construed into a manœuvre to be invited to remain; and, on the other hand, to say nothing implies consent, or at any rate would leave the matter in doubt; and to decline afterwards might be deemed as bad, and uncandid.

"I would fain carry my request to you farther than is asked above, although I am sensible that your compliance with it must add to your trouble. But, as the recess may afford you leisure, and I flatter myself you have dispositions to oblige me, I will, without apology, desire, if the measure in itself should strike you as proper, or likely to produce public good or private honor, that you would turn your thoughts to a Valedictory Address from me to the public, expressing in plain and modest terms, that, having been honored with the presidential chair, and to the best of my abilities contributed to the organization and administration of the government; that, having arrived at a period of life, when the private walks of it in the shades of retirement become necessary, and will be most pleasing to me; (and as the spirit of the government may render a rotation in the elective officers of it more congenial with the ideas [the people have] of liberty and safety) that I take my leave of them as a public man, and, in bidding them adieu,

retaining no other concern than such as will arise from fervent wishes for the prosperity of my country, I take the liberty at my departure from civil [life], as I formerly did at my military exit, to invoke a continuation of the blessings of Providence upon it, and upon all those who are the supporters of its interests, and the promoters of harmony, order, and good government.

"That, to impress these things, it might among other topics be observed, that we are *all* the children of the same country, a country great and rich in itself, capable, and promising to be as prosperous and happy as any which the annals of history have ever brought to our view; that our interest, however diversified in local and smaller matters, is the same in all the great and essential concerns of the nation; that the extent of our country, the diversity of our climate and soil, and the various productions of the states consequent of both, are such as to make one part not only convenient, but perhaps indispensably necessary to the other part, and may render the whole, at no distant period, one of the most independent [nations] in the world; that the established government, being the work of our own hands, with the seeds of amendment engrafted in the constitution, may, by wisdom, good dispositions, and mutual allowances, aided by experience, bring it as near to perfection, as any human institution ever approximated, and therefore the only strife among us ought to be, who should be foremost in facilitating and finally accomplishing such great and desirable objects, by giving every possible support and cement to the Union; that, however necessary it may be to keep a watchful eye over public servants and public measures, yet there ought to be limits to it, for suspicions unfounded and jealousies too lively are irritating to honest feelings, and oftentimes are productive of more evil than good.

"To enumerate the various subjects, which might be introduced into such an address, would require thought, and to mention them to you would be unnecessary, as your own judgment will comprehend all that will be proper. Whether to touch specifically any of the exceptionable parts of the constitution may be doubted. All I shall add, therefore, at present is, to beg the favor of you to consider, first, the propriety of such an address; secondly, if approved, the several matters which ought to be contained in it; thirdly, the time it should appear, that is, whether at the declaration of my intention to withdraw from the service of the public, or to let it be the closing act of my administration, which will end with the next session of Congress; the probability being, that

that body will continue sitting until March, when the House of Representatives will also dissolve.

"Though I do not wish to hurry you (the case not pressing) in the execution of either of the publications before mentioned, yet I should be glad to hear from you generally on both, and to receive them in time, if you should not come to Philadelphia before the session commences, in the form they are finally to take. I beg leave to draw your attention, also, to such things as you shall conceive fit subjects for communication on that occasion; and, noting them as they occur, that you would be so good as to furnish me with them in time to be prepared, and engrafted with others, for the opening of the session.

"With very sincere and affectionate regards, I am ever yours,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

A month after this letter was written, Mr. Madison answered it, and communicated at the same time a draft of a valedictory address, as above requested.

JAMES MADISON TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"Orange, 20 June, 1792.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having been left to myself for some days past, I have made use of the opportunity for bestowing on your letter of the 20th ultimo, handed to me on the road, the attention which its important contents claimed. The questions, which it presents for consideration, are, first, at what time a notification of your purpose to retire will be most convenient; secondly, what mode will be most eligible; thirdly, whether a valedictory address will be proper and advisable; fourthly, if both, whether it would be more properly annexed to the notification, or postponed to your actual retirement.

"1. The answer to the first question involves two points, first, the expediency of delaying the notification; secondly, the propriety of making it before the choice of electors takes place, that the people may make their choice with an eye to the circumstances under which the trust is to be executed. On the first point, the reasons for as much delay as possible are too obvious to need recital. The second, depending on the times fixed in the several States, which must be within thirty-four days preceding the first Wednesday in December, requires that the notification should be in time to pervade every part of the Union by the beginning of November. Allowing six weeks for this purpose, the middle of

September, or perhaps a little earlier, would seem a convenient date for the act.

"2. With regard to the mode, none better occurs than a simple publication in the newspapers. If it were proper to address it through the medium of the general legislature, there will be no opportunity. Nor does the change of situation seem to admit a recurrence to the State governments, which were the channels used for the former valedictory address.* A direct address to the people, who are your only constituents, can be made, I think, most properly through the independent channel of the press, through which they are as a constituent body usually addressed.

"3. On the third question, I think there can be no doubt, that such an address is rendered *proper* in itself, by the peculiarity and importance of the circumstances, which mark your situation; and *advisable*, by the salutary and operative lessons of which it may be made the vehicle. The precedent, at your military exit, might also subject an omission now to conjectures and interpretations, which it would not be well to leave room for.

"4. The remaining question is less easily decided. Advantages and objections lie on both sides of the alternative. The occasion, on which you are *necessarily* addressing the people, evidently introduces most easily and most delicately any *voluntary* observations that are meditated. In another view, a farewell address, before the final moment of departure, is liable to the appearance of being premature and awkward. On the opposite side of the alternative, however, a postponement will beget a dryness, and an abridgment in the first address, little corresponding with the feelings, which the occasion would naturally produce, both in the author and the objects; and, though not liable to the above objection, would require a resumption of the subject apparently more forced, and on which, the impressions having been anticipated and familiarized, and the public mind diverted perhaps to other scenes, a second address would be received with less sensibility and effect, than if incorporated with the impressions incident to the original one. It is possible, too, that, previous to the close of the term, circumstances might intervene in relation to public affairs, or the succession to the presidency, which would be more embarrassing, if existing at the time of a valedictory appeal to the public, than if subsequent to that delicate measure.

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* General Washington's Address to the Governors of the States on disbanding the army. See Vol. VIII. p. 439.

"On the whole, my judgment leans to the propriety of blending together the notifying and valedictory addresses; and the more so, as the crisis, which will terminate your public career, may still afford an opportunity, if any intermediate contingency should call for a supplement to your farewell observations. But as more correct views of the subject may produce a different result in your mind, I have endeavoured to fit the draft enclosed to either determination. You will readily observe, that, in executing it, I have aimed at that plainness and modesty of language, which you had in view, and which indeed are so peculiarly becoming the character and the occasion; and that I have had little more to do, as to the matter, than to follow the just and comprehensive outline, which you had sketched. I flatter myself, however, that, in every thing which has depended on me, much improvement will be made, before so interesting a paper shall have taken its last form.

"Having thus, Sir, complied with your wishes, by proceeding on a supposition that the idea of retiring from public life is to be carried into execution, I must now gratify my own by hoping, that a reconsideration of the measure, in all its circumstances and consequences, will have produced an acquiescence in one more sacrifice, severe as it may be, to the desires and interests of your country. I forbear to enter into the arguments, which in my view plead for it, because it would be only repeating what I have already taken the liberty of fully explaining. But I could not conclude such a letter as the present, without a repetition of my anxious wishes and hopes, that our country may not, in this important conjuncture, be deprived of the inestimable advantage of having you at the head of its councils.

"With every sentiment of respect and affectionate attachment, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient friend and servant,

"JAMES MADISON."

MR. MADISON'S DRAFT.

"The period, which will close the appointment with which my fellow-citizens have honored me, being not very distant, and the time actually arrived at which their thoughts must be designating the citizen who is to administer the executive government of the United States during the ensuing term, it may be requisite to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should apprize such of my fellow-citizens as may retain their partiality towards me, that I am not to be numbered among those out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg them to be assured that the resolution, which dictates this intimation, has not been taken without the strictest regard to the relation, which as a dutiful citizen I bear to my country; and that, in withdrawing that tender of my service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am not influenced by the smallest deficiency of zeal for its future interests, or of grateful respect for its past kindness; but by the fullest persuasion that such a step is compatible with both.

"The impressions, under which I entered on the present arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In discharge of this trust, I can only say, that I contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. For any errors, which may have flowed from this source, I feel all the regret which an anxiety for the public good can excite; not without the double consolation, however, arising from a consciousness of their being involuntary, and an experience of the candor which will interpret them.

"If there were any circumstances, which could give value to my inferior qualifications for the trust, these circumstances must have been temporary. In this light was the undertaking viewed when I ventured upon it. Being moreover still farther advanced in the decline of life, I am every day more sensible, that the increasing weight of years renders the private walks of it, in the shade of retirement, as necessary as they will be acceptable to me.

"May I be allowed to add, that it will be among the highest as well as purest enjoyments that can sweeten the remnant of my days, to partake in a private station, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, of that benign influence of good laws under a free government, which has been the ultimate object of all our wishes, and in which I confide as the happy reward of our cares and labors? May I be allowed further to add, as a consideration far more important, that an early example of rotation in an office of so high and delicate a nature may equally accord with the republican spirit of our constitution, and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.

"[If a farewell address is to be added at the expiration of the term, the following paragraph may conclude the present.]

"Under these circumstances, a return to my private station, according to the purpose with which I quitted it, is the part which duty as well as inclination assigns me. In executing it, I shall carry with me every tender recollection, which gratitude to my

fellow-citizens can awaken; and a sensibility to the permanent happiness of my country, which will render it the object of my increasing vows and most fervent supplications."

"[Should no further address be intended, the preceding clause may be omitted and the present address proceed as follows.]

"In contemplating the moment at which the curtain is to drop for ever on the public scenes of my life, my sensations anticipate, and do not permit me to suspend, the deep acknowledgments required by that debt of gratitude, which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me, for the distinguished confidence it has reposed in me, and for the opportunities I have thus enjoyed, of testifying my inviolable attachment by the most steadfast services, which my faculties could render.

"All the returns I have now to make will be in those vows, which I shall carry with me to my retirement and to my grave, that Heaven may continue to favor the people of the United States with the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that their union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of their own hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and with virtue; and that this character may be insured to it by that watchfulness over public servants and public measures, which on one hand will be necessary to prevent or correct a degeneracy, and that forbearance, on the other, from unfounded or indiscriminate jealousies, which would deprive the public of the best services, by depriving a conscious integrity of one of the noblest incitements to perform them; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of America, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire them the glorious satisfaction of recommending it to the affection, the praise, and the adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it.

"And may we not dwell with well-grounded hopes on this flattering prospect, when we reflect on the many ties by which the people of America are bound together, and the many proofs they have given of an enlightened judgment and a magnanimous patriotism?

"We may all be considered as the children of one common country. We have all been embarked in one common cause. We have all had our share in common sufferings and common successes. The portion of the earth, allotted for the theatre of our fortunes, fulfils our most sanguine desires. All its essential

interests are the same; while the diversities arising from climate, from soil, and from other local and lesser peculiarities, will naturally form a mutual relation of the parts, that may give to the whole a more entire independence, than has perhaps fallen to the lot of any other nation.

"To confirm these motives to an affectionate and permanent union, and to secure the great objects of it, we have established a common government, which, being free in its principles, being founded in our own choice, being intended as the guardian of our common rights, and the patron of our common interests, and wisely containing within itself a provision for its own amendment as experience may point out its errors, seems to promise every thing that can be expected from such an institution; and, if supported by wise counsels, by virtuous conduct, and by mutual and friendly allowances, must approach as near to perfection as any human work can aspire, and nearer than any which the annals of mankind have recorded.

"With these wishes and hopes I shall make my exit from civil life; and I have taken the same liberty of expressing them, which I formerly used in offering the sentiments which were suggested by my exit from military life.

"If, in either instance, I have presumed more than I ought, on the indulgence of my fellow-citizens, they will be too generous to ascribe it to any other cause, than the extreme solicitude which I am bound to feel, and which I can never cease to feel, for their liberty, their prosperity, and their happiness."

The state of public affairs, and the loud call of his fellow-citizens from every part of the Union, prevailed on Washington to yield to a second choice, and remain in the presidency another term of four years. Hence no use was made of the above paper. He firmly resolved, however, in any event, to retire from public life at the end of this second period; and, as the time approached, he began to revolve in his mind an address to the people, which should communicate his determination, and convey to them such sentiments or advice, as the occasion might properly call forth, or as his long experience and services authorized him to give. There is proof, that the subject occupied his thoughts nearly a year before his term of office expired. In the mean time, the spirit of party, that bane of the private affections as well as of public concord, caused him to be estranged personally and politically in some degree from Mr. Madison, and to seek other counsellors.

Among these, none possessed a higher place in his confidence than Hamilton; of the talents, patriotism, honor, and honesty of none had he a more thorough conviction, and for none a more profound respect. A colossal pillar of his administration, Hamilton had stood by him in every hour of trial, equally firm and true in his friendship, and powerful in his support. To whom could Washington more safely apply for the fruits of a wise and disciplined mind? From whom could he hope for better counsel, or a more sacred regard to so confidential a trust?

The following note from Hamilton to Washington was probably the first written communication that passed between them on this subject.

"*New York, May 10th*, 1796. — Sir; When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish, that I should *re-dress* a certain paper, which you had prepared. As it is important, that a thing of this kind should be done with great care, and much at leisure, touched and retouched, I submit a wish, that, as soon as you have given it the *body* you mean it to have, it may be sent to me."

This note is dated more than four months before the FAREWELL ADDRESS was published, and it appears that a draft of some sort had already been "prepared" by Washington. It also appears, that Hamilton had been invited, and was well disposed, to lend his assistance in giving it completeness and finish.

What were the contents of the draft here alluded to, or whether it was the one afterwards sent to Hamilton, there are now no means of ascertaining. It is certain, however, that it was Washington's original idea to embody in the address the substance and the form of Mr. Madison's draft, and to make such additions as events and the change of circumstances seemed to require. A paper of this description has been preserved, in which is first inserted Mr. Madison's draft, and then a series of memoranda, or loose hints, evidently designed to be wrought into the address. These are here printed as transcribed from the original manuscript.

HINTS, OR HEADS OF TOPICS.

"Had the situation of our public affairs continued to wear the same aspect they assumed at the time the foregoing address was drawn, I should not have taken the liberty of troubling you, my fellow-citizens, with any new sentiment, or with a repetition more in detail of those, which are therein contained; but considerable

changes having taken place, both at home and abroad, I shall ask your indulgence while I express, with more lively sensibility, the following most ardent wishes of my heart.

"That party disputes among all the friends and lovers of their country may subside, or, as the wisdom of Providence has ordained that men on the same subjects shall not always think alike, that charity and benevolence, when they happen to differ, may so far shed their benign influence, as to banish those invectives, which proceed from illiberal prejudices and jealousy.

"That, as the All-wise Dispenser of human blessings has favored no nation of the earth with more abundant and substantial means of happiness than United America, we may not be so ungrateful to our Creator, so wanting to ourselves, and so regardless of posterity, as to dash the cup of beneficence, which is thus bountifully offered to our acceptance.

"That we may fulfil with the greatest exactitude *all* our engagements, foreign and domestic, to the *utmost* of our abilities, whensoever and in whatsoever manner they are pledged; for in public, as in private life, I am persuaded that honesty will for ever be found to be the best policy.

"That we may avoid connecting ourselves with the politics of any nation, farther than shall be found necessary to regulate our own trade, in order that commerce may be placed upon a stable footing, our merchants know their rights, and the government the ground on which those rights are to be supported.

"That every citizen would take pride in the name of an American, and act as if he felt the importance of the character, by considering, that we ourselves are now a distinct nation, the dignity of which will be absorbed, if not annihilated, if we enlist ourselves, farther than our obligations may require, under the banners of any other nation whatsoever. And, moreover, that we should guard against the intrigues of any and every foreign nation, who shall endeavour to intermingle, however covertly and indirectly, in the internal concerns of our country, or who shall attempt to prescribe rules for our policy with any other power, if there be no infraction of our engagements with themselves, as one of the greatest evils that can befall us as a people; for, whatever may be their professions, be assured, fellow-citizens, and the event will, as it always has, invariably prove, that nations as well as individuals act for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of others, unless both interests happen to be assimilated,

and when that is the case there requires no contract to bind them together; that all their interferences are calculated to promote the former; and, in proportion as they succeed, will render us less independent. In a word, nothing is more certain, than that, if we receive favors we must grant favors; and it is not easy to decide beforehand under such circumstances as we are, on which side the balance will ultimately preponderate; but easy indeed is it to foresee, that it may involve us in disputes, and finally in war, to fulfil political alliances. Whereas, if there be no engagements on our part, we shall be unembarrassed, and at liberty at all times to act from circumstances, and the dictates of justice, sound policy, and our essential interests.

"That we may be always prepared for war, but never unsheath the sword except in self-defence, so long as justice, and our essential rights and national respectability, can be preserved without it; for without the gift of prophecy it may safely be pronounced, that, if this country can remain in peace twenty years longer (and I devoutly pray, that it may do so to the end of time), such, in all probability, will be its population, riches, and resources, when combined with its peculiarly happy and remote situation from the other quarters of the globe, as to bid defiance, in a just cause, to any earthly power whatsoever.

"That, whensoever and so long as we profess to be neutral, our public conduct, whatever our private affections may be, may accord therewith; without suffering partialities on one hand, or prejudices on the other, to control our actions. A contrary practice is not only incompatible with our declarations, but is pregnant with mischief, embarrassing to the administration, tending to divide us into parties, and ultimately productive of all those evils and horrors, which proceed from faction.

"That our Union may be as lasting as time; for, while we are encircled in one band, we shall possess the strength of a giant, and there will be none who can make us afraid. Divide, and we shall become weak, a prey to foreign intrigues and internal discord, and shall be as miserable and contemptible, as we are now enviable and happy.

"That the several departments of government may be preserved in their utmost constitutional purity, without any attempt of one to encroach on the rights or privileges of another; that the general and State governments may move in their proper orbits; and that the authorities of our own constitution may be respected by

ourselves, as the most certain means of having them respected by foreigners.

"In expressing these sentiments it will readily be perceived, that I can have no other view now, whatever malevolence might have ascribed to it before, than such as results from a perfect conviction of the utility of the measure. If public servants, in the exercise of their official duties, are found incompetent, or pursuing wrong courses, discontinue them. If they are guilty of mal-practices in office, let them be more exemplarily punished. In both cases, the constitution and laws have made provision; but do not withdraw your confidence from them, the best incentive to a faithful discharge of their duty, without just cause; nor infer, because measures of a complicated nature, which time, opportunity, and close investigation alone can penetrate, for these reasons are not easily comprehended by those, who do not possess the means, that it necessarily follows they must be wrong. This would not only be doing injustice to your trustees, but be counteracting your own essential interests, rendering those trustees, if not contemptible in the eyes of the world, little better at least than ciphers in the administration of the government, and the constitution of your own choosing would reproach you for such conduct."

Whether these hints were sent to Hamilton, as here written, or to what extent they were previously enlarged and arranged, cannot now be told. It will be seen, however, that they include nearly all the *elements* of the principal points of the address, as it was finally published. After the draft had been transmitted to Hamilton, he discouraged the idea of incorporating Mr. Madison's draft, in its distinct form, on account of the apparent incongruity of the thing, and because he thought some of its sentiments not suited to the objects proposed in this last address. He accordingly sketched two plans, or drafts, one on the basis of an incorporation, the other on that of an original form, submitting it to the judgment of Washington to decide which was the preferable method. He chose the latter. Several letters passed between them. Suggestions were made on both sides, some of which were approved and adopted, others disapproved and rejected. The drafts were sent back and forth from the one to the other. The work was nearly four months in hand; and was executed with a deliberation and solicitude, which prove the deep sense that each entertained of its importance, and of the advantages to be derived from it to the country.

Mr. Jay's testimony ought not to be omitted in this place, as he was likewise a party concerned.

"Some time before the address appeared," he says, "Colonel Hamilton informed me, that he had received a letter from President Washington, and with it the draft of a Farewell Address, which the President had prepared, and on which he requested our opinion. He then proposed that we should fix on a day for an interview at my house on the subject. A day was accordingly appointed, and on that day Colonel Hamilton attended. He observed to me in words to this effect; that, after having read and examined the draft, it appeared to him to be susceptible of improvement; that he thought the easiest and best way was to leave the draft untouched, and in its fair state, and to write the whole over with such amendments, alterations, and corrections as he thought were advisable; and that he had done so. He then proposed to read it and to make it the subject of our consideration. This being agreed to, he read it, and we proceeded deliberately to discuss and consider it, paragraph by paragraph, until the whole met with our mutual approbation. Some amendments were made during the interview, but none of much importance.

"Although this business had not been hastily despatched, yet aware of the consequence of such a paper, I suggested the giving it a further critical examination; but he declined it, saying he was pressed for time, and was anxious to return the draft to the President without delay.

"It afterwards occurred to me, that a certain proposition was expressed in terms too general and unqualified; and I hinted it in a letter to the President. As the business took the course above mentioned, a recurrence to the draft was unnecessary, and it was not read. There was this advantage in the course pursued; the President's draft remained (as delicacy required) fair and not obscured by interlineations. By comparing it with the paper sent with it, he would immediately observe the particular emendations and corrections that were proposed, and would find them standing in their intended places. Hence he was enabled to review, and to decide on the whole matter, with much greater clearness and facility, than if he had received them in separate and detached notes, and with detailed references to the pages and lines, where they were advised to be introduced."*

* Letter to Richard Peters, published in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 249.

It is here to be observed, that Mr. Jay does not profess to have seen Washington's first draft, and of course he could not know what alterations and amendments had been made by Hamilton in transcribing it. He evidently received the impression, however, that the transcript was, in its matter, essentially the same as the original.

The copy, from which the final draft was printed, is now in existence. It was given by Washington himself to Mr. Claypoole, the printer. This manuscript, by the permission of Mr. Claypoole, I have examined, and it is wholly in the handwriting of Washington. It bears all the marks of a most rigid and laborious revision. It is thus described by Mr. Claypoole. "The manuscript copy consists of thirty-two pages of quarto letter-paper, sewed together as a book, and with many alterations; as in some places whole paragraphs are erased, and others substituted; in others, many lines struck out; in others, sentences and words erased, and others interlined in their stead. The tenth, eleventh, and sixteenth pages are almost entirely expunged, saving only a few lines; and one half of the thirty-first page is also effaced." *

The above statement I believe to include all that is known with certainty on this subject. It proves that an original draft was sent by Washington to Hamilton; that the latter bestowed great pains in correcting and improving it; that, during this process, several communications passed between them; and that the final draft was printed from a copy, containing numerous alterations in the matter and style, which were unquestionably made by Washington. The precise paragraphs, words, or thoughts, which originated with either, cannot now be known. If a draft could be found in the handwriting of Hamilton, nearly resembling the printed address, it would go but a short way in solving this question. Papers may or may not have been destroyed. It is impossible to prove either the one or the other; and, till this can be done, it is equally impossible to decide what part was contributed by each of the writers. In a case of so confidential a nature, and in which his honor was so much concerned, it may be supposed that Hamilton would not preserve every communication he received. It could only be, by a knowledge of the conversation between Washington and Hamilton before the first draft was sent to the latter, and by comparing *all* the papers that ever existed on the subject, that a positive conclusion could justly or safely be drawn.

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* *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 257.

My opinion is, that the Address, in the shape it now bears, is much indebted for its language and style to the careful revision and skilful pen of Hamilton; that he suggested some of the topics and amplified others; and that he undertook this task not more as an act of friendship, than from a sincere desire that a paper of this kind should go before the public in a form, which would give it great and lasting utility. But I do not think that his aid, however valuable, was such as to detract from the substantial merit of Washington, or to divest him of a fair claim to the authorship of the address.

If we chose to pursue the inquiry, and accumulate probabilities, the result would not be more satisfactory. Every one, who shall peruse these volumes, will be satisfied that there is not an idea or sentiment in the FAREWELL ADDRESS, which may not be found, more or less extended, in different parts of Washington's writings; nor, after such a perusal, can any one doubt his ability to compose such a paper. As a mere literary performance, though excellent, it is neither extraordinary, nor in any degree superior to many others known to be written by each of the parties. It would add little to the great reputation of Washington, or of Hamilton, if the one or the other could be proved to be its sole and unaided author. It derives its value, and is destined to immortality, chiefly from the circumstance of its containing wise, pure, and noble sentiments, sanctioned by the name of Washington at the moment when he was retiring from a long public career, in which he had been devoted to the service of his country with a disinterestedness, self-sacrifice, perseverance, and success, commanding the admiration and applause of mankind. Take away this name and this circumstance, and its powerful charm would be broken; it would be called able and good, an honorable testimony of the ability and patriotism of the writer, without exciting eager curiosity as to its origin, or the precise manner in which it was produced.

It may not be amiss to state, that it was a habit of Washington, in almost every important act of his life, to consult with those, in whose judgment, good sense, and integrity he confided. Modest in estimating himself, aware that no one mind possesses all wisdom or all knowledge, and ever bent on effecting the best ends by the best means, he sought truth from the sources in which he believed it most likely to be found. But it may be asserted with equal assurance, that no man ever more implicitly followed his own judgment. It may be doubted, if in a single instance,

great or small, he adopted a measure because it was recommended by another, unless it clearly approved itself to his own mind as the best. He might yield to the opinion of others in being diverted from a course, which he was at first inclined to pursue; but in decision and action he relied on himself alone. Hence the marvellous consistency that ran through his whole life, and the no less marvellous train of successes which attended it.

Whoever attempts to settle the authorship of a paper, intended for the public, from the handwriting in which the manuscript appears, will often find himself deceived. I have before me a copy of the Address to the King, by the first Continental Congress, in the handwriting of Washington. Some future antiquarian may light upon this paper, and come out with the discovery, that Washington was its author, and thus claim for him the laurels, which the world has consented to place on the brow of John Dickinson. There is a copy of the first draft of the constitution, printed for the use of the members of the convention, in which are numerous interlineations, corrections, and marginal additions, embracing some of the most important features and articles of that instrument, all written by the pen of Washington. By the rule of inferring authorship from handwriting, it would follow, that he was the author of some of the most essential parts of the constitution, whereas the probability is, that he did no more than write them in his copy as they came up and were adopted by the convention. For its present style and arrangement, the constitution is indebted to the pen of Gouverneur Morris; yet no one ever allowed him any other merit for this performance, than that of skill and talent in composition. In short, if authorship includes the substance as well as form, it is seldom that any individual can be called the sole author of a public paper. Frequently the subject is discussed beforehand in a public body; sometimes by a committee; and the writer is supplied with the ideas of several minds, fully expressed and weighed, before he begins his task. And, even if these aids are not at command, it can rarely happen, that any man will have so little regard for his reputation, or the cause he aims to promote, as to bring a production of this nature before the world, without previously fortifying himself with the opinions and judgment of good counsellors.

No. IV. p. 245.

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND HABITS OF WASHINGTON.

Such persons as have attentively read these volumes may think any remarks on this subject superfluous. In certain quarters, nevertheless, there have been discussions tending to throw doubts over the religious belief of Washington; whether from ignorance of his character and writings, or from causes less creditable, it is needless to inquire. A formal attempt to confute insinuations of this kind would be allowing them a weight, which they cannot claim, till supported by positive testimony, or till it is shown by at least a shadow of proof, that they have any foundation other than conjecture and inference. This has never been done, and nothing is hazarded in saying that it never will be done. A few facts, and brief extracts from his papers, will be enough to place the subject before the reader in its proper light.

A hundred years have elapsed since the childhood of Washington; and so little is known of his early life, from written materials, that we cannot speak with confidence respecting his first religious impressions. It has always been the prevalent tradition, however, in the neighbourhood of his birth-place, that he was educated under influences, that could not fail to fix in his mind the principles of the Christian religion, and a sacred regard for the precepts it inculcates. This is in part confirmed by his manuscripts, containing articles and extracts copied out by himself in his boyhood, which prove that his thoughts at that time had a religious tendency. One of these pieces, being a series of verses *On Christmas Day*, begins thus;

> "Assist me, Muse divine, to sing the morn,
> On which the Saviour of mankind was born."

A boy of thirteen would scarcely employ himself in transcribing pieces of this description, whose mind had not already received a decided bias from the instructions of pious parents or teachers.

It should be observed, also, that in his first military campaigns he was careful to have religious service regularly performed in camp. Even in the midst of the active scenes at the Great Meadows this was the daily practice. During the French war, when the government of Virginia neglected to provide chaplains for the army, he remonstrated against such an impropriety, and

urged his request till they were appointed. In the general orders he reproved and forbade the vicious habits and profane swearing of the soldiers. The following is an extract from these orders.

"Colonel Washington has observed, that the men of his regiment are very profane and reprobate. He takes this opportunity to inform them of his great displeasure at such practices, and assures them, that, if they do not leave them off, they shall be severely punished. The officers are desired, if they hear any man swear, or make use of an oath or execration, to order the offender twenty-five lashes immediately, without a court-martial. For the second offence, he shall be more severely punished." Similar orders were repeated, when the occasion required; and they afford a convincing proof of the high religious motives by which he was actuated in his command.

After the French war, while in retirement at Mount Vernon, he took a lively interest in church affairs, regularly attending public worship, and being at different times a vestryman in two parishes.* The House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, passed an order (May 24th, 1774,) in reference to the act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, that "the 1st day of June should be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity, which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war." On the day appointed, he writes in his diary: "Went to church, and *fasted all day*," thus conforming not only to the spirit, but to the strict letter of the

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* The following list of votes for vestrymen in *Fairfax Parish*, and *Truro Parish*, is copied from a paper in Washington's handwriting, and shows that he was chosen a vestryman in each of those parishes. How long he continued in that station, I have no means of determining. The place of worship in Fairfax Parish was at Alexandria; in Truro Parish, at Pohick; the former ten, the latter seven miles from Mount Vernon.

Vestry chosen for Fairfax Parish, 24th March, 1765; With the number of votes for each.		*Vestry chosen for Truro Parish, 22d July, 1765; With the number of votes for each.*	
John West	340	George Mason	282
Charles Alexander	309	Edward Payne	277
William Payne	304	George Washington	259
John Dalton	281	John Posey	259
George Washington	274	Daniel McCarty	246
Charles Broadwater	260	George William Fairfax	235
George Johnston	254	Alexander Henderson	231
Townsend Dade	252	William Gardner	218
Richard Sanford	247	Tomison Ellzey	209
William Adams	244	Thomas W. Coffer	189
John Posey	222	William Lynton	173
Daniel French	221	Thomas Ford	170"

order. This diary was kept for many years with much particularity. A Sabbath day rarely occurs, in which it is not recorded that he went to church. If there was an omission, it was caused by the weather, or badness of the roads; the nearest church, as stated above, being seven miles from his residence. While attending the first Congress, he adhered to the same practice.

During the revolution and afterwards, his habits, and the importance he attached to the principles and observances of religion, may be understood from the following extracts taken promiscuously from his Orderly Book, letters, and addresses.

"The honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a chaplain to each regiment, the colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure chaplains accordingly, persons of good characters and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts, that every officer and man will endeavour to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country." — *Orderly Book, July 9th*, 1776.

"That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General in future excuses them from fatigue duty on Sundays, except at the ship-yards, or on special occasions, until further orders. The General is sorry to be informed, that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing, a vice heretofore little known in an American army, is growing into fashion; he hopes the officers will, by example as well as influence, endeavour to check it, and that both they and the men will reflect, that we can have little hope of the blessing of Heaven on our arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly; added to this, it is a vice so mean and low, without any temptation, that every man of sense and character detests and despises it." — *Orderly Book, August 3d*, 1776.

"Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigade; and, as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer's ruin." — *Instructions to the Brigadier-Generals, May 26th*, 1777.

"To-morrow being the day set apart by the honorable Congress for public thanksgiving and praise, and duty calling us all devoutly to express our grateful acknowledgments to God for the manifold blessings he has granted to us, the General directs, that the army remain in its present quarters, and that the chaplains perform divine service with their several regiments and brigades; and earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensably necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day." — *Orderly Book, December 17th*, 1777.

The day after the capitulation at Yorktown, the following order was issued. "Divine service is to be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-chief earnestly recommends, that the troops not on duty should universally attend, with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart, which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us." — *October 20th*, 1781.

On proclaiming to the army the cessation of hostilities, at the end of the war, he said in the general orders; "The proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, will be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps in the army; after which the chaplains with the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his overruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations." — *April 18th*, 1783.

In speaking of the progress of the war, and the manner in which it had been sustained by the Americans against a powerful enemy, he said; "The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel, that lacks faith, and more than wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations." — *Letter, August 20th*, 1778. Indeed, this habit of ascribing every favorable event, and the success of his personal efforts, to the benign influence of an overruling Providence, was constant with him during the whole war, and it seemed to be his chief support and consolation in the severe reverses and trials, which he was often called to bear.

"Ours is a kind of struggle," said he, "designed by Providence, I dare say, to try the patience, fortitude, and virtue of men. None, therefore, who is engaged in it, will suffer himself, I trust, to sink under difficulties, or be discouraged by hardships."

"Providence having so often taken us up, when bereft of every other hope, I trust we shall not fail even in this."

"To that good Providence, which has so remarkably aided us in all our difficulties, the rest is committed."

"We have abundant reasons to thank Providence for its many favorable interpositions in our behalf. It has at times been my only dependence, for all other resources seemed to have failed us."

"Our affairs are brought to a perilous crisis, that the hand of Providence, I trust, may be more conspicuous in our deliverance. The remarkable interpositions of the Divine government, in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest."

The same sentiments were expressed on many occasions after the war. "I am sure," said he, in a letter to General Armstrong, "there never was a people, who had more reason to acknowledge a divine interposition in their affairs, than those of the United States; and I should be pained to believe, that they have forgotten that agency, which was so often manifested during our revolution, or that they failed to consider the omnipotence of that God, who is alone able to protect them." — *March 11th*, 1792.

Examples of this kind might be multiplied indefinitely. In those parts of faith and practical piety, therefore, which consist in a conviction of the all-pervading presence of the Supreme Being, habitual acknowledgment of his power and goodness, and humble and devout submission to the divine will, from motives of the most serious and sacred import, it will not be easy to find, in any denomination of Christians, an individual more eminently distinguished than Washington.

How far these habits were prompted or confirmed by his particular belief in the Christian revelation, may be inferred from other passages in his writings, as well as from the whole tenor of his life, in regard to Christian worship and observances. The two following extracts are from his circular letter to the governors of the States, on the disbanding of the army, June 8th, 1783.

"The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, *the pure and benign light of Revelation*, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society."

"I now make my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate the spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-

citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and, finally, that he would be most graciously pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were *the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion*, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation."

The same spirit appears in his reply to the address of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church. "On this occasion it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt, in perceiving the fraternal affection, which appears to increase every day among the friends of *genuine religion*. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see *Christians of every denomination* dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more *Christian-like spirit* than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation." — *August 19th*, 1789.

In a letter to George Mason, respecting a bill, which had been brought before the Virginia legislature for establishing a provision for the support of teachers of the Christian religion by a general tax, he observed; "Although no man's sentiments are more opposed to any kind of restraint upon religious principles than mine are, yet I confess, that I am not amongst the number of those, who are so much alarmed at the thoughts of making people pay towards the support of that which they profess." — *October 3d*, 1785. From this passage it would seem, that he did not disapprove a legal provision for Christian teachers. But, at the same time, there are many evidences to show, that this idea never bordered on intolerance. To Lafayette he wrote, alluding to the proceedings of the Assembly of Notables; "I am not less ardent in my wish, that you may succeed in your plan of toleration in religious matters. Being no bigot myself, I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity in the church with that road to Heaven, which to them shall seem the most direct, plainest, easiest, and least liable to exception." — *August 15th*, 1787. Again, in a letter to Sir Edward Newenham; "Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes, that the enlightened and liberal policy, which has marked the present age, would at least have reconciled *Chris-*

tians of every denomination so far, that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch, as to endanger the peace of society." — *October 20th*, 1792. Again, in his address to the Quakers; "While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess." — *October*, 1789. To the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church he said, at the same time; "You, Gentlemen, act the part of pious Christians and good citizens by your prayers and exertions to preserve harmony and good will towards men, which must be the basis of every political establishment; and I readily join with you, that, 'while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support.'" These views of toleration, and of the connexion between religion and government, are often repeated both in his private and public writings.

Comment on these extracts is unnecessary. They may safely be left to the judgment of the reader. To say that he was not a Christian, or at least that he did not believe himself to be a Christian, would be to impeach his sincerity and honesty. Of all men in the world, Washington was certainly the last, whom any one would charge with dissimulation or indirectness; and if he was so scrupulous in avoiding even a shadow of these faults in every known act of his life, however unimportant, is it likely, is it credible, that, in a matter of the highest and most serious importance, he should practise through a long series of years, a deliberate deception upon his friends and the public? It is neither credible nor possible.

I shall here insert a letter on this subject, written to me by a lady who lived twenty years in Washington's family, and who was his adopted daughter, and the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. The testimony it affords, and the hints it contains respecting the domestic habits of Washington, are interesting and valuable.

"Woodlawn, 26 February, 1833.

"SIR,

"I received your favor of the 20th instant last evening, and hasten to give you the information, which you desire.

"Truro Parish is the one in which Mount Vernon, Pohick Church, and Woodlawn are situated. Fairfax Parish is now Alexandria. Before the Federal District was ceded to Congress, Alex-

andria was in Fairfax county. General Washington had a pew in Pohick Church, and one in Christ Church at Alexandria. He was very instrumental in establishing Pohick Church, and I believe subscribed largely. His pew was near the pulpit. I have a perfect recollection of being there, before his election to the presidency, with him and my grandmother. It was a beautiful church, and had a large, respectable, and wealthy congregation, who were regular attendants.

"He attended the church at Alexandria, when the weather and roads permitted a ride of ten miles. In New York and Philadelphia he never omitted attendance at church in the morning, unless detained by indisposition. The afternoon was spent in his own room at home; the evening with his family, and without company. Sometimes an old and intimate friend called to see us for an hour or two; but visiting and visitors were prohibited for that day. No one in church attended to the services with more reverential respect. My grandmother, who was eminently pious, never deviated from her early habits. She always knelt. The General, as was then the custom, stood during the devotional parts of the service. On communion Sundays, he left the church with me, after the blessing, and returned home, and we sent the carriage back for my grandmother.

"It was his custom to retire to his library at nine or ten o'clock, where he remained an hour before he went to his chamber. He always rose before the sun, and remained in his library until called to breakfast. I never *witnessed* his private devotions. I never *inquired* about them. I should have thought it the greatest heresy to doubt his firm belief in Christianity. His life, his writings, prove that he was a Christian. He was not one of those, who act or pray, 'that they may be seen of men.' He communed with his God in secret.

"My mother resided two years at Mount Vernon, after her marriage with John Parke Custis, the only son of Mrs. Washington. I have heard her say, that General Washington always received the sacrament with my grandmother before the revolution When my aunt, Miss Custis, died suddenly at Mount Vernon, before they could realize the event, he knelt by her and prayed most fervently, most affectingly, for her recovery. Of this I was assured by Judge Washington's mother, and other witnesses.

"He was a silent, thoughtful man. He spoke little generally; never of himself. I never heard him relate a single act of his life during the war. I have often seen him perfectly abstracted,

his lips moving, but no sound was perceptible. I have sometimes made him laugh most heartily from sympathy with my joyous and extravagant spirits. I was, probably, one of the last persons on earth to whom he would have addressed serious conversation, particularly when he knew that I had the most perfect model of female excellence ever with me as my monitress, who acted the part of a tender and devoted parent, loving me as only a mother can love, and never extenuating or approving in me what she disapproved in others. She never omitted her private devotions, or her public duties; and she and her husband were so perfectly united and happy, that he must have been a Christian. She had no doubts, no fears for him. After forty years of devoted affection and uninterrupted happiness, she resigned him without a murmur into the arms of his Saviour and his God, with the assured hope of his eternal felicity. Is it necessary that any one should certify, 'General Washington avowed himself to *me* a believer in Christianity?' As well may we question his patriotism, his heroic, disinterested devotion to his country. His mottos were, '*Deeds, not Words*'; and, '*For God and my Country.*'

"With sentiments of esteem,

"I am, &c."

It seems proper to subjoin to this letter what was told to me by Mr. Robert Lewis, at Fredericksburg, in the year 1827. Being a nephew of Washington, and his private secretary during the first part of his presidency, Mr. Lewis lived with him on terms of intimacy, and had the best opportunity for observing his habits. Mr. Lewis said he had accidentally witnessed his private devotions in his library both morning and evening; that on those occasions he had seen him in a kneeling posture with a Bible open before him, and that he believed such to have been his daily practice. Mr. Lewis is since dead, but he was a gentleman esteemed for his private worth and respectability. I relate the anecdote as he told it to me, understanding at the time that he was willing it should be made public on his authority. He added, that it was the President's custom to go to his library in the morning at four o'clock, and that, after his devotions, he usually spent his time till breakfast in writing letters.

The following letter from the venerable Bishop White was written to the Reverend B. C. C. Parker, then rector of Trinity Church in Lenox, Massachusetts, by whose permission it is here inserted.

"Philadelphia, 28 November, 1832.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 20th instant, and will furnish you with what information I possess on the subject of it.

"The Father of our country, as well during the revolutionary war, as in his presidency, attended divine service in Christ Church in this city, except during one winter, when, being here for the taking of measures with Congress towards the opening of the next campaign, he rented a house near to St. Peter's Church, then in parochial union with Christ Church. During that season he attended regularly at St. Peter's. His behaviour was always serious and attentive; but, as your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to the truth to declare, that I never saw him in the said attitude. During his presidency, our vestry provided him with a pew not ten yards in front of the desk. It was habitually occupied by himself, by Mrs. Washington, who was regularly a communicant, and by his secretaries.

"Although I was often in company with this great man, and had the honor of dining often at his table, I never heard any thing from him, which could manifest his opinions on the subject of religion. I knew no man, who so carefully guarded against the discoursing of himself, or of his acts, or of any thing that pertained to him; and it has occasionally occurred to me when in his company, that, if a stranger to his person were present, he would never have known from any thing said by the President, that he was conscious of having distinguished himself in the eye of the world. His ordinary behaviour, although unexceptionably courteous, was not such as to encourage obtrusion on what he had on his mind.

"Within a few days of his leaving the presidential chair, our vestry waited on him with an address, prepared and delivered by me. In his answer, he was pleased to express himself gratified by what he had heard from our pulpit; but there was nothing that committed him relatively to religious theory. Within a day or two of the above, there was another address by many ministers of different persuasions, being prepared by Dr. Green and delivered by me. It has been a subject of opposite statements, owing to a passage in the posthumous works of Mr. Jefferson. He says (giving Dr. Rush for his author, who is said to have it from Dr. Green), that the said address was intended to elicit the opinion of the President on the subject of the Christian religion.

Dr. Green has denied this in his periodical work called '*The Christian Advocate*,' and his statement is correct. Dr. Rush may have misunderstood Dr. Green, or the former may have been misunderstood by Mr. Jefferson; or the whole may have originated with some individual of the assembled ministers, who mistook his own conceptions for the sense of the body. The said two documents are in the Philadelphia newspapers of the time.

"On a thanksgiving day, appointed by the President for the suppression of the Western insurrection, I preached in his presence. The subject was the Connexion between Religion and Civil Happiness. It was misrepresented in one of our newspapers. This induced the publishing of the sermon, with a dedication to the President; pointedly pleading his proclamation in favor of the connexion affirmed. It did not appear, that he disallowed the use made of his name. Although, in my estimation, entire separation between Christianity and civil government would be a relinquishment of religion in the abstract; yet, that this was the sentiment of the President, which may have been, I have no light positively to infer.

"There do not occur to me any other particulars meeting your inquiry, confined to my knowledge. Accordingly I conclude with writing myself, very respectfully, your humble servant,

"WILLIAM WHITE."

The circumstance of his withdrawing himself from the communion service, at a certain period of his life, has been remarked as singular. This may be admitted, and regretted, both on account of his example, and the value of his opinion as to the importance and practical tendency of this rite. It does not follow, however, that he was an unbeliever, unless the same charge is proved to rest against the numerous class of persons, who believe themselves to be sincere Christians, but who have scruples in regard to the ordinance of the communion. Whatever his motives may have been, it does not appear that they were ever explained. Nor is it known, or to be presumed, that any occasion offered. It is probable, that, after he took command of the army, finding his thoughts and attention necessarily engrossed by the business that devolved upon him, in which frequently little distinction could be observed between the Sabbath and other days, he may have believed it improper publicly to partake of an ordinance, which, according to the ideas he entertained of it, imposed severe restrictions on outward conduct, and a sacred pledge to perform

duties impracticable in his situation. Such an impression would be natural to a serious mind; and, although it might be founded on erroneous views of the nature of the ordinance, it would not have the less weight with a man of a delicate conscience and habitual reverence for religion.

There is proof, however, that, on one occasion at least during the war, he partook of the communion; but this was at a season when the army was in camp, and the activity of business was in some degree suspended. An anecdote contained in Dr. Hosack's *Life of De Witt Clinton*, and related in the words of the Reverend Samuel H. Cox, who communicated it to the author, establishes this fact.

"I have the following anecdote," says Dr. Cox, "from unquestionable authority. It has never, I think, been given to the public; but I received it from a venerable clergyman, who had it from the lips of the Reverend Dr. Jones himself. To all Christians, and to all Americans, it cannot fail to be acceptable.

"While the American army, under the command of Washington, lay encamped at Morristown, New Jersey, it occurred that the service of the communion (then observed semi-annually only) was to be administered in the Presbyterian church of that village. In a morning of the previous week, the General, after his accustomed inspection of the camp, visited the house of the Reverend Dr. Jones, then pastor of the church, and, after the usual preliminaries, thus accosted him. 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you next Sunday; I would learn if it accords with the canon of your church to admit communicants of another denomination?' The Doctor rejoined; 'Most certainly; ours is not the Presbyterian table, General, but the Lord's table; and we hence give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatever name.' The General replied, 'I am glad of it; that is as it ought to be; but, as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor reassured him of a cordial welcome, and the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath."

The situation in which Washington stood, while President of the United States, made it necessary that he should use much circumspection in whatever came from him touching theological subjects. He received addresses from many Christian congregations, or societies, including nearly every denomination in the country, complimentary to his character, and expressing gratitude

for his long and eminent public services. In his replies, it would have been equally discourteous and impolitic to employ language indicating a decided preference for the peculiar tenets or forms of any particular church. He took a wiser course; the only one, indeed, which with propriety could be taken. He approved the general objects, and commended the zeal, of all the religious congregations or societies by which he was addressed, spoke of their beneficial effects in promoting the welfare of mankind, declared his cordial wishes for their success, and often concluded with his prayers for the future happiness of the individuals belonging to them, both in this world and the world to come. All the answers of this kind breathe a Christian spirit, and they may justly be regarded as implying the author's acknowledgment of the truth and authority of the Christian religion.

After a long and minute examination of the writings of Washington, public and private, in print and in manuscript, I can affirm, that I have never seen a single hint, or expression, from which it could be inferred, that he had any doubt of the Christian revelation, or that he thought with indifference or unconcern of that subject. On the contrary, whenever he approaches it, and indeed whenever he alludes in any manner to religion, it is done with seriousness and reverence.

The foregoing observations have been made, not by way of argument, but merely to connect together facts from Washington's writings and other sources; for I must end, as I began, by saying, that I conceive any attempt at argument in so plain a case would be misapplied. If a man, who spoke, wrote, and acted as a Christian through a long life, who gave numerous proofs of his believing himself to be such, and who was never known to say, write, or do a thing contrary to his professions, if such a man is not to be ranked among the believers of Christianity, it would be impossible to establish the point by any train of reasoning. How far he examined the grounds of his faith is uncertain, but probably as far as the large portion of Christians, who do not make theology a special study; and we have a right to presume, that a mind like his would not receive an opinion without a satisfactory reason. He was educated in the Episcopal Church, to which he always adhered; and my conviction is, that he believed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as usually taught in that Church, according to his understanding of them; but without a particle of intolerance, or disrespect for the faith and modes of worship adopted by Christians of other denominations.

No. V.

NAMES AND RANK OF THE GENERAL OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY IN THE REVOLUTION.

These officers were all appointed by Congress. The following list of names is made out from the Journals. The State or country, to which each officer belonged, and the date of his appointment are denoted. In some instances the commissions were dated at an earlier day, by order of Congress. A few of the brigadiers did not accept the appointment; and others resigned before the end of the war. Several of the major-generals also resigned.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

	1775.	
Artemas Ward,	Massachusetts,	17 June.
Charles Lee,	Virginia,	17 June.
Philip Schuyler,	New York,	19 June.
Israel Putnam,	Connecticut,	19 June.
Richard Montgomery,	New York,	9 December.
	1776.	
John Thomas,	Massachusetts,	6 March.
Horatio Gates,	Virginia,	16 May.
William Heath,	Massachusetts,	9 August.
Joseph Spencer,	Connecticut,	9 August.
John Sullivan,	New Hampshire,	9 August.
Nathanael Greene,	Rhode Island,	9 August.
	1777.	
Lord Stirling,	New Jersey,	19 February.
Thomas Mifflin,	Pennsylvania,	19 February.
Arthur St. Clair,	Pennsylvania,	19 February.
Adam Stephen,	Virginia,	19 February.
Benjamin Lincoln,	Massachusetts,	19 February.
Benedict Arnold,	Connecticut,	2 May.
Lafayette,	France,	31 July.
Ducoudray,	France,	11 August.
Baron de Kalb,	France,	15 September.
Robert Howe,	North Carolina,	20 October.
Alexander McDougall,	New York,	20 October.
Thomas Conway,	France,	13 December.
	1778.	
Baron Steuben,	Prussia,	5 May.

	1780.	
William Smallwood,	Maryland,	15 September.
Samuel H. Parsons,	Connecticut,	23 October.
	1781.	
Chevalier Duportail,	France,	16 November.
	1782.	
Henry Knox,	Massachusetts,	22 March.
William Moultrie,	South Carolina,	15 October.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS.

	1775.	
Horatio Gates,	Virginia,	17 June.
Seth Pomroy,	Massachusetts,	22 June.
Richard Montgomery,	New York,	22 June.
David Wooster,	Connecticut,	22 June.
William Heath,	Massachusetts,	22 June.
Joseph Spencer,	Connecticut,	22 June.
John Thomas,	Massachusetts,	22 June.
John Sullivan,	New Hampshire,	22 June.
Nathanael Greene,	Rhode Island,	22 June.
	1776.	
Joseph Frye,	Massachusetts,	10 January.
Benedict Arnold,	Connecticut,	10 January.
John Armstrong,	Pennsylvania,	1 March.
William Thompson,	Pennsylvania,	1 March.
Andrew Lewis,	Virginia,	1 March.
James Moore,	North Carolina,	1 March.
Lord Stirling,	New Jersey,	1 March.
Robert Howe,	North Carolina,	1 March.
Baron de Woedtke,	Prussia,	16 March.
Thomas Mifflin,	Pennsylvania,	16 May.
John Whitcomb,	Massachusetts,	5 June.
Hugh Mercer,	Virginia,	5 June.
James Read,	New Hampshire,	9 August.
John Nixon,	Massachusetts,	9 August.
Arthur St. Clair,	Pennsylvania,	9 August.
Alexander McDougall,	New York,	9 August.
Samuel H. Parsons,	Connecticut,	9 August.
James Clinton,	New York,	9 August.
Adam Stephen,	Virginia,	4 September.
Christopher Gadsden,	South Carolina,	10 September.

William Moultrie,	South Carolina,		16 September.
Lachlan McIntosh,	Georgia,		16 September.
William Maxwell,	New Jersey,		23 October.
William Smallwood,	Maryland,		23 October.
M. A. Roche de Fermoy,	France,		5 November.
Henry Knox,	Massachusetts,		27 December

1777.

Francis Nash,	North Carolina,		5 February.
Enoch Poor,	New Hampshire,		21 February.
John Glover,	Massachusetts,		21 February.
John Patterson,	Massachusetts,		21 February.
Anthony Wayne,	Pennsylvania,		21 February.
James M. Varnum,	Rhode Island,		21 February.
J. P. de Haas,	Pennsylvania,		21 February.
George Weedon,	Virginia,		21 February.
Peter Muhlenberg,	Virginia,		21 February.
John Cadwalader,	Pennsylvania,		21 February.
William Woodford,	Virginia,		21 February.
George Clinton,	New York,		25 March.
Edward Hand,	Pennsylvania,		1 April.
Charles Scott,	Virginia,		1 April.
Ebenezer Learned,	Massachusetts,		2 April.
Chevalier Deborre,	France,		11 April.
Jedediah Huntington,	Connecticut,		12 May.
Joseph Reed,	Pennsylvania,		12 May.
Thomas Conway,	France,		13 May.
Count Pulaski,	Poland,		15 September.
John Stark,	New Hampshire,		5 October.
James Wilkinson,	Maryland,	(brevet)	6 November.
Chevalier Duportail,	France,		17 November.

1778.

M. de la Neuville,	France,	(brevet)	14 October.

1779.

Jethro Sumner,	North Carolina,		9 January.
James Hogan,	North Carolina,		9 January.
Isaac Huger,	South Carolina,		9 January.
Mordecai Gist,	Maryland,		9 January.
William Irvine,	Pennsylvania,		12 May.

1780.

Daniel Morgan,	Virginia,		13 October.

	1781.		
Moses Hazen,	Canada,	(brevet)	29 June.
	1782.		
Otho H. Williams,	Maryland,		9 May.
	1783.		
John Greaton,	Massachusetts,		7 January.
Rufus Putnam,	Massachusetts,		7 January.
Elias Dayton,	New Jersey,		7 January.
Armand,	France,		26 March.
Thaddeus Kosciuszko,	Poland,	(brevet)	13 October.
Stephen Moylan,	Pennsylvania,	(brevet)	3 November.
Samuel Elbert,	Georgia,	(brevet)	3 November.
Charles C. Pinckney,	South Carolina,	(brevet)	3 November.
William Russell,	Virginia,	(brevet)	3 November.

No. VI.

NAMES OF GENERAL WASHINGTON'S AIDS-DE-CAMP DURING THE REVOLUTION.

This list is drawn from the Orderly Book, and is probably incomplete. A part of General Washington's Orderly Book, including the year 1778, has been lost, and it is believed that John Fitzgerald, and possibly others, were appointed aids during that time. The dates indicate the days on which the names and rank of the aids were proclaimed in the general orders. The secretaries were likewise aids-de-camp.

	1775.		
Thomas Mifflin,	4 July.	Edmund Randolph,	15 August.
Joseph Reed, *Sec'y*,	4 July.	George Baylor,	15 August.
John Trumbull,	27 July.	R. H. Harrison, *Sec'y*,	5 Nov.
	1776.		
Stephen Moylan,	5 March.	Alex. C. Harrison,	
William Palfrey,	6 March.	*Assistant Sec'y*,	21 June.
Richard Cary,	21 June.	William Grayson,	24 August.
Samuel B. Webb,	21 June.		
	1777.		
George Johnson,	20 Jan.	Richard K. Meade,	12 March.
John Walker,	19 Feb.	Presly P. Thornton,	6 Sept.
Alexander Hamilton,	1 March.	John Laurens,	6 Oct.

1780.

Tench Tilghman,*	21 June.	David Humphreys,	23 June.

1781.

Jona. Trumbull, Jr.,		Peregrine Fitzhugh,	2 July.
Secretary,	8 June.	William S. Smith,	6 July.
David Cobb,	15 June.		

1782.

Benjamin Walker,	25 Jan.	H. Baylies,	13 May.

* Was an aid from September 1st, 1776, but not declared in Orders till the above date. See Volume VIII. p. 28.

No. VII.

GOVERNORS OR CHIEF MAGISTRATES OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES AND STATES DURING THE PUBLIC LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

The Chief Magistrates of the Colonies and States were at different times and places called Governors, Deputy-Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Acting Governors, and Presidents. The years denote the times of their appointment or election.

New Hampshire.

Benning Wentworth,	*Gov.*	1741	John Langdon,	*Pres.*	1788
John Wentworth,	"	1767	John Sullivan,	"	1789
Meshech Weare,	*Pres.*	1784	Josiah Bartlett,	"	1790
John Langdon,	"	1785	Josiah Bartlett,	*Gov.*	1792
John Sullivan,	"	1786	John Taylor Gilman,	"	1794

Vermont.

Thomas Chittenden,	*Gov.*	1778	Thomas Chittenden,	*Gov.*	1790
Moses Robinson,	"	1789	Isaac Tichenor,	"	1797

Massachusetts.

Spencer Phips,	*Lieut. Gov.*	1749	Provincial Congress,		1774
Thomas Pownall,	*Gov.*	1757	Council, from 1775 to		1780
Tho. Hutchinson,	*L. Gov.*	1760	John Hancock,	*Gov.*	1780
Francis Bernard,	*Gov.*	1760	James Bowdoin,	"	1785
Tho. Hutchinson,	*L. Gov.*	1770	John Hancock,	"	1787
Thomas Hutchinson,	*Gov.*	1770	Samuel Adams,	"	1794
Thomas Gage,	"	1774	Increase Sumner,	"	1797

RHODE ISLAND.

William Greene,	*Gov.*	1748	Stephen Hopkins,	*Gov.*	1767
Stephen Hopkins,	"	1755	Josias Lyndon,	"	1768
William Greene,	"	1757	Joseph Wanton,	"	1769
Stephen Hopkins,	"	1758	Nicholas Cooke,	"	1775
Samuel Ward,	"	1762	William Greene,	"	1778
Stephen Hopkins,	"	1763	John Collins,	"	1786
Samuel Ward,	"	1765	Arthur Fenner,	"	1789

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Wolcott,	*Gov.*	1751	Matthew Griswold,	*Gov.*	1784
Thomas Fitch,	"	1754	Samuel Huntington,	"	1785
William Pitkin,	"	1766	Oliver Wolcott,	"	1796
Jonathan Trumbull,	"	1769	Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.	"	1798

NEW YORK.

James Delancey,	*L. Gov.*	1753	Earl of Dunmore,	*Gov.*	1770
Danvers Osborn,	*Gov.*	1753	William Tryon,	"	1771
Sir Charles Hardy,	"	1755	Provincial Congress from		
James Delancey,	*L. Gov.*	1757	1774 to 1777.		
Cadwallader Colden,	"	1760	Nathaniel Woodhull,	*Pres.*	1775
Robert Moncton,	*Gov.*	1762	George Clinton,	*Gov.*	1777
Cadwallader Colden,	*Lt. G.*	1763	John Jay,	"	1795
Henry Moore,	*Gov.*	1765			

NEW JERSEY.

Jonathan Belcher,	*Gov.*	1747	William Franklin,	*Gov.*	1763
John Reading,	*Pres.*	1757	William Livingston,	"	1776
Francis Bernard,	*Gov.*	1758	William Patterson,	"	1791
Thomas Boone,	"	1760	Richard Howell,	"	1794
Josiah Hardy,	"	1761			

PENNSYLVANIA.

James Hamilton,	*Dep. Gov.*	1748	Thomas Wharton,	*Pres.*	1777
Robert H. Morris,	"	1754	Joseph Reed,	"	1778
William Denny,	"	1756	William Moore,	"	1781
James Hamilton,	"	1759	John Dickinson,	"	1782
John Penn,	*Gov.*	1763	Benjamin Franklin,	"	1785
James Hamilton,	*Pres.*	1771	Thomas Mifflin,	"	1788
Richard Penn,	*Gov.*	1771	Thomas Mifflin,	*Gov.*	1790
John Penn,	"	1773	Thomas M'Kean,	"	1799

The Proprietary Government ceased, 1776.

DELAWARE.

John McKinly,	*Pres.*	1777	John Davis, *Acting Pres.*		1789
Cæsar Rodney,	"	1778	Joshua Clayton,	*Pres.*	1789
John Dickinson,	"	1781	Joshua Clayton,	*Gov.*	1793
John Cook, *Acting*	*Pres.*	1783	Gunning Bedford,	"	1796
Nicholas Van Dyke,	*Pres.*	1783	Daniel Rogers, *Acting*	*Gov.*	1797
Thomas Collins,	"	1786	Richard Bassett,	*Gov.*	1798

MARYLAND.

Benjamin Tasker,	*Pres.*	1751	John Eager Howard,	*Gov.*	1788
Horatio Sharpe,	*Gov.*	1753	George Plater,	"	1792
Robert Eden,	"	1769	Thomas Sim Lee,	"	1792
Thomas Johnson,	"	1777	John Haskins Stone,	"	1794
Thomas Sim Lee,	"	1779	John Henry	"	1797
William Paca,	"	1782	Benjamin Ogle,	"	1798
William Smallwood,	"	1785			

VIRGINIA.

Robert Dinwiddie,	*Gov.*	1752	Patrick Henry,	*Gov.*	1776
John Blair, *Pres. of Council,*		1758	Thomas Jefferson,	"	1779
Francis Fauquier,	*Gov.*	1758	Thomas Nelson,	"	1781
John Blair, *Pres. of Council,*		1767	Benjamin Harrison,	"	1781
Lord Botetourt,	*Gov.*	1768	Patrick Henry,	"	1784
Wm. Nelson, *Pres. of Coun.*		1770	Edmund Randolph,	"	1786
Lord Dunmore,	*Gov.*	1772	Beverley Randolph,	"	1788
Peyton Randolph, *Pres. of*			Henry Lee,	"	1791
Convention,		1775	Robert Brooke,	"	1794
Edmund Pendleton, *Pres.*			James Wood,	"	1796
of Convention,		1775	James Monroe,	"	1799

NORTH CAROLINA.

Matthew Rowan,	*Gov.*	1753	Thomas Burke,	*Gov.*	1782
Arthur Dobbs,	"	1754	Alexander Martin,	"	1784
William Tryon,	"	1766	Richard Caswell,	"	1785
Joseph Martin,	"	1773	Samuel Johnston,	"	1788
Provincial Congress,		1775	Alexander Martin,	"	1790
and 1776			Richard D. Spaight,	"	1793
Richard Caswell,	*Gov.*	1777	Samuel Ashe,	"	1796
Abner Nash,	"	1780	Benjamin Williams,	"	1799

SOUTH CAROLINA.

James Glen,	*Gov.*	1743	John Rutledge,	*Gov.*	1779
William H. Littleton,	"	1756	John Mathews,	"	1782
William Bull,	"	1760	Benjamin Guerard,	"	1783
Thomas Boone,	"	1762	William Moultrie,	"	1785
William Bull,	"	1763	Thomas Pinckney,	"	1787
Charles Montague,	"	1766	Charles Pinckney,	"	1789
William Bull,	"	1769	Arnoldus Vanderhorst,	"	1792
Lord William Campbell,	"	1775	William Moultrie,	"	1794
John Rutledge,	"	1775	Charles Pinckney,	"	1796
Rawlins Lowndes,	"	1778	Edward Rutledge,	"	1798

GEORGIA.

Henry Parker, *Acting Gov.*		1751	Stephen Heard,	*Gov.*	1781
John Reynolds,	*Gov.*	1754	Nathan Brownson,	"	1781
Henry Ellis,	"	1757	John Martin,	"	1782
Sir James Wright,	"	1760	Lyman Hall,	"	1783
J. Habersham, *Acting Gov.*		1771	John Houstoun,	"	1784
Sir James Wright,	*Gov.*	1773	Samuel Elbert,	"	1785
William Ewin, *President of Council,*		1775	Edward Telfair,	"	1786
			George Matthews,	"	1787
Archibald Bulloch,	*Gov.*	1776	George Handley,	"	1788
Button Gwinnett,	"	1777	George Walton,	"	1789
John A. Truitlen,	"	1777	Edward Telfair,	"	1790
John Houstoun,	"	1778	George Matthews,	"	1793
John Wereat, *Acting Gov.*		1778	Jared Irwin,	"	1796
George Walton,	*Gov.*	1779	James Jackson,	"	1798
Richard Howley,	"	1780			

KENTUCKY.

Isaac Shelby,	*Gov.*	1792	James Garrard,	*Gov.*	1796

TENNESSEE.

John Sevier, *Gov.* 1796.

TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE OHIO.

William Blount, *Gov.* 1790.

TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO.

Arthur St. Clair, *Gov.* 1789.

No. VIII.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

This list is collected from the Journals of the Old Congress; and, owing to the manner in which the Journals were kept, it is necessarily imperfect. The credentials were not always inserted, and it is only from these that a complete list of the members can be formed. Before the adoption of the Constitution, Congress, with very few intermissions, was continually sitting. Hence it was a custom with several of the States to appoint more delegates than were expected to attend at the same time, and they relieved each other in turn. It is hardly possible to ascertain, from the Journals of Congress, how long each member attended. The dates in the table indicate the times of their appointment. Where these are not known, the times at which their names first appear in the Journals are noted and included in brackets. Asterisks are prefixed to the names of those who signed the Declaration of Independence.

PRESIDENTS OF CONGRESS.

Randolph, Peyton,	5 Sept.	1774	Hanson, John,	5 Nov.	1781
Middleton, Henry,	22 Oct.	1774	Boudinot, Elias,	4 Nov.	1782
Randolph, Peyton,	10 May,	1775	Mifflin, Thomas,	3 Nov.	1783
Hancock, John,	24 May,	1775	Lee, Richard Henry,	30 Nov.	1784
Laurens, Henry,	1 Nov.	1777	Gorham, Nathaniel,	6 June,	1786
Jay, John,	10 Dec.	1778	St. Clair, Arthur,	2 Feb.	1787
Huntington, Samuel,	28 Sept.	1779	Griffin, Cyrus,	22 Jan.	1788
M'Kean, Thomas,	10 July,	1781			

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*Bartlett, Josiah,	23 Aug.	1775	Langdon, Woodbury,	[3 Sept.	1779]
Blanchard, Jonathan,	26 Dec.	1783	Livermore, Samuel,	[7 Feb.	1780]
Folsom, Nathaniel,	21 July,	1774	Long, Pierce,	[11 Jan.	1785]
	1 April,	1777	Peabody, Nathaniel,	[22 June,	1779]
	30 Dec.	1779	Sullivan, John,	21 July,	1774
Foster, Abiel,	18 Feb.	1783		11 Sept.	1780
Frost, George,	1 April,	1777	*Thornton, Matthew,	2 Sept.	1776
Gilman, John Taylor,	15 Jan.	1782	Wentworth, John, Jr.	14 Mar.	1778
Gilman, Nicholas,	14 June,	1786	*Whipple, William,	23 Jan.	1776
Langdon, John,	25 Jan.	1775	White, Phillips,	[4 Nov.	1782]
	14 June,	1786	Wingate, Paine,	[11 Feb.	1778]

MASSACHUSETTS.

*Adams, John,	17 June,	1774	Dana, Francis,	10 Dec.	1776
*Adams, Samuel,	17 June,	1774		11 Feb.	1784
Bowdoin, James,	17 June,	1774	Dane, Nathan,	16 June,	1785
Cushing, Thomas,	17 June,	1774	*Gerry, Elbridge,	18 Jan.	1776

MASSACHUSETTS. (Continued.)

*Gerry, Elbridge,	27 June, 1783	Lovell, James,	10 Dec. 1776
Gorham, Nathaniel,	24 Oct. 1782	Lowell, John,	7 May, 1782
	16 June, 1785	Osgood, Samuel,	[12 June, 1781]
*Hancock, John,	5 Dec. 1774	Otis, Samuel Allyne,	[19 Nov. 1787]
	16 June, 1785	*Paine, Robert Treat,	17 June, 1774
Higginson, Stephen,	24 Oct. 1782	Partridge, George,	[20 Aug. 1779]
Holten, Samuel,	[22 June, 1778]	Sedgwick, Theodore,	16 June, 1785
	4 Oct. 1782	Sullivan, James,	7 May, 1782
	[1 Nov. 1784]	Thacher, George,	[19 Nov. 1787]
Jackson, Jonathan,	2 May, 1782	Ward, Artemas,	[14 June, 1780]
King, Rufus,	16 June, 1785		

RHODE ISLAND.

Arnold, Jonathan,	[10 Oct. 1782]	Howell, David,	1 May, 1782
Arnold, Peleg,	[9 April, 1787]	Manning, James,	[3 May, 1786]
Collins, John,	6 May, 1778	Marchant, Henry,	7 May, 1777
Cornell, Ezekiel,	[5 June, 1780]		7 May, 1783
*Ellery, William,	4 May, 1776	Miller, Nathan,	[14 July, 1786]
	7 May, 1783	Mowry, ———,	[20 July, 1781]
Hazard, Jonathan,	[2 June, 1788]	Varnum, James M.,	[19 Dec. 1780]
*Hopkins, Stephen,	10 Aug. 1774		3 May, 1786
	6 May, 1778	Ward, Samuel,	10 Aug. 1774

CONNECTICUT.

Adams, Andrew,	11 Oct. 1777	Mitchell, Stephen M.	11 May, 1785
Cook, Joseph Platt,	[2 Dec. 1784]		[29 Feb. 1788]
Deane, Silas,	13 July, 1774	Root, Jesse,	21 Oct. 1778
Dyer, Eliphalet,	13 July, 1774	*Sherman, Roger,	— Aug. 1774
	10 July, 1776	Spencer, Joseph,	[27 Mar. 1779]
Edwards, Pierpont,	[9 June, 1788]	Strong, Jedediah,	9 May, 1782
Ellsworth, Oliver,	11 Oct. 1777	Sturgis, Jonathan,	12 May, 1785
Hillhouse, William,	9 Oct 1783	Treadwell, John,	12 May, 1785
Hosmer Titus,	3 Nov. 1774	Trumbull, Joseph,	Aug. 1774
	12 Nov. 1775	Wadsworth, James,	9 Oct. 1783
Huntington, Benjamin,	[1 June, 1780]		12 May, 1785
	[1 July, 1788]	Wadsworth, Jeremiah,	[21 Jan. 1788]
*Huntington, Samuel,	12 Oct. 1775	*Williams, William,	[12 Oct. 1775]
Johnson, William S.	[13 Jan. 1785]		9 Oct. 1783
Law, Richard,	10 Oct. 1776	*Wolcott, Oliver,	12 Oct. 1775
	[22 Oct. 1781]		29 Nov. 1780
Mitchell, Stephen M.	8 May, 1783		

NEW YORK.

Alsop, John,	[5 Sept. 1774]	Duane, James,	[5 Sept. 1774]
Benson, Egbert,	[2 Dec. 1784]	Duer, William,	29 Mar. 1777
	26 Jan. 1787	*Floyd, William,	[5 Sept. 1774]
Boerum, Simon,	22 April, 1775		16 Oct. 1778
Clinton, George,	22 April, 1775	Gansevoort, Leonard,	[25 Feb. 1788]
De Witt, Charles,	3 Feb. 1784	Hamilton, Alexander,	22 July, 1782

NEW YORK. (Continued.)

Hamilton, Alexander,	[25 Feb.	1783]	Low, Isaac,	[5 Sept.	1774]
Herring, John,	[26 Sept.	1774]	M'Dougall, Alexander,	[17 Jan.	1781]
	19 Mar.	1785		3 Feb.	1784
Jay, John,	[5 Sept.	1774]	Morris, Gouverneur,	13 May,	1777
	10 Nov.	1778	*Morris, Lewis,	22 April,	1775
Lansing, John,	3 Feb.	1784	Paine, Ephraim,	3 Feb.	1784
Laurence, John,	19 Mar.	1785	Platt, Zephaniah,	[11 Jan.	1785]
*Lewis, Francis,	22 April,	1775	Schuyler, Philip,	22 April,	1775
	3 Oct.	1777		[7 April,	1777]
L'Hommedieu, Ezra,	[2 Dec.	1779]		[16 Oct.	1778]
*Livingston, Philip,	[5 Sept.	1774]	Scott, John Morin,	[6 Mar.	1780]
Livingston, Robert R.	22 April,	1775	Smith, Melancton,	19 Mar.	1785
	[20 Nov.	1779]	Wisner, Henry,	[14 Sept.	1774]
	[7 Dec.	1784]	Yates, Abraham, Jr.	26 Mar.	1787
Livingston, Walter,	3 Feb.	1784	Yates, Peter W.	26 Mar.	1785

NEW JERSEY.

Beatty, John,	6 Nov.	1783	*Hart, John,	21 June,	1776
Boudinot, Elias,	20 Nov.	1777	Henderson, Thomas,	[29 Nov.	1779]
	[23 July,	1781]	*Hopkinson, Francis,	21 June,	1776
Burnett, W.	11 Dec.	1780	Hornblower, Josiah,	28 Oct.	1785
Cadwalader, Lambert,	[11 Jan.	1785]	Houston, William C.	[9 July,	1779]
*Clark, Abraham,	21 June,	1776		[30 Nov.	1784]
	[20 Nov.	1786]	Kinsey, James,	23 July,	1774
Condict, Silas,	3 Dec.	1781	Livingston, William,	23 July,	1774
Cooper, John,	14 Feb.	1776	Neilson, John,	6 Nov.	1778
Crane, Stephen,	23 July,	1774	Scudder, Nathaniel,	20 Nov.	1777
Dayton, Elias,	[13 Nov.	1787]	Sergeant, Jonathan D.	14 Feb.	1776
De Hart, John,	23 July,	1774		30 Nov.	1776
	14 Feb.	1776	Smith, Richard,	23 July,	1774
Dick, Samuel,	6 Nov.	1783	Stevens, John,	6 Nov.	1783
Elmer, Jonathan,	30 Nov.	1776	Stewart, ———,	[11 Dec.	1784]
	[25 July,	1781]	*Stockton, Richard,	21 June,	1776
Fell, John,	Nov.	1778	Symmes, John Cleve,	28 Oct.	1785
Frelinghuysen, Fred.	— Nov.	1778	*Witherspoon, John,	21 June,	1776
	30 Oct.	1782			

PENNSYLVANIA.

Allen, Andrew,	3 Nov.	1775	Dickinson, John,	15 Dec.	1774
Armstrong, John,	20 Nov.	1778	Duffield, Samuel,	14 Sept.	1777
	24 Mar.	1787	Fitsimons, Thomas,	12 Nov.	1782
Atlee, Samuel,	20 Nov.	1778	*Franklin, Benjamin,	6 May,	1775
Bayard, John,	11 Nov.	1785	Galloway, Joseph,	22 July,	1774
Biddle, Edward,	22 July,	1774	Gardner, Joseph,	[29 Nov.	1784]
	20 Nov.	1778	Hand, Edward,	[24 Dec.	1783]
Bingham, William,	20 May,	1787	Henry, William,	[29 Nov.	1784]
Clarkson, Matthew,	19 Feb.	1785	Humphreys, Charles,	22 July,	1774
Clingan, William,	14 Sept.	1777	*Ingersoll, Jared,	31 May,	1780
*Clymer, George,	20 July,	1776	Irvine, William,	[17 Jan.	1787]

PENNSYLVANIA. (Continued.)

Jackson, David,	19 Feb. 1785	Roberdeau, Daniel,	12 Mar. 1777
Matlack, Timothy,	31 May, 1780	*Ross, George,	22 July, 1774
M'Clene, James,	2 Mar. 1779		20 July, 1776
Meredith, Samuel,	[20 Nov. 1786]	*Rush, Benjamin,	20 July, 1776
Mifflin, Thomas,	22 July, 1774	St. Clair, Arthur,	11 Nov. 1785
	12 Nov. 1782	Searle, James,	20 Nov. 1778
Montgomery, John,	[8 Dec. 1780	Shippen, William,	20 Nov. 1778
Morris, Charles,	[13 Dec. 1783]	*Smith, James,	20 July, 1776
*Morris, Robert,	20 July, 1776	Smith, Jonathan B.	12 Mar. 1777
*Morton, John,	22 July, 1774	Smith, Thomas,	[3 Feb. 1781]
Muhlenberg, Frederick,	2 Mar. 1779	*Taylor, George,	20 July, 1776
Peters, Richard,	12 Nov. 1782	Willing, Thomas,	6 May, 1775
Pettit, Charles,	7 April, 1785	*Wilson, James,	6 May, 1775
Reed, Joseph,	14 Sept. 1777		12 Nov. 1782
Reid, James R.	19 Dec. 1787		7 April, 1785
Rhoads, Samuel,	22 July, 1774	Wynkoop, Henry,	2 Mar. 1779

DELAWARE.

Bedford, Gunning,	1 Feb. 1783	Perry, William,	30 Nov. 1785
	27 Oct. 1786	*Read, George,	1 Aug. 1774
Bedford, Gunning, Jr.	30 Nov. 1785	*Rodney, Cæsar,	1 Aug. 1774
Dickinson, John,	8 Nov. 1776		17 Dec. 1777
Dickinson, Philemon,	2 Feb. 1782		2 Feb. 1782
Evans, John,	8 Nov. 1776	Rodney, Thomas,	[28 Jan. 1782]
Kearny, Dyre,	3 Feb. 1787		30 Nov. 1785
M'Comb, Eleazer,	1 Feb. 1783	Sykes, James,	22 Feb. 1777
*M'Kean, Thomas,	1 Aug. 1774	Tilton, James,	1 Feb. 1783
	17 Dec. 1777	Van Dyke, Nicholas,	22 Feb. 1777
Mitchell, Nathaniel,	27 Oct. 1786	Vining, John,	[1 Dec. 1784]
Patton, John,	30 Nov. 1785	Wharton, Samuel,	2 Feb. 1782

MARYLAND.

Alexander, Robert,	9 Dec. 1775	Henry, John, Jr.	22 Dec. 1777
Carmichael, William,	13 Nov. 1778		13 Nov. 1778
*Carroll, Charles,	4 July, 1776		4 Dec. 1784
Carroll, Daniel,	[12 Feb. 1781]	Hindman, William,	4 Dec. 1784
Chase, Jeremiah T.	9 Dec. 1783	Howard, John E.	[21 Jan. 1788]
*Chase, Samuel,	25 June, 1774	Jenifer, D. of St. Thomas,	13 Nov. 1778
	[4 Dec. 1787]	Johnson, Thomas,	25 June, 1774
	4 Dec. 1784	Lee, Thomas Sim,	[3 Mar. 1783]
Contee, Benjamin,	[21 Jan. 1788]	Lloyd, Edward,	[13 Dec. 1783]
Forbes, James,	22 Dec. 1777	M'Henry, James,	[11 June, 1783]
Forrest, Uriah,	[15 Feb. 1787]	Martin, Luther,	4 Dec. 1784
Goldsborough, Robert,	25 June, 1774	*Paca, William,	25 June, 1774
Hall, John,	12 Dec. 1774	Plater, George,	22 Dec. 1777
	9 Dec. 1783	Potts, Richard,	[12 June, 1781]
Hanson, John,	[22 Feb. 1781]	Ramsay, Nathaniel,	6 Nov. 1785
Harrison, William,	6 Nov. 1785	Ridgely, Richard,	6 Nov. 1785
Hemsley, William,	[28 Sept. 1782]	Rogers, John,	9 Dec. 1775

MARYLAND. (Continued.)

Ross, David,	[15 Feb. 1787]	*Stone, Thomas,	12 Dec. 1774
Rumsey, Benjamin,	19 Nov. 1776		26 Mar. 1784
Scott, Gustavus,	4 Dec. 1784	Tilghman, Matt.	25 June, 1774
Seney, Joshua,	[28 April, 1788]	Wright, Turbutt,	[4 Dec. 1781]
Smith, William,	15 Feb. 1777		

VIRGINIA.

Adams, Thomas,	29 May, 1778	Jones, Joseph,	[24 April, 1780]
Banister, John,	29 May, 1778	Lee, Arthur,	28 Dec. 1781
Bland, Richard,	5 Aug. 1774	*Lee, Francis L.	15 Aug. 1775
Bland, Theodorick,	[30 Aug. 1780]	Lee, Henry,	15 Nov. 1785
*Braxton, Carter,	15 Dec. 1775	*Lee, Richard Henry,	5 Aug. 1774
Brown, John,	[20 Nov. 1787]		[1 Nov. 1784]
Carrington, Edward,	[3 Mar. 1786]	Madison, James,	[20 Mar. 1780]
Fitzhugh, ———,	[13 Sept. 1779]		7 Nov. 1786
Fleming, William,	[28 April, 1779]	Mercer, James,	[9 Sept. 1779]
Grayson, William,	22 June, 1784	Mercer, John Francis,	18 Dec. 1782
Griffin, Cyrus,	29 May, 1778	Monroe, James,	6 June, 1783
	[20 Nov. 1787]	*Nelson, Thomas,	11 Aug. 1775
Hardy, Samuel,	6 June, 1783		[18 Feb. 1779]
*Harrison, Benjamin,	5 Aug. 1774	Page, Mann,	4 Dec. 1776
	10 Oct. 1776	Pendleton, Edmund,	5 Aug. 1774
Harvie, John,	22 May, 1777	Randolph, Edmund,	[22 July, 1779]
Henry, James,	[21 April, 1780]	Randolph, Peyton,	5 Aug. 1774
Henry, Patrick,	5 Aug. 1774	Smith, Merewether,	29 May, 1778
*Jefferson, Thomas,	27 Mar. 1775	Washington, George,	5 Aug. 1774
	6 June, 1783	*Wythe, George,	11 Aug. 1775
Jones, Joseph,	22 May, 1777		

NORTH CAROLINA.

Ashe, John Baptist,	[26 Mar. 1787]	*Hooper, William,	25 Aug. 1774
Bloodworth, Timothy,	[3 May, 1786]	Johnson, Samuel,	[29 Dec. 1780]
Blount, William,	13 May, 1782	Jones, Allen,	[8 Dec. 1779
	[10 May, 1786]	Jones, Willie,	[22 June, 1780]
Burke, Thomas,	20 Dec. 1776	Nash, Abner,	13 May, 1782
	13 Aug. 1778	*Penn, John,	8 Sept. 1775
Burton, Robert,	[13 Sept. 1787]		4 May, 1777
Caswell, Richard,	25 Aug. 1774	Sharpe, William,	[15 April, 1779]
Cumming, William,	— May, 1784	Sitgreaves, John,	[17 Jan. 1785]
Harnett, Cornelius,	4 May, 1777	Spaight, Richard D.	13 May, 1783
Hawkins, Benjamin,	[4 Oct. 1781]	Swan, John,	[29 May, 1788]
	20 Dec. 1786	Williams, John,	2 May, 1778
*Hewes, Joseph,	25 Aug. 1774	Williamson, Hugh,	13 May, 1782
	[22 July, 1779]		[16 May, 1788]
Hill, Whitmill,	13 Aug. 1778	White, Alexander,	3 May, 1786

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Bee, Thomas,	[6 June,	1780]	Mathews, John,	[30 Mar.	1778]
Beresford, Richard,	15 Mar.	1783	*Middleton, Arthur,	[16 Feb.	1776]
Bull, John,	[29 Nov.	1784]		[24 Sept.	1781]
Butler, Pierce,	6 Mar.	1787	Middleton, Henry,	8 July,	1774
Drayton, William H.	[30 Mar.	1778]	Motte, Isaac,	[17 July,	1780]
Eveleigh, Nicholas,	[25 April,	1781]	Parker, John,	[3 July,	1786]
Gadsden, Christopher,	8 July,	1774	Pinckney, Charles,	21 Jan.	1777
Gervais, John L.	31 Jan.	1782		[1 Nov.	1784]
*Heyward, Thomas,	16 Feb.	1776	Ramsay, David,	31 Jan.	1782
Huger, Daniel,	[22 June,	1786]		21 Feb.	1785
Hutson, Richard,	[30 Mar.	1778]	Read, Jacob,	[17 June,	1783]
Izard, Ralph,	31 Jan.	1782	*Rutledge, Edward,	8 July,	1774
Kean, John,	21 Feb.	1785	Rutledge, John,	8 July,	1774
Kinloch, Francis,	[25 Mar.	1780]		31 Jan.	1782
Laurens, Henry,	10 Jan.	1777	Trapier, Paul,	21 Jan.	1777
Lynch, Thomas,	8 July,	1774	Tucker, Thomas T.	[18 Dec.	1787]
*Lynch, Thomas, Jr.	23 Mar.	1776			

GEORGIA.

Baldwin, Abraham,	5 May,	1785	Houstoun, William,	[1 Nov.	1784]
Brownson, Nathan,	9 Oct.	1776	Howley, Richard,	[6 July,	1780]
Bulloch, Archibald,	15 July,	1775	Jones, Noble W.	15 July,	1775
Clay, Joseph,	26 Feb.	1778		[27 Sept.	1781]
Few, William,	[15 May,	1780]	Langworthy, Edward,	7 Jan.	1777
	5 May,	1785	Pierce, William,	[17 Jan.	1787]
Gibbons, William,	[1 Nov.	1784]	Telfair, Edward,	26 Feb.	1778
*Gwinnett, Button,	2 Feb.	1776	*Walton, George,	2 Feb.	1776
Habersham, John,	5 May,	1785	Wood, Joseph,	7 Jan.	1777
*Hall, Lyman,	21 Mar.	1775	Zubly, John J.	15 July,	1775
Houstoun, John,	15 July,	1775			

No. IX.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION WHICH FORMED THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1787.

Those with numbers before their names signed the Constitution. Those without numbers attended the Convention, but did not sign the Constitution. The dates denote the first day of their attendance. Those in italics never attended. The Convention was formed, and proceeded to business, on the 25th of May, when George Washington was chosen President.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1.	John Langdon,	23 July.	2.	Nicholas Gilman,	23 July.
	John Pickering.			*Benjamin West.*	

MASSACHUSETTS.

	Francis Dana.		4.	Rufus King,	25 May.
	Elbridge Gerry,	29 May.		Caleb Strong,	28 May.
3.	Nathaniel Gorham,	28 May.			

RHODE ISLAND. [No appointment.]

CONNECTICUT.

5.	William S. Johnson,	2 June.		Oliver Ellsworth,	29 May.
6.	Roger Sherman,	30 May.			

NEW YORK.

	Robert Yates,	25 May.		John Lansing,	2 June.
7.	Alexander Hamilton,	25 May.			

NEW JERSEY.

8.	William Livingston,	5 June.		*John Neilson.*	
9.	David Brearley,	25 May.		*Abraham Clark.*	
	William C. Houston,	25 May.	11.	Jonathan Dayton,	21 June.
10.	William Patterson,	25 May.			

PENNSYLVANIA.

12.	Benjamin Franklin,	28 May.	16.	Thomas Fitzsimons,	25 May.
13.	Thomas Mifflin,	28 May.	17.	Jared Ingersoll,	28 May.
14.	Robert Morris,	25 May.	18.	James Wilson,	25 May.
15.	George Clymer,	28 May.	19.	Gouverneur Morris,	25 May.

DELAWARE.

20.	George Read,	25 May.	23.	Richard Bassett,	25 May.
21.	Gunning Bedford, Jr.,	28 May.	24.	Jacob Broom,	25 May.
22.	John Dickinson,	28 May.			

MARYLAND.

25.	James M'Henry,	29 May.	27.	Daniel Carroll,	9 July.
26.	Daniel of St. Thomas			John Francis Mercer,	6 Aug.
	Jenifer,	2 June.		Luther Martin,	9 June.

VIRGINIA.

28.	George Washington,	25 May.		George Mason,	25 May.
	Patrick Henry, (declined.)			George Wythe,	25 May.
	Edmund Randolph,	25 May.		James M'Clurg, (in the	
29.	John Blair,	25 May.		room of P. Henry)	25 May.
30.	James Madison, Jr.	25 May.			

NORTH CAROLINA.

	Richard Caswell, (resigned.)			*Willie Jones*, (declined.)	
	Alexander Martin,	25 May.	32.	Richard D. Spaight,	25 May.
	William R. Davie,	25 May.	33.	Hugh Williamson, (in	
31.	William Blount, (in the			the room of W. Jones)	25 May.
	room of R. Caswell)	20 June.			

SOUTH CAROLINA.

34.	John Rutledge,	25 May.	36.	Charles Pinckney,	25 May.
35.	Charles C. Pinckney,	25 May.	37.	Pierce Butler,	25 May.

GEORGIA.

38.	William Few,	25 May.		*George Walton.*	
39.	Abraham Baldwin,	11 June.		William Houstoun,	1 June.
	William Pierce,	31 May.		*Nathaniel Pendleton.*	

No. X.

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS DURING WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The first column of years denotes the beginning of their terms of service; the second, when their terms of service expired, as accurately as they can be ascertained by the Journals of Congress.

President of the Senate and Vice-President of the United States.

John Adams, from April 21st, 1789, to March 4th, 1797.

Speakers of the House of Representatives.

Frederick A. Muhlenberg, from April 1st, 1789, to October 24th, 1791.
Jonathan Trumbull, from October 24th, 1791, to December 2d, 1793
Frederick A. Muhlenberg, from December 2d, 1793, to December 7th, 1795.
Jonathan Dayton, from December 7th, 1795, to December 2d, 1799.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Senators.

Langdon, John,	1789 — 1801	Wingate, Paine,	1789 — 1793
Livermore, Samuel,	1793 — 1801		

NEW HAMPSHIRE. (Continued.)

Representatives.

Foster, Abiel,	1789 — 1791	Sherburne, John S.	1793 — 1797
	1795 — 1803	Smith, Jeremiah,	1791 — 1797
Gilman, Nicholas,	1789 — 1797	Wingate, Paine,	1793 — 1795
Livermore, Samuel,	1789 — 1793		

VERMONT.

Senators.

Bradley, Stephen R.	1791 — 1795	Robinson, Moses,	1791 — 1796
Paine, Elijah,	1795 — 1801	Tichenor, Isaac,	1796 — 1797

Representatives.

Buck, Daniel,	1795 — 1797	Smith, Israel,	1791 — 1797
Niles, Nathaniel,	1791 — 1795		

MASSACHUSETTS.

Senators.

Cabot, George,	1791 — 1796	Sedgwick, Theodore,	1796 — 1799
Dalton, Tristram,	1789 — 1791	Strong, Caleb,	1789 — 1796
Goodhue, Benjamin,	1796 — 1800		

Representatives.

Ames, Fisher,	1789 — 1797	Leonard, George,	1789 — 1793
Bourne, S.	1791 — 1795		1795 — 1797
Bradbury, Theophilus,	1795 — 1797	Lyman, Samuel,	1795 — 1800
Cobb, David,	1793 — 1795	Lyman, William,	1793 — 1797
Coffin, Peleg,	1793 — 1795	Partridge, George,	1789 — 1791
Dearborn, Henry,	1793 — 1797	Read, John,	1795 — 1801
Dexter, Samuel,	1793 — 1795	Sedgwick, Theodore,	1789 — 1796
Foster, Dwight,	1793 — 1799	Sewall, Samuel,	1796 — 1800
Freeman, Nathaniel,	1795 — 1799	Skinner, Thompson J.	1796 — 1799
Gerry, Elbridge,	1789 — 1793	Thacher, George,	1789 — 1801
Goodhue, Benjamin,	1789 — 1796	Varnum, Joseph B.	1795 — 1811
Grout, Jonathan,	1789 — 1791	Wadsworth, Peleg,	1793 — 1807
Holten, Samuel,	1793 — 1795	Ward, Artemas,	1791 — 1795

RHODE ISLAND.

Senators.

Bradford, William,	1793 — 1797	Stanton, Joseph.	1790 — 1793
Foster, Theodore,	1790 — 1803		

Representatives.

Bourne, Benjamin,	1790 — 1796	Potter Elisha, R.	1796 — 1797
Malbone, Francis,	1793 — 1797		

CONNECTICUT.

Senators.

Ellsworth, Oliver,	1789 — 1796	Sherman, Roger,	1791 — 1793
Hillhouse, James,	1796 — 1810	Tracy, Uriah,	1796 — 1807
Johnson, William S.	1789 — 1791	Trumbull, Jonathan,	1795 — 1796
Mitchell, Stephen M.	1793 — 1795		

CONNECTICUT. (Continued.)

Representatives.

Coit, Joshua,	1793 — 1796	Sherman, Roger,	1789 — 1791
Dana, Samuel W.	1796 — 1810	Smith, Nathaniel,	1795 — 1799
Davenport, James,	1796 — 1798	Sturges, Jonathan,	1789 — 1793
Goodrich, Chauncey,	1795 — 1801	Swift, Zephaniah,	1793 — 1797
Griswold, Roger,	1795 — 1805	Tracy, Uriah,	1793 — 1796
Hillhouse, James,	1791 — 1796	Trumbull, Jonathan,	1789 — 1795
Huntington, Benjamin,	1789 — 1791	Wadsworth, Jeremiah,	1789 — 1795
Learned, Amasa,	1791 — 1795		

NEW YORK.

Senators.

Burr, Aaron,	1791 — 1797	Laurance, John,	1796 — 1800
King, Rufus,	1789 — 1796	Schuyler, Philip,	1789 — 1791

Representatives.

Bailey, Theodore,	1793 — 1797	Livingston, Edward,	1795 — 1802
Benson, Egbert,	1789 — 1793	Schoonmaker, C. C.	1791 — 1793
Cooper, William,	1795 — 1797	Silvester, Peter,	1789 — 1793
Floyd, William,	1789 — 1791	Talbot, Silas,	1793 — 1794
Gilbert, Ezekiel,	1793 — 1797	Tredwell, Thomas,	1791 — 1795
Glen, Henry,	1793 — 1801	Van Allen, John E.	1793 — 1799
Gordon, James,	1791 — 1795	Van Cortlandt, Philip,	1793 — 1809
Hathorne, John,	1789 — 1791	Van Gaasbeck, Peter,	1793 — 1795
	1795 — 1797	Van Rensselaer, J.	1789 — 1791
Havens, Jonathan N.	1795 — 1799	Watts, John,	1793 — 1795
Laurance, John,	1789 — 1793	Williams, John,	1795 — 1799

NEW JERSEY.

Senators.

Dickinson, Philemon,	1790 — 1793	Patterson, William,	1789 — 1790
Elmer, Jonathan,	1789 — 1791	Rutherford, John,	1791 — 1798
Frelinghuysen, Fred.	1793 — 1796	Stockton, Richard,	1796 — 1799

Representatives.

Beatty, John,	1793 — 1795	Kitchell, Aaron,	1791 — 1793
Boudinot, Elias,	1789 — 1795		1794 — 1797
Cadwalader, Lambert,	1789 — 1791	Schureman, James,	1789 — 1791
	1793 — 1795	Sinnickson, Thomas,	1789 — 1791
Clark, Abraham,	1791 — 1794	Smith, Isaac,	1795 — 1797
Dayton, Jonathan,	1791 — 1799	Thompson, Mark,	1795 — 1799
Henderson, Thomas,	1795 — 1797		

PENNSYLVANIA.

Senators.

Bingham, William,	1795 — 1801	Morris, Robert,	1789 — 1795
Gallatin, Albert,	1793 — 1794	Ross, James,	1794 — 1803
Maclay, William,	1789 — 1791		

PENNSYLVANIA. (Continued.)

Representatives.

Armstrong, James,	1793 — 1795	Maclay, Samuel,	1795 — 1797
Bard David,	1795 — 1799	Montgomery, William,	1793 — 1795
Clymer, George,	1789 — 1791	Muhlenberg, F. A.	1789 — 1797
Ege, George,	1796 — 1797	Muhlenberg, Peter,	1789 — 1791
Findlay William,	1791 — 1799		1793 — 1795
Fitzsimons, Thomas,	1789 — 1795	Richards, John,	1795 — 1797
Gallatin, Albert,	1795 — 1801	Scott, Thomas,	1789 — 1791
Gregg, Andrew,	1791 — 1807		1793 — 1795
Hartley, Thomas,	1789 — 1800	Sitgreaves, Samuel,	1795 — 1798
Heister, Daniel,	1789 — 1796	Smilie, John,	1793 — 1795
Irvine, William,	1793 — 1795	Swanwick, John,	1795 — 1798
Jacobs, Israel,	1791 — 1793	Thomas, Richard,	1795 — 1801
Kittera, John W.	1791 — 1801	Wynkoop, Henry,	1789 — 1791

DELAWARE.

Senators.

Bassett, Richard,	1789 — 1793	Read, George,	1789 — 1793
Johns, Kensey,	1794 — 1795	Vining, John,	1793 — 1798
Latimer, Henry,	1795 — 1801		

Representatives.

Latimer, Henry,	1794 — 1795	Patten, John,	1795 — 1797
Patten, John,	1793 — 1794	Vining, John,	1789 — 1793

MARYLAND.

Senators.

Carroll, Charles,	1789 — 1792	Howard, John E.	1796 — 1803
Henry, John,	1789 — 1797	Potts, Richard,	1792 — 1796

Representatives.

Carroll, Daniel,	1789 — 1791	Mercer, John F.	1792 — 1794
Christie, Gabriel,	1793 — 1797	Murray William Vans,	1791 — 1797
Contee, Benjamin,	1789 — 1791	Pinkney William,	1791 — 1792
Crabb, Jeremiah,	1795 — 1796	Seney Joshua,	1789 — 1792
Craik, William,	1796 — 1801	Sheridine, Upton,	1791 — 1792
Dent, George,	1793 — 1801	Smith, Samuel,	1793 — 1803
Duvall Gabriel,	1794 — 1796	Smith, William,	1789 — 1791
Edwards, Benjamin,	1794 — 1795	Sprigg, Richard,	1796 — 1799
Forrest, Uriah,	1793 — 1794	Sprigg, Thomas,	1793 — 1796
Gale, George,	1789 — 1791	Sterrett, Samuel,	1791 — 1793
Hindman, William,	1792 — 1799	Stone, Michael J.	1789 — 1791
Key, Philip,	1791 — 1793	Strudwick, William E.	1796 — 1797

VIRGINIA.

Senators.

Grayson, William,	1789 — 1790	Taylor, John,	1792 — 1794
Lee, Richard H.	1789 — 1792	Tazewell, Henry,	1794 — 1799
Mason, Stevens T.	1794 — 1803	Walker, John,	1790 — 1790
Monroe, James,	1790 — 1794		

VIRGINIA. (Continued.)

Representatives.

Bland, Theodorick,	1789 — 1790	Lee, Richard Bland,	1789 — 1795
Brent, Richard,	1795 — 1799	Madison, James,	1789 — 1797
Browne, John,	1789 — 1792	Moore, Andrew,	1789 — 1797
Cabell, Samuel J.	1795 — 1803	Neville, Joseph,	1793 — 1795
Claiborne, Thomas,	1793 — 1799	New, Anthony,	1793 — 1805
Clopton, John,	1795 — 1799	Nicholas, John,	1793 — 1801
Coles, Isaac,	1789 — 1791	Page, John,	1789 — 1797
	1793 — 1797	Parker, Josiah,	1789 — 1801
Giles, William B.	1790 — 1798	Preston, Francis,	1793 — 1797
Griffin, Samuel,	1789 — 1795	Rutherford, Robert,	1793 — 1797
Hancock, George,	1793 — 1797	Venable, A. B.	1791 — 1799
Harrison, Carter B.	1793 — 1799	Walker, Francis,	1793 — 1795
Heath, John,	1793 — 1797	White, Alexander,	1789 — 1793
Jackson, John George,	1795 — 1797		

NORTH CAROLINA.

Senators.

Bloodworth, Timothy,	1795 — 1801	Johnston, Samuel,	1789 — 1793
Hawkins, Benjamin,	1789 — 1795	Martin, Alexander,	1793 — 1799

Representatives.

Ashe, John B.	1790 — 1793	Macon, Nathaniel,	1791 — 1815
Bloodworth, Timothy,	1790 — 1791	McDowell, Joseph,	1793 — 1795
Blount, Thomas,	1793 — 1799	Mebane, Alexander,	1793 — 1795
Bryan, Nathan,	1795 — 1798	Sevier, John,	1790 — 1791
Burgess, Dempsey,	1795 — 1798	Steele, John,	1790 — 1793
Dawson, William J.	1793 — 1795	Strudwick, William,	1796 — 1797
Franklin, Jesse,	1795 — 1797	Tatum, Absalom,	1795 — 1796
Gillespie, James,	1793 — 1799	Williams, Benjamin,	1793 — 1795
Grove, William B.	1791 — 1803	Williamson, Hugh,	1790 — 1793
Holland, James,	1795 — 1797	Winston, Joseph,	1793 — 1795
Locke, Matthew,	1793 — 1799		

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Senators.

Butler, Pierce,	1789 — 1796	Izard, Ralph,	1789 — 1795
Hunter, John,	1796 — 1798	Read, Jacob,	1795 — 1802

Representatives.

Barnwell, Robert,	1791 — 1793	Huger, Daniel,	1789 — 1793
Benton, Lemuel,	1794 — 1798	Hunter, John,	1793 — 1795
Burke, Ædanus,	1789 — 1791	Pickens, Andrew,	1793 — 1795
Earle, Samuel,	1795 — 1797	Smith, William,	1789 — 1797
Gillon, Alexander,	1793 — 1794	Sumter, Thomas,	1789 — 1793
Hampton, Wade,	1795 — 1797	Tucker, Thomas T.	1789 — 1793
Harper, Robert G.	1794 — 1801	Wynn, Richard,	1793 — 1797

GEORGIA.

Senators.

Few, William,	1789 — 1793	Tatnall, Josiah,	1796 — 1799
Gunn, James,	1789 — 1801	Walton, George,	1795 — 1796
Jackson, James,	1793 — 1795		

Representatives.

Baldwin, Abraham,	1789 — 1799	Milledge, John,	1792 — 1793
Carnes, Thomas P.	1793 — 1795		1795 — 1799
Jackson, James,	1789 — 1791	Wayne, Anthony,	1791 — 1792
Mathews, George,	1789 — 1791	Willis, Francis,	1791 — 1793

TENNESSEE.

Senators.

Blount, William,	1796 — 1797	Cocke, William,	1796 — 1797

Representative.

Jackson, Andrew, 1796 — 1797.

KENTUCKY.

Senators.

Brown, John,	1792 — 1805	Marshall, Humphrey,	1795 — 1801
Edwards, John,	1792 — 1795		

Representatives.

Greenup, Christopher,	1792 — 1797	Orr, Alexander D.	1792 — 1797

TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE OHIO.

White, James, 1794 — 1795.

No. XI.

WASHINGTON'S CABINET DURING HIS PRESIDENCY.

Secretaries of State.

		Appointed.	
Thomas Jefferson,	Virginia,	26 September,	1789
Edmund Randolph,	Virginia,	2 January,	1794
Timothy Pickering,	Pennsylvania,	10 December,	1795

Secretaries of the Treasury.

Alexander Hamilton,	New York,	11 September,	1789
Oliver Wolcott, Jr.	Connecticut,	3 February,	1795

Secretaries of War.

Henry Knox,	Massachusetts,	12 September,	1789
Timothy Pickering,	Pennsylvania,	2 January,	1795
James M'Henry,	Maryland,	27 January,	1796

Attorneys-General.

Edmund Randolph,	Virginia,	29 September,	1789
William Bradford,	Pennsylvania,	27 January,	1794
Charles Lee,	Virginia,	10 December,	1795

No. XII.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES DURING WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Chief Justices.

		Appointed.	
John Jay,	New York,	26 September,	1789
William Cushing,	Massachusetts,	27 January,	1796
Oliver Ellsworth,	Connecticut,	4 March,	1796

Associate Justices.

John Rutledge,	South Carolina,	26 September,	1789
William Cushing,	Massachusetts,	26 September,	1789
Robert H. Harrison,	Maryland,	26 September,	1789
James Wilson,	Pennsylvania,	26 September,	1789
John Blair,	Virginia,	26 September,	1789
James Iredell,	North Carolina,	10 February,	1790
Thomas Johnson,	Maryland,	7 November,	1791
William Patterson,	New Jersey,	4 March,	1793
Samuel Chase,	Maryland,	27 January,	1796

No. XIII.

AMERICAN MINISTERS AND DIPLOMATIC AGENTS AT FOREIGN COURTS DURING WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

ENGLAND.

		Appointed	
Gouverneur Morris,	*Commissioner*,	13 October,	1789
Thomas Pinckney,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	12 January,	1792
John Jay,	*Envoy Extraordinary*,	19 April,	1794
Rufus King,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	20 May,	1796

FRANCE.

William Short,	*Chargé d'Affaires*,	26 September,	1789
Gouverneur Morris,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	12 January,	1792
James Monroe,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	28 May,	1794
Charles C. Pinckney,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	22 December,	1796

SPAIN.

William Carmichael,	*Chargé d'Affaires*,	29 September,	1789
William Carmichael, William Short,	*Commissioners Plenipotentiary*,	24 January,	1792
William Short,	*Minister Resident*,	28 May,	1794
Thomas Pinckney,	*Envoy Extraordinary*,	24 November,	1794
David Humphreys,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	20 May,	1796

NETHERLANDS.

		Appointed.	
Charles W. F. Dumas was left at the Hague by John Adams, in October, 1782, as *Chargé d'Affaires*, and he acted in that capacity till a Minister Resident was appointed.			
William Short,	*Minister Resident*,	16 January,	1792
John Quincy Adams,	*Minister Resident*,	30 May,	1794
William Vans Murray,	*Minister Resident*,	1 March,	1797

PORTUGAL.

David Humphreys,	*Minister Resident*,	21 February,	1791
John Quincy Adams,	*Minister Plenipotentiary*,	30 May,	1796

INDEXES.

INDEXES.

No. I.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY WASHINGTON TO INDIVIDUALS AND PUBLIC BODIES.

The names of the persons, to whom the letters are written, are arranged alphabetically. Letters to public bodies, and those in which no name of a person is mentioned, are put in the order of dates in the second part of the table. The date of each letter is inserted, with a reference to the volume and page in which it may be found.

1. Letters to Individuals.

		Vol.	Page.
A.			
Adams, John,			
7 January,	1776,	III.	229
15 April,	—	—	356
	—	X.	465
27 November,	1794,	XI.	1
20 August,	1795,	—	56
20 February,	1797,	—	188
17 June,	1798,	—	241
4 July,	—	—	242
13 July,	—	—	261
25 September,	—	—	304
21 October,	—	—	329
1 February,	1799,	—	398
3 March,	—	—	403
Adams, John Quincy,			
12 September,	1796,	XI.	169
20 January,	1799,	—	391
Allen, Ethan,			
30 August,	1780,	VII.	180
Anderson, Dr. James,			
26 June,	1792,	X.	242
25 April,	1793,	—	339
25 July,	1798,	XI.	274
Anderson, James,			
3 November,	1796,	XI.	338
10 December,	1799,	XII.	359
Antill, Edward,			
8 January,	1777,	IV.	266
Arendt, Baron D',			
23 September,	1777,	V.	68
18 October,	—	—	100
Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie,			
25 March,	1778,	V.	298
28 December,	1779,	VI.	420
6 February,	1780,	—	462
27 November,	—	VII.	309
13 February,	1782,	VIII.	238
Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie,			
7 October,	1785,	IX.	138
10 August,	1786,	—	190
Armstrong, John,			
4 July,	1777,	IV.	482
25 August,	—	V.	45
27 March,	1778,	—	299
26 March,	1781,	VII.	462
25 April,	1788,	IX.	349
6 February,	1791,	X.	136
11 March,	1792,	—	222
Armstrong, John,			
23 February,	1797,	VIII.	566
Arnold, Benedict,			
14 September,	1775,	III.	86
14 —	—	—	90
5 December,	—	—	192
12 January,	1776,	—	235
27 —	—	—	264
3 April,	—	—	348
6 February,	1777,	IV.	313
3 March,	—	—	344
3 April,	—	—	377
7 June,	—	—	453
17 —	—	—	463
20 January,	1778,	V.	215
7 May,	—	—	361
19 June,	—	—	413
21 —	—	—	414
30 —	—	—	421
6 July,	—	—	433
11 —	—	—	437
3 August,	—	VI.	25
13 December,	—	—	138
20 April,	1779,	—	518
28 —	—	—	519
15 May,	—	—	524
2 June,	—	—	526

		Vol.	Page.
ARNOLD, BENEDICT,			
20 July,	1779.	VI.	527
28 March,	1780,	—	493
4 June,	—	VII.	72
3 August,	—	—	139
5 —	—	—	144
11 —	—	—	146
13 —	—	—	148
21 —	—	—	168
2 September,	—	—	181
7 —	—	—	189
14 —	—	—	204
ASGILL, CHARLES,			
13 November,	1782,	VIII.	362
ASHE, SAMUEL,			
25 January,	1797,	XII.	238
ATHAWES, CHARLES,			
8 January,	1788,	IX.	299

B.

BACHE, SARAH,			
15 January,	1781,	VII.	376
13 February,	—	—	408
BALL, BURGESS,			
25 September,	1794,	X.	437
BANISTER, JOHN,			
21 April,	1778,	V.	321
BARNWELL, ROBERT,			
24 January,	1797,	XII.	237
BARRAS, COUNT DE,			
14 May,	1781,	VIII.	40
21 July,	—	—	113
BARRY, JOHN,			
12 March,	1778,	V.	271
BARTON, WILLIAM,			
7 September,	1788,	XII.	297
BASSETT, BURWELL,			
4 March,	1793,	X.	320
BAYLEY, JACOB,			
11 September,	1778,	VI.	56
BAYLOR, GEORGE,			
9 January,	1777,	IV.	269
BEATTY, JOHN,			
12 July,	1779,	VI.	294
23 September,	—	—	351
BELKNAP, JEREMY,			
15 June,	1798,	XI.	239
BELLEGARD, MARQUIS DE,			
15 January,	1790,	X.	76
BIDDLE, CLEMENT,			
5 December,	1786,	XII.	289
3 March,	1798,	XI.	226
BIENIEWSKY, COUNT DE,			
18 March,	1782,	VIII.	256
27 April,	—	—	269
BIRON, DUKE DE,			
3 February,	1781,	VII.	394
BLAIR, ARCHIBALD,			
24 June,	1799,	XI.	437
BLAIR, JOHN,			
30 January,	1758,	II.	271
20 February,	—	—	272
BLAIR, JOHN,			
17 April,	1758,	II.	278
24 —	—	—	280
28 May,	—	—	285
BLAIR, SUSAN,			
13 February,	1781,	VII.	408
BLANCA, COUNT DE FLORIDA,			
19 December,	1785,	IX.	153
BLAND, THEODORIC,			
28 February,	1779,	VI.	177
11 August,	—	—	318
28 December,	1786,	XII.	290
BOARDMAN, WILLIAM,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
BOTETOURT, LORD,			
15 April,	1770,	II.	355
BOUCHER, JONATHAN,			
9 July,	1771,	II.	361
15 August,	1798,	XI.	291
BOUDINOT, ELIAS,			
1 April,	1777,	IV.	378
3 February,	1778,	V.	232
BOUQUET, HENRY,			
3 July,	1758	II.	291
9 —	—	—	293
16 —	—	—	294
19 —	—	—	296
21 —	—	—	297
25 —	—	—	299
2 August,	—	—	302
18 —	—	—	307
21 —	—	—	310
BOUVINGHAUSEN, GENERAL,			
18 November,	1795,	XI.	92
BOWDOIN, JAMES,			
17 March,	1778,	V.	287
26 April,	1780,	VII.	24
28 August,	—	—	176
BOWEN, JABEZ,			
— March,	1781,	VII.	450
27 December,	1789,	X.	67
BRODHEAD, DANIEL,			
22 March,	1779,	VI.	205
21 April,	—	—	224
4 January,	1780,	—	433
29 December,	—	VII.	343
BRONAUGH, WILLIAM,			
17 December,	1756,	II.	208
BROOKE, ROBERT,			
16 March,	1795,	XI.	22
15 September,	1796,	—	172
BROUGHTON, NICHOLAS,			
2 September,	1775,	III.	517
BUCHAN, EARL OF,			
1 May,	1792,	X.	229
22 April,	1793,	—	337
20 February,	1796,	XI.	108
BURGOYNE, JOHN,			
17 December,	1777,	V.	190
11 March,	1778,	—	266
BURR, AARON,			
26 October,	1778,	VI.	101
3 April,	1779,	—	213

	Vol.	Page.
BUTLER, RICHARD,		
27 November, 1786,	IX.	213
10 January, 1788,	—	301
3 April, —	—	341
BUTLER, WILLIAM,		
24 August, 1778,	VI.	38
BUTLER, ZEBULON,		
29 December, 1780,	VII.	345
C.		
CABOT, GEORGE,		
7 September, 1795,	XI.	64
CADWALADER, JOHN,		
23 December, 1776,	IV.	241
20 March, 1778,	V.	289
5 October, 1780,	VII.	228
CALDWELL, JOSEPH,		
16 December, 1795,	XII.	213
CALVERT, BENEDICT,		
3 April, 1773,	II.	370
CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD,		
1 March, 1777,	IV.	333
CAREY, MATHEW,		
25 June, 1788,	XII.	296
27 October, —	IX.	444
CARLETON, SIR GUY,		
10 May, 1782,	VIII.	295
22 June, —	—	312
30 July, —	—	324
30 — —	—	325
8 September, —	—	342
2 October, —	—	352
20 November, —	—	363
9 April, 1783,	—	415
21 — —	—	425
6 May, —	—	429
6 November, —	—	496
14 — —	—	497
22 — —	—	498
2 December, —	—	500
CARLYLE AND ADAM,		
9 March, 1765,	XII.	259
CARRINGTON, EDWARD,		
8 March, 1780,	VI.	483
9 October, 1795,	XI.	78
1 November, —	—	90
1 May, 1796,	—	120
30 — 1798,	—	238
CARROLL, CHARLES,		
23 January, 1793,	X.	313
CARROLL, JOHN,		
10 April, 1792,	X.	228
CARTER, CHARLES,		
12 January, 1788,	IX.	308
CARTER, LANDON,		
15 April, 1777,	IV.	391
27 October, —	V.	118
30 May, 1778,	—	388
CARY, ARCHIBALD,		
30 May, 1779,	VI.	263
15 June, 1782,	VIII.	306
CARY, ROBERT,		
1 May, 1759,	II.	328
12 June, —	—	330
20 September, —	XII.	251
3 November, 1761,	II.	337
28 May, 1762,	XII.	257
13 February, 1764,	II.	341
20 September, 1765,	XII.	260
CASWELL, RICHARD,		
31 January, 1777,	IV.	305
CHANNING, WILLIAM,		
March, 1781,	VII.	446
CHASE, SAMUEL,		
5 February, 1777,	IV.	309
CHASTELLUX, MARQUIS DE,		
21 March, 1781,	VII.	452
14 December, 1782,	VIII.	366
12 October, 1783,	—	488
2 June, 1784,	IX.	47
25 April, 1788,	—	346
CHITTENDEN, THOMAS,		
1 January, 1782,	VIII.	220
CHOISY, GENERAL DE,		
19 October, 1781,	VIII.	182
CLANDENEN, GEORGE,		
25 June, 1790,	XII.	301
CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS,		
25 April, 1781,	VIII.	25
CLARKSON, MRS.		
13 February, 1781,	VII.	408
CLINTON, GEORGE,		
12 July, 1776,	III.	469
30 September, —	IV.	126
26 April, 1777,	—	398
13 August, —	V.	28
16 — —	—	29
15 October, —	—	91
16 February, 1778,	—	238
29 May, —	—	386
21 July, —	VI.	7
4 March, 1779,	—	183
3 May, —	—	243
13 December, —	—	416
18 May, 1780,	VII.	43
26 September, —	—	215
5 November, —	—	231
19 February, 1781,	—	416
24 — —	—	429
21 June, —	VIII.	79
30 — —	—	89
19 October, 1782,	—	359
11 September, 1783,	—	485
23 October, —	—	496
28 December, —	IX.	1
25 November, 1784,	—	68
25 March, 1789,	—	484
1 December, 1790,	X.	121
14 September, 1791,	—	192
6 March, 1792,	—	221
31 — 1794,	—	394
CLINTON, SIR HENRY,		
31 May, 1778,	V.	394

		Vol.	Page.
CLINTON, SIR HENRY,			
9 June,	1778,	V.	397
11 —	—	—	400
14 March,	1779,	VI.	194
4 April,	—	—	213
26 July,	1780,	VII.	123
6 October,	—	—	234
16 —	—	—	553
20 November,	—	—	301
6 December,	1781,	VIII.	215
26 February,	1782,	—	247
21 April,	—	—	264
CLINTON, JAMES,			
29 May,	1780,	VII.	63
28 October,	—	—	279
5 June,	1781,	VIII.	67
CLOUGH, ALEXANDER,			
25 August,	1778,	VI.	40
CLYMER, GEORGE,			
1 January,	1777,	IV.	256
COBB, DAVID,			
30 June,	1781,	VIII.	87
COCHRAN, JOHN,			
16 August,	1779,	VI.	319
COLERUS, MAJOR,			
19 May,	1777,	IV.	429
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT OF,			
25 June,	1775,	III.	8
25 —	—	—	10
10 July,	—	—	17
20 —	—	—	33
4 August,	—	—	49
31 —	—	—	72
21 September,	—	—	98
30 —	—	—	110
5 October,	—	—	115
12 —	—	—	122
24 —	—	—	129
30 —	—	—	137
2 November,	—	—	139
8 —	—	—	146
11 —	—	—	154
19 —	—	—	162
28 —	—	—	174
4 December,	—	—	184
7 —	—	—	193
11 —	—	—	194
14 —	—	—	196
18 —	—	—	203
25 —	—	—	211
31 —	—	—	218
4 January,	1776,	—	221
11 —	—	—	234
19 —	—	—	251
24 —	—	—	258
30 —	—	—	267
9 February,	—	—	278
9 —	—	—	281
14 —	—	—	288
18 —	—	—	290
7 March,	—	—	302
13 —	—	—	311

		Vol.	Page.
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT OF,			
19 March,	1776,	III.	320
24 —	—	—	326
27 —	—	—	333
4 April,	—	—	350
15 —	—	—	354
18 —	—	—	360
19 —	—	—	364
22 —	—	—	365
25 —	—	—	370
30 —	—	—	378
5 May,	—	—	380
11 —	—	—	386
17 —	—	—	393
18 —	—	—	393
19 —	—	—	394
20 —	—	—	396
7 June,	—	—	409
8 —	—	—	410
10 —	—	—	413
13 —	—	—	419
17 —	—	—	425
20 —	—	—	428
23 —	—	—	431
27 —	—	—	438
29 —	—	—	443
4 July,	—	—	448
10 —	—	—	457
11 —	—	—	465
14 —	—	—	472
15 —	—	IV.	2
19 July,	—	—	9
20 —	—	—	509
22 —	—	—	13
25 —	—	—	18
2 August,	—	—	26
5 —	—	—	29
8 —	—	—	38
12 —	—	—	41
13 —	—	—	45
20 —	—	—	55
23 —	—	—	61
26 —	—	—	65
29 —	—	—	67
31 —	—	—	69
2 September,	—	—	72
6 —	—	—	76
8 —	—	—	80
14 —	—	—	91
16 —	—	—	93
18 —	—	—	97
24 —	—	—	110
25 —	—	—	121
28 —	—	—	123
2 October,	—	—	128
4 —	—	—	130
5 —	—	—	140
7 —	—	—	144
12 —	—	—	151
6 November,	—	—	157
11 —	—	—	171
14 —	—	—	174

Congress, President of,	Vol.	Page.
16 November, 1776,	IV.	178
21 — —	—	187
23 — —	—	190
30 — —	—	193
3 December, —	—	200
5 — —	—	202
6 — —	—	205
8 — —	—	206
12 — —	—	210
16 — —	—	225
20 — —	—	232
24 — —	—	243
27 — —	—	246
29 — —	—	250
1 January, 1777,	—	253
5 — —	—	258
7 — —	—	264
12 — —	—	272
19 — —	—	283
22 — —	—	289
26 — —	—	298
5 February, —	—	310
14 — —	—	322
20 — —	—	325
20 — —	—	327
1 March, —	—	334
6 — —	—	349
14 — —	—	362
18 — —	—	368
29 — —	—	369
19 April, —	—	393
28 — —	—	404
5 May, —	—	408
9 — —	—	411
12 —	—	416
16 — —	—	421
24 — —	—	432
28 — —	—	438
31 — —	—	444
3 June, —	—	447
6 — —	—	450
20 — —	—	469
22 — —	—	470
25 — —	—	472
28 — —	—	474
2 July, —	—	480
10 — —	—	485
12 — —	—	488
16 — —	—	495
22 — —	—	501
25 — —	V.	6
3 August, —	—	13
9 — —	—	24
21 — —	—	38
22 — —	—	42
23 — —	—	43
25 — —	—	44
27 — —	—	46
28 — —	—	48
29 — —	—	49
30 — —	—	50

Congress, President of,	Vol.	Page.
1 September, 1777,	V.	51
3 — —	—	52
9 — —	—	56
11 — —	—	57
13 — —	—	59
15 — —	—	60
17 — —	—	63
19 — —	—	65
23 — —	—	69
29 — —	—	74
3 October, —	—	76
5 — —	—	78
7 — —	—	82
16 — —	—	93
22 — —	—	106
24 — —	—	110
1 November, —	—	126
10 — —	—	139
17 — —	—	151
23 — —	—	164
26 — —	—	169
10 December, —	—	180
14 — —	—	184
22 — —	—	192
23 — —	—	197
2 January, 1778,	—	207
4 — —	—	491
5 — —	—	208
9 — —	—	212
13 — —	—	214
27 February, —	—	243
7 March, —	—	253
12 — —	—	269
14 — —	—	276
16 — —	—	284
21 — —	—	292
24 — —	—	294
3 April, —	—	303
4 — —	—	306
10 — —	—	311
18 — —	—	316
20 — —	—	319
23 — —	—	336
25 — —	—	340
27 — —	—	344
30 — —	—	347
30 — —	—	350
1 May, —	—	352
3 — —	—	354
4 — —	—	355
12 — —	—	361
18 — —	—	373
24 — —	—	377
29 — —	—	383
31 — —	—	393
18 June, —	—	408
18 — —	—	409
18 — —	—	411
22 — —	—	416
28 — —	—	419
29 — —	—	421

CONGRESS, PRESIDENT OF,			Vol.	Page.
1 July,	1778,		V.	422
7 —	—		—	435
11 —	—		—	436
12 —	—		—	438
22 —	—		VI.	9
24 —	—		—	16
26 —	—		—	20
16 August,	—		—	28
19 —	—		—	30
20 —	—		—	31
25 —	—		—	39
4 September,	—		—	51
4 —	—		—	52
12 —	—		—	64
12 —	—		—	66
3 October,	—		—	75
3 —	—		—	77
6 —	—		—	83
14 —	—		—	89
22 —	—		—	96
14 November,	—		—	106
23 —	—		—	121
27 —	—		—	124
13 December,	—		—	134
16 —	—		—	139
18 —	—		—	141
29 January,	1779,		—	171
8 February,	—		—	172
26 —	—		—	175
1 March,	—		—	178
3 —	—		—	182
15 —	—		—	195
26 —	—		—	207
14 April,	—		—	214
23 —	—		—	227
3 May,	—		—	240
5 —	—		—	246
11 —	—		—	254
17 —	—		—	256
25 —	—		—	261
3 June,	—		—	267
6 —	—		—	269
11 —	—		—	272
9 July,	—		—	285
16 —	—		—	297
20 —	—		—	298
25 —	—		—	304
16 August,	—		—	320
17 —	—		—	324
23 —	—		—	332
7 September,	—		—	340
7 —	—		—	343
4 October,	—		—	368
9 —	—		—	380
21 —	—		—	387
18 November,	—		—	401
24 —	—		—	408
29 —	—		—	410
7 December,	—		—	413
17 —	—		—	422
2 January,	1780,		—	430
4 January,	1780,		VI.	435
7 March,	—		—	481
28 —	—		—	495
31 —	—		VII.	1
2 April,	—		—	6
3 —	—		—	11
17 —	—		—	20
13 May,	—		—	31
27 —	—		—	54
10 June,	—		—	75
25 —	—		—	85
10 July,	—		—	102
14 —	—		—	107
20 —	—		—	115
22 —	—		—	120
30 —	—		—	126
20 August,	—		—	156
28 —	—		—	178
6 September,	—		—	184
8 —	—		—	189
13 —	—		—	203
15 —	—		—	205
26 —	—		—	218
7 October,	—		—	235
11 —	—		—	245
15 —	—		—	259
21 —	—		—	268
7 November,	—		—	286
28 —	—		—	313
2 January,	1781,		—	346
15 —	—		—	374
31 —	—		—	398
3 February,	—		—	305
17 —	—		—	415
26 —	—		—	434
21 March,	—		—	456
4 April,	—		—	467
8 —	—		VIII.	1
16 —	—		—	15
17 May,	—		—	47
27 —	—		—	53
6 June,	—		—	69
6 July,	—		—	97
21 —	—		—	112
8 August,	—		—	125
5 September,	—		—	153
15 —	—		—	158
23 —	—		—	163
1 October,	—		—	168
6 —	—		—	173
12 —	—		—	177
16 —	—		—	178
19 —	—		—	182
26 —	—		—	189
31 —	—		—	202
15 November,	—		—	207
30 —	—		—	214
27 December,	—		—	218
18 February,	1782,		—	239
20 —	—		—	243
30 April,	—		—	279

		Vol.	Page.
Congress, President of,			
10 May,	1782,	VIII.	293
9 July,	—	—	316
19 August,	—	—	336
28 —	—	—	338
25 October,	—	—	361
30 January,	1783,	—	376
25 February,	—	—	385
7 March,	—	—	391
12 —	—	—	392
16 —	—	—	396
18 —	—	—	396
19 —	—	—	402
23 —	—	—	407
30 —	—	—	409
18 April,	—	—	421
3 May,	—	—	428
7 June,	—	—	438
24 —	—	—	454
30 —	—	—	459
16 July,	—	—	466
6 August,	—	—	469
14 —	—	—	473
2 October,	—	—	487
18 November,	—	—	498
3 December,	—	—	500
20 —	—	—	501
21 —	—	—	502
14 January,	1784,	IX.	7
14 —	—	—	9
14 December,	—	—	79
8 February,	1785,	—	91
22 August,	—	—	117
Conway, Thomas,			
9 November,	1777,	V.	139
16 —	—	—	150
30 December,	—	—	203
Cooke, Nicholas,			
4 August,	1775,	III.	47
29 October,	—	—	135
5 December,	—	—	188
6 January,	1776,	—	227
17 March,	—	—	319
17 September,	—	IV.	96
12 October,	—	—	149
20 January,	1777,	—	285
3 April,	—	—	375
7 July,	—	—	484
31 December,	—	V.	205
Cooper, Myles,			
31 May,	1773,	II.	374
15 December,	—	—	381
Corbin, Richard,			
March,	1754,	II	3
Cornwallis, Earl,			
8 January,	1777,	IV.	268
17 October,	1781,	VIII.	530
18 —	—	—	531
27 —	—	—	195
Crafts, Thomas,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
Craik, James,			
26 April,	1777,	IV.	400
Craik, James,			
25 March,	1784,	IX.	28
10 July,	—	—	52
8 September,	1789,	X.	29
Crawford, William,			
21 September,	1767,	II.	346
25 September,	1773,	—	375
Crèvecœur, Hector St. John de,			
9 July,	1787,	IX.	259
10 April,	1789,	—	490
Cruger, Nicholas,			
18 August,	1793,	XII.	205
Custis, John Parke,			
23 February,	1781,	VII.	440

D.

Dandridge, Bartholomew,			
8 March,	1797,	XI.	194
Dandridge, Francis,			
21 September,	1765,	II.	342
Darke, John,			
4 April,	1791,	X.	153
Darke, William,			
9 August,	—	—	183
Davie, William R.			
24 October,	1798,	XI.	334
Davies, William,			
10 April,	1779,	VI.	508
Dayton, Elias,			
23 May,	1781,	VIII.	58
4 June,	1782,	—	304
11 —	—	—	305
Deborre General,			
3 August,	1777,	V.	12
Destouches, Chevalier,			
22 February,	1781,	VII.	424
31 March,	—	—	463
Dey, Thomas Cockey,			
22 November,	1781,	VIII.	210
Dickinson, John,			
19 June,	1782,	—	310
Dickinson, Philemon,			
21 January,	1777,	IV.	288
4 November,	—	V.	134
5 June,	1778,	—	395
24 —	—	—	416
1 August,	1780,	VII.	133
Dinwiddie, Robert,			
9 March,	1754,	II.	1
20 —	—	—	4
25 April,	—	—	6
9 May,	—	—	14
18 —	—	—	17
18 —	—	—	19
27 —	—	—	24
29 —	—	—	27
29 —	—	—	38
		—	38
10 June,	—	—	40
20 August,	—	—	60
		—	62
8 October,	1755,	—	101
11 —	—	—	103

		Vol.	Page.
DINWIDDIE, ROBERT,			
17 October,	1755,	II.	110
5 December,	—	—	117
14 January,	1756,	—	125
14 —	—	—	127
2 February,	—	—	131
7 April,	—	—	133
16 —	—	—	137
18 —	—	—	141
19 —	—	—	142
22 —	—	—	143
24 —	—	—	146
27 —	—	—	154
3 May,	—	—	157
23 —	—	—	160
25 June,	—	—	163
4 August,	—	—	166
14 —	—	—	178
23 September,	—	—	185
10 October,	—	—	189
9 November,	—	—	194
24 —	—	—	201
2 December,	—	—	204
19 —	—	—	209
16 April,	1757,	—	233
16 June,	—	—	240
27 August,	—	—	246
17 September,	—	—	250
17 —	—	—	254
24 —	—	—	257
5 October,	—	—	259
5 November,	—	—	268
DOUW, VOLKERT P.,			
13 March,	1778,	V.	273
DRAYTON, WILLIAM,			
25 March,	1786,	IX.	155
18 November,	1789,	X.	49
DRAYTON, WILLIAM HENRY,			
12 July,	1778,	V.	439
DRUMMOND, LORD,			
17 August,	1776,	IV.	51
DUANE, JAMES,			
13 March,	1778,	V.	273
14 May,	1780,	VII.	32
4 October,	—	—	226
30 September,	1782,	VIII.	350
7 —	1783,	—	477
DUBUYSSON, COLONEL,			
10 October,	1780,	VII.	239
1 February,	1781,	—	393
DUCHÉ, JACOB,			
10 August,	1783,	V.	482
DUER, WILLIAM,			
6 March,	1777,	IV.	353
DUMAS, GENERAL,			
24 June,	1797,	XI.	207
DUNMORE, LORD,			
15 June,	1771,	II.	359
13 April,	1773,	—	373
2 November,	—	—	378
DUPORTAIL, GENERAL,			
19 September,	1778,	VI.	67
DUPORTAIL, GENERAL,			
11 November,	1779,	VI.	398
15 December,	—	—	419
28 May,	1781,	VIII.	57
26 October,	—	—	194
19 October,	1783,	—	489
4 April,	1784,	IX.	36
DWIGHT, TIMOTHY,			
18 March,	1778,	V.	298

E.

EDEN, WILLIAM,			
12 June,	1778,	V.	401
EDWARDS, THOMAS,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
EDWARDS, WILLIAM,			
25 March,	1773,	II.	369
ELLERY, CHRISTOPHER,			
March,	1781,	VII.	446
ELLIS, MAJOR,			
10 July,	1783,	VIII.	460
EMERY, COUNT D',			
7 October,	1776,	IV.	144
ERSKINE, THOMAS,			
7 July,	1797,	XI.	209
ESTAING, COUNT D',			
14 July,	1778,	VI.	1
17 —	—	—	3
22 —	—	—	12
8 August,	—	—	26
2 September,	—	—	51
11 —	—	—	57
24 October,	—	—	98
27 —	—	—	103
4 October,	1779,	—	371
7 —	—	—	378
15 May,	1784,	IX.	43
7 September,	1791,	X.	187
ETTWEIN, JOHN,			
2 May,	1788,	IX.	364
EVANS, ISRAEL,			
13 March,	1778,	V.	275
EVERARD, THOMAS,			
17 September,	1775,	III.	94

F.

FAIRFAX, BRYAN,			
4 July,	1774,	II.	388
20 —	—	—	390
24 August,	—	—	396
1 March,	1778,	V.	246
FAIRFAX, GEORGE WILLIAM,			
31 May,	1775,	II.	406
25 July,	—	III.	37
11 March,	1778,	V.	267
25 June,	1786,	IX.	176
FAIRFAX, JOHN,			
31 March,	1789,	XII.	309
FAIRFAX, LORD,			
29 August,	1756,	II.	189

		Vol.	Page.
FAIRFAX, MRS. S.			
16 May,	1798,	XI.	232
FAIRFAX, WILLIAM,			
11 August,	1754,	II.	51
23 April,	1755,	—	74
5 May,	—	—	75
7 June,	—	—	77
FAUQUIER, FRANCIS,			
17 June,	1758,	—	289
30 October,	—	—	315
28 November,	—	—	320
2 December,	—	—	323
9 —	—	—	325
FELLOWS, JOHN,			
31 July,	1780,	VII.	131
FENNER, ARTHUR,			
4 June,	1790,	X.	93
FITZGERALD, JOHN,			
20 November,	1781,	VIII.	209
FITZHUGH, WILLIAM,			
15 November,	1754,	II.	64
24 December,	1789,	X.	66
FLEURY, LOUIS,			
28 July,	1779,	VI.	307
FORBES, JOSEPH,			
23 April,	1758,	II.	279
8 October,	—	—	313
15 November,	—	—	317
17 —	—	—	317
18 —	—	—	319
30 December,	—	—	326
FRANCE, KING OF,			
9 October,	1789,	X.	36
FRANCIS, MRS.			
13 February,	1781,	VII.	408
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN,			
17 August,	1777,	V.	32
28 December,	1778,	VI.	148
11 October,	1780,	VII.	242
20 December,	—	—	336
15 January,	1781,	—	378
22 October,	—	VIII.	188
18 October,	1782,	—	358
2 June,	1784,	IX.	46
25 September,	1785,	—	131
26 —	—	—	131
23 September,	1789,	X.	32
FRANKLIN, WILLIAM,			
25 July,	1777	V.	6
FRAUNCIS, SAMUEL,			
7 September,	1785,	XII.	273
FREEMAN, THOMAS,			
23 September,	1785,	XII.	275
FRENCH, CHRISTOPHER,			
26 September,	1775,	III.	105
25 October,	—	—	131
7 August,	1776,	IV.	33
FRESTEL, M.			
23 November,	1795,	XI.	96
FRY, JOSHUA,			
23 May,	1754,	II.	21
29 —	—	—	26

G.

		Vol.	Page.
GAGE, THOMAS,			
11 August,	1775,	III.	59
20 —	—	—	65
GARDOQUI, DON DIEGO,			
1 December,	1786,	IX.	215
GATES, HORATIO,			
24 June,	1776,	III.	433
19 July,	—	IV.	11
14 August,	—	—	47
14 December,	—	—	215
10 March,	1777,	—	355
19 May,	—	—	427
30 July,	—	V.	7
4 August,	—	—	16
20 —	—	—	37
24 September,	—	—	74
30 October,	—	—	124
2 December,	—	—	178
4 January,	1778,	—	491
27 —	—	—	227
9 February,	—	—	504
14 —	—	—	236
24 —	—	—	513
24 April,	—	—	338
25 May,	—	—	381
29 —	—	—	385
12 June,	—	—	403
20 —	—	—	414
3 July,	—	—	429
7 October,	—	VI.	87
6 March,	1779,	—	187
11 June,	—	—	273
2 November,	—	—	395
16 —	—	—	400
4 June,	1780,	VII.	71
12 August,	—	—	148
8 October,	—	—	237
22 —	—	—	274
GÉRARD, JOSEPH MATHIAS,			
1 May,	1779,	VI.	237
18 —	—	—	259
12 September,	—	—	347
GERMANY, EMPEROR OF,			
15 May,	1796,	XI.	125
GERRY, ELBRIDGE,			
29 January,	1780,	VI.	455
GIST, NATHANIEL,			
11 January,	1777,	IV.	271
GLOVER, JOHN,			
26 April,	1777,	IV.	399
GODDARD, WILLIAM,			
11 June,	1785,	IX.	107
GORDON, WILLIAM,			
15 February,	1778,	V.	510
9 March,	1781,	VII.	448
8 March,	1785,	IX.	99
1 January,	1788,	—	295
23 December,	—	—	456
13 October,	1797,	XI.	216

		Vol.	Page.
GOSSLIEN, CLEMENT,			
23 December,	1789,	X.	65
GOUVION, COLONEL,			
21 November,	1780,	VII.	302
GRAHAM, CATHARINE MACAULAY,			
16 November,	1787,	IX.	282
9 January,	1790,	X.	68
19 July,	1791,	—	169
GRASSE, COUNT DE,			
17 August,	1781,	VIII.	130
24 —	—	—	147
6 September,	—	—	155
15 —	—	—	159
22 —	—	—	162
25 —	—	—	163
27 —	—	—	167
1 October,	—	—	170
17 —	—	—	181
20 —	—	—	185
28 —	—	—	196
GRAY, EBENEZER,			
25 September,	1780,	VII.	213
GRAYSON, WILLIAM,			
25 April,	1785,	XII.	270
22 August,	—	IX.	124
26 July,	1786,	—	177
GREENE, CHRISTOPHER,			
7 October,	1777,	V.	86
24 —	—	—	111
GREENE, NATHANAEL,			
8 November,	1776,	IV.	164
18 March,	1777,	—	367
12 May,	—	—	414
27 —	—	—	437
22 November,	—	V.	162
28 —	—	—	174
20 April,	1778,	—	319
21 August,	—	VI.	37
1 September,	—	—	47
24 April,	1779,	—	229
25 June,	—	—	277
3 September,	—	—	337
22 December,	—	—	428
22 January,	1780,	—	449
24 —	—	—	450
26 March,	—	—	492
31 May,	—	VII.	65
21 June,	—	—	83
14 July,	—	—	106
19 —	—	—	112
6 August,	—	—	144
15 —	—	—	153
24 —	—	—	173
26 —	—	—	174
16 September,	—	—	208
25 —	—	—	215
27 —	—	—	221
6 October,	—	—	231
6 —	—	—	232
14 —	—	—	257
16 —	—	—	261
18 —	—	—	263
GREENE, NATHANAEL,			
22 October,	1780,	VII.	271
8 November,	—	—	288
13 December,	—	—	320
9 January,	1781,	—	360
21 March,	—	—	456
18 April,	—	VIII.	16
1 June,	—	—	68
30 July,	—	—	116
6 October,	—	—	174
15 December,	—	—	216
18 March,	1782,	—	257
23 April,	—	—	267
22 May,	—	—	299
9 July,	—	—	317
6 August,	—	—	326
22 September,	—	—	347
18 October,	—	—	356
6 February,	1783,	—	390
GREENE, WILLIAM,			
27 April,	1782,	VIII.	270
GRIFFIN, SAMUEL,			
20 February,	1788,	IX.	338
30 April,	—	—	361
GUICHEN, COUNT DE,			
12 September,	1780,	VII.	195

H.

HALDIMAND, FREDERIC,			
30 August,	1780,	VII.	179
12 July,	1783,	VIII.	461
HALKET, FRANCIS,			
12 April,	1758,	II.	277
11 May,	—	—	282
2 August,	—	—	301
HALL, JOSIAS C.			
3 April,	1778,	V.	304
HAMILTON, ALEXANDER,			
22 September,	1777,	V.	67
30 October,	—	—	121
11 November,	1779,	VI.	398
8 March,	1780,	—	483
27 April,	1781,	VIII.	26
4 March,	1783,	—	388
31 —	—	—	409
16 April,	—	—	418
10 July,	1787,	IX.	260
18 October,	—	—	272
10 November,	—	—	275
28 August,	1788,	—	419
3 October,	—	—	434
17 December,	1789,	X.	63
20 September,	1790,	—	114
10 October,	—	—	116
4 April,	1791,	—	155
7 May,	—	—	161
13 June,	—	—	165
14 October,	—	—	196
29 July	1792,	—	249
1 August,	—	—	255
5 —	—	—	258

		Vol.	Page.
Hamilton, Alexander,			
26 August,	1792,	X.	283
31 —	—	—	288
7 September,	—	—	291
16 —	—	—	297
21 —	—	—	531
5 May,	1793,	—	341
7 —	—	—	345
6 June,	—	—	349
20 —	—	—	352
14 October,	—	—	378
8 April,	1794,	—	396
2 May,	—	—	407
6 —	—	—	411
29 —	—	—	413
7 June,	—	—	414
2 July,	—	—	421
21 August,	—	—	427
31 October,	—	—	448
2 February,	1795,	XI.	16
31 March,	1796,	—	115
22 January,	1797,	—	185
27 May,	1798,	—	234
14 July,	—	—	263
24 September,	—	—	304
21 October,	—	—	330
10 November,	1798,	—	341
12 —	—	—	344
25 February,	1799,	—	400
19 June,	—	—	435
25 —	—	—	439
15 September,	—	—	452
20 —	—	—	456
26 October,	—	—	460
27 —	—	—	463
27 —	—	—	464
12 December,	—	—	469
Hamilton, James,			
27 April,	1754,	II.	11
Hanbury, Capel,			
25 July,	1767,	II.	344
Hancock, John,			
21 July,	1775,	III.	36
2 November,	1777,	V.	133
17 March,	1781,	VII.	450
10 August,	1782,	VIII.	320
22 October,	1789,	X.	47
23 —	—	—	48
26 —	—	—	493
Hand, Edward,			
16 November,	1778,	VI.	111
14 January,	1784,	IX.	9
Hanson, Samuel,			
6 August,	1788,	IX.	409
18 January,	1789,	—	460
Harrison, Benjamin,			
19 August,	1777,	V.	35
18 December,	1778,	VI.	142
30 —	—	—	150
5 May,	1779,	—	257
19 March,	1783,	VIII.	403
18 January,	1784,	IX.	11
Harrison, Benjamin,			
10 October,	1784,	IX.	58
9 March,	1789,	—	475
Harrison, Robert H.			
4 March,	1777,	IV.	348
10 April,	1779,	VI.	508
25 November,	1789,	X.	52
Hartshorne, William,			
1 April,	1789,	IX.	489
Harvey, Reuben,			
23 June,	1783,	VIII.	453
10 August,	—	—	453
Haynie, Elizabeth,			
27 December,	1780,	XII.	263
Hazen, Moses,			
25 January,	1780,	VI.	451
27 —	—	—	454
3 May,	1782,	VIII.	280
18 —	—	—	297
4 June,	—	—	301
Heard, Sir Isaac,			
2 May,	1792,	I.	
Heath, William,			
23 August,	1776,	IV.	59
18 December,	—	—	227
28 —	—	—	249
5 January,	1777,	—	263
7 —	—	—	265
9 —	—	—	270
19 —	—	—	280
27 —	—	—	303
3 February,	—	—	306
3 —	—	—	307
7 September,	—	V.	55
13 November,	—	—	143
17 December,	—	—	189
22 January,	1778,	—	221
25 March,	—	—	296
29 April,	—	—	346
5 May,	—	—	356
28 August,	—	VI.	42
10 October,	—	—	88
21 —	—	—	93
22 —	—	—	95
25 —	—	—	100
21 December,	1779,	—	425
16 February,	1780,	—	467
15 May,	—	VII.	36
2 June,	—	—	71
31 July,	—	—	130
3 August,	—	—	137
8 —	—	—	145
17 —	—	—	155
28 —	—	—	174
26 September,	—	—	216
14 October,	—	—	259
21 —	—	—	268
16 November,	—	—	293
7 January,	1781,	—	356
12 —	—	—	365
14 —	—	—	366
25 —	—	—	385

		Vol.	Page.
HEATH, WILLIAM,			
29 January,	1781,	VII.	398
15 February,	—	—	410
23 —	—	—	426
21 March,	—	—	453
19 August,	—	VIII.	136
6 June,	1783,	—	435
24 —	—	—	454
20 May,	1797,	XI.	199
HEINTZ, JEAN DE,			
21 January,	1784,	IX.	14
HEISTER, GENERAL DE,			
13 May,	1777,	IV.	418
HENDERSON, RICHARD,			
19 June,	1788,	IX.	384
HENRY, PATRICK,			
5 October,	1776,	IV.	135
24 February,	1777,	—	329
13 April,	—	—	388
31 May,	—	—	442
4 August,	—	V.	15
13 November,	—	—	145
27 March,	1778,	—	514
28 —	—	—	515
29 October,	1785,	IX.	142
30 November,	—	XII.	277
24 September,	1787,	IX.	265
9 October,	1795,	XI.	81
15 January,	1799,	—	387
HERIOT, GEORGE,			
14 September,	1795,	XII.	212
HILLEGAS, MRS.			
13 February,	1781,	VII.	406
HOLLINGSWORTH, LEVI,			
20 September,	1785	XII.	274
HOOE, ROBERT F.			
20 November,	1781,	VIII.	209
HOPKINS, ESECK,			
14 April,	1776,	III.	352
HOPKINSON, FRANCIS,			
27 October,	1777,	V.	116
21 November,	—	—	477
16 May,	1785,	IX.	106
HOPKINSON, JOSEPH,			
27 May,	1798,	XI.	237
HOUDON, M.			
26 September,	1785,	IX.	132
HOWARD, JOHN EAGER,			
19 November,	1795,	XI.	93
30 —	—	—	96
HOWE, LORD,			
17 August,	1776,	IV.	50
13 January,	1777,	—	273
HOWE, ROBERT,			
28 July,	1779,	VI.	305
17 August,	—	—	323
28 —	—	—	335
13 April,	1780,	VII.	16
28 —	—	—	25
1 June,	—	—	69
10 —	—	—	74
15 —	—	—	77
HOWE, ROBERT,			
20 June,	1780,	VII.	81
21 —	—	—	84
25 —	—	—	87
27 —	—	—	91
24 July,	—	—	121
22 January,	1781,	—	380
29 —	—	—	389
25 June,	1783,	VIII.	458
HOWE, SIR WILLIAM,			
23 August,	1775,	III.	67
18 December,	—	—	201
30 January,	1776,	—	523
30 July,	—	IV.	23
17 August,	—	—	52
23 September,	—	—	105
6 October,	—	—	143
9 November,	—	—	166
1 December,	—	—	198
12 —	—	—	214
17 —	—	—	227
29 —	—	—	252
13 January,	1777,	—	275
20 —	—	—	287
3 March,	—	—	557
9 April,	—	—	380
10 June,	—	—	454
16 July,	—	—	496
6 October,	—	V.	80
4 November,	—	—	136
14 —	—	—	147
23 —	—	—	163
28 —	—	—	175
14 December,	—	—	188
20 January,	1778,	—	218
30 —	—	—	230
10 February,	—	—	234
9 March,	—	—	263
12 —	—	—	272
22 —	—	—	293
HUMPHREYS, DAVID,			
22 November,	1780,	VII.	306
23 December,	—	—	338
14 January,	1784,	IX.	6
2 June,	—	—	45
25 July,	1785,	—	112
1 September,	1786,	—	196
26 December,	—	—	220
16 March,	1791,	X.	138
20 July,	1791,	—	170
23 March,	1793,	—	330
HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL,			
25 July,	1781,	VIII.	114
HUNTINGTON, COUNTESS OF,			
27 February,	1785,	IX.	96
30 June,	—	—	111
HUTCHINS, THOMAS,			
20 August,	1786,	IX.	195

I.

INLAY, J. H.			
21 November,	1796,	XII.	236

		Vol.	Page.
INNES, HARRY,			
2 March,	1789,	IX.	473
INNES, JAMES,			
15 July,	1755,	II.	86
IREDELL, JAMES,			
23 July,	1793,	X.	359
IRVINE, WILLIAM,			
4 January,	1780,	VI.	432
9 —	—	—	441
12 —	—	—	442
23 June,	1781,	VIII.	80
8 March,	1782,	—	248
18 February,	1788,	IX.	326
31 October,	—	—	445
IRWIN, MATTHEW,			
20 July,	1789,	X.	15
J.			
JACKSON, ROBERT,			
2 August,	1755,	II.	90
JAMESON, JOHN,			
25 September,	1780,	VII.	214
JAY, SIR JAMES,			
25 January,	1785,	IX.	86
JAY, JOHN,			
7 October,	1779,	VI.	377
27 September,	1785,	IX.	135
18 May,	1786,	—	166
1 August,	—	—	187
20 January,	1788,	—	309
15 May,	—	—	366
8 June,	—	—	372
18 July,	—	—	393
3 August,	—	—	408
11 May,	1789,	X.	3
8 June,	—	—	11
14 July,	—	—	14
5 October,	—	—	35
4 September,	1791,	—	186
23 July,	1793,	—	359
29 April,	1794,	—	404
7 May,	—	—	413
30 August,	—	—	433
1 November,	—	—	452
18 December,	—	XI.	4
31 August,	1795,	—	63
8 May,	1796,	—	123
JEFFERSON, THOMAS,			
6 August,	1779,	VI.	315
23 November,	—	—	407
15 May,	1780,	VII.	35
8 November,	—	—	291
28 December,	—	—	341
6 February,	1781,	—	402
8 June,	—	VIII.	71
15 March,	1784,	IX.	23
29 —	—	—	30
26 September,	1785,	—	133
1 August,	1786,	—	185
30 May,	1787,	—	254
1 January,	1788,	—	291
JEFFERSON, THOMAS,			
31 August,	1788,	IX.	423
13 February,	1789,	—	469
13 October,	—	X.	40
30 November,	—	—	54
21 January,	1790,	—	77
31 March,	1791,	—	147
1 April,	—	—	150
3 —	—	—	152
13 —	—	—	159
25 March,	1792,	—	226
23 August,	—	—	278
15 September,	—	—	295
18 October,	—	—	306
17 February,	1793,	—	317
13 March,	—	—	322
22 —	—	—	328
12 April,	—	—	336
18 —	—	—	337
1 June,	—	—	348
16 —	—	—	351
20 —	—	—	354
30 —	—	—	354
11 July,	—	—	355
25 —	—	—	360
31 —	—	—	361
4 August,	—	—	363
12 —	—	—	364
19 —	—	—	366
10 September,	—	—	369
11 October,	—	—	374
1 December,	—	—	388
1 January,	1794,	—	390
15 March,	1795,	XI.	19
4 October,	—	XII.	319
6 July,	1796,	XI.	137
JOHNSON, THOMAS,			
11 April,	1777,	IV.	386
20 April,	1788,	IX.	345
7 August,	1791,	X.	182
24 August,	1795,	XI.	59
JOHNSTONE, GEORGE,			
12 June,	1778,	V.	402
JONES, JOSEPH,			
31 May,	1780,	VII.	67
13 August,	—	—	149
14 December,	1782,	VIII.	369
11 February,	1783,	—	382
12 March,	—	—	393
18 —	—	—	400
30 November,	1789,	X.	57
JONES, PAUL,			
15 May,	1781,	VIII.	44
K.			
KALB, BARON DE,			
21 March,	1780,	VI.	487
4 April,	—	VII.	15
KNOX, HENRY,			
16 November,	1775,	III.	160
11 February,	1777,	IV.	316

			Vol.	Page.
KNOX, HENRY,				
15	July,	1780,	VII.	108
7	January,	1781,	—	354
10	February,	—	—	407
8	July,	—	VIII.	94
11	March,	1782,	—	249
24	—	—	—	260
20	April,	—	—	264
30	—	—	—	277
29	August,	—	—	339
20	February,	1784,	IX.	20
20	March,	—	—	26
18	June,	1785,	—	108
28	December,	1786,	—	225
3	February,	1787,	—	228
25	—	—	—	233
8	March,	—	—	235
2	April,	—	—	251
19	August,	—	—	264
15	October,	—	—	269
3	March,	1788,	—	332
30	—	—	—	339
17	June,	—	—	376
1	January,	1789,	—	458
1	April,	—	—	486
13	August,	1790,	X.	109
20	September,	—	—	113
2	November,	—	—	119
14	January,	1791,	—	128
1	April,	—	—	149
1	August,	1792,	—	256
5	—	—	—	260
13	—	—	—	262
16	—	—	—	265
19	—	—	—	267
22	—	—	—	275
21	—	—	—	282
3	September,	—	—	329
7	—	—	—	333
16	—	—	—	338
24	—	—	—	339
25	—	—	—	343
5	April,	1793,	—	334
9	September,	—	—	367
9	October,	1794,	—	441
30	November,	—	XI.	8
20	September,	1795,	—	70
4	April,	1796,	—	119
2	March,	1797,	—	172
16	July,	1798,	—	266
9	August,	—	—	280
21	October,	—	—	296
23	—	—	—	334
KOSCIUSKO, THADDEUS,				
3	August,	1798,	VII.	141
31	August,	1797,	XI.	213
25	October,	—	—	219

L.

LAFAYETTE, M. DE,				
3	December,	1797,	XI.	222

			Vol.	Page.
LAFAYETTE, GENERAL,				
31	December,	1777,	V.	490
10	March,	1778,	—	264
20	—	—	—	291
17	May,	—	—	366
18	—	—	—	368
25	June,	—	—	417
26	—	—	—	419
22	July,	—	VI.	8
27	—	—	—	22
10	August,	—	—	27
1	September,	—	—	49
25	—	—	—	70
4	October,	—	—	78
29	December,	—	—	149
8	March,	1779,	—	190
12	September,	—	—	348
30	—	—	—	362
20	October,	—	—	382
18	March,	1780,	—	485
8	May,	—	VII.	29
16	—	—	—	38
19	—	—	—	44
20	—	—	—	46
15	July,	—	—	509
16	—	—	—	109
22	—	—	—	117
27	—	—	—	124
31	—	—	—	128
1	August,	—	—	134
3	—	—	—	135
5	—	—	—	141
30	October,	—	—	280
8	December,	—	—	316
14	—	—	—	322
26	—	—	—	339
20	February,	1781,	—	417
25	—	—	—	430
27	—	—	—	439
1	March,	—	—	444
8	—	—	—	447
11	—	—	—	449
5	April,	—	—	468
6	—	—	—	469
11	—	—	VIII.	10
14	—	—	—	13
21	—	—	—	19
22	—	—	—	22
4	May,	—	—	33
5	—	—	—	35
31	—	—	—	60
29	June,	—	—	86
13	July,	—	—	99
30	—	—	—	118
15	August,	—	—	127
21	—	—	—	140
2	September,	—	—	150
7	—	—	—	156
10	—	—	—	157
15	November,	—	—	203
4	January,	1782,	—	224
5	April,	1783,	—	411

		Vol.	Page.
LAFAYETTE, GENERAL,			
1 February,	1784,	IX.	17
4 April,	—	—	37
8 December,	—	—	77
23 —	—	—	82
1 September,	1785,	—	128
8 November,	—	—	144
10 May,	1786,	—	160
15 August,	—	—	191
25 March,	1787,	—	240
15 August,	—	—	262
18 September,	—	—	265
10 January,	1788,	—	305
7 February,	—	—	316
28 April,	—	—	354
18 June,	—	—	379
27 November,	—	—	447
29 January,	1789,	—	462
14 October,	1789,	X.	45
3 June,	1790,	—	90
11 August,	—	—	105
19 March,	1791,	—	141
28 July,	—	—	177
10 September,	—	—	189
21 November,	—	—	208
10 June,	1792,	—	234
8 October,	1797,	XI.	214
25 December,	1798,	—	376
LAFAYETTE, GEORGE W.			
22 November,	795,	XI.	94
31 March,	1796,	—	118
LAFAYETTE, MADEMOISELLE,			
25 November,	1784,	IX.	74
LAFAYETTE, MARCHIONESS,			
4 April,	1784,	IX.	38
25 November,	—	—	73
10 May,	1786,	—	165
31 January,	1793,	X.	314
16 March,	—	—	323
13 June,	—	—	350
5 June,	1795,	XI.	30
LANGDON, JOHN,			
2 April,	1788,	IX.	340
20 July,	—	—	395
14 April,	1789,	—	491
LANGHORNE, JOHN,			
15 October,	1797,	XI.	218
LANSDOWN, MARQUIS OF,			
7 November,	1791,	X.	203
30 August,	1794,	—	436
LATHROP, JOHN,			
22 June,	1788,	IX.	388
LAURENS, HENRY,			
31 January,	1778,	V.	504
18 December,	—	VI.	140
17 February,	1779,	—	175
20 March,	—	—	203
5 November,	—	—	396
LAURENS, JOHN,			
28 September,	1779,	VI.	355
26 April,	1780,	VII.	22
13 October,	—	—	256
15 January,	1781,	—	368
LAURENS, JOHN,			
9 April,	1781,	VIII.	5
8 February,	1782,	—	241
22 April,	—	—	265
10 July,	—	—	322
LAUZUN, DUKE DE,			
10 May,	1783,	VIII.	432
LEAR, TOBIAS,			
14 November,	1790,	X.	119
6 May,	1794,	—	408
21 December,	—	XI.	6
2 August,	1798,	—	279
LEE, CHARLES,			
8 January,	1776,	III.	230
23 —	—	—	255
30 —	—	—	273
26 February,	—	—	292
14 March,	—	—	315
10 November,	—	IV.	168
16 —	—	—	177
21 —	—	—	185
24 —	—	—	192
27 —	—	—	193
1 December,	—	—	199
3 —	—	—	200
10 —	—	—	208
14 —	—	—	221
1 April,	1777,	—	373
27 January,	1778,	V.	228
22 April,	—	—	334
30 May,	—	—	392
15 June,	—	—	404
26 —	—	—	418
30 —	—	—	556
30 —	—	—	557
LEE, CHARLES,			
4 April,	1788,	IX.	343
19 November,	1795,	XI.	92
6 July,	1796,	—	140
LEE, HENRY,			
25 May,	1778,	V.	378
LEE, HENRY,			
21 January,	1778,	V.	220
28 June,	1779,	VI.	280
10 August,	—	—	317
23 —	—	—	333
1 September,	—	—	336
7 October,	—	—	376
30 March,	1780,	—	497
11 June,	—	VII.	77
11 July,	—	—	105
13 October,	—	—	545
20 —	—	—	546
5 April,	1786,	IX.	156
18 June,	—	—	172
26 July,	—	—	180
31 October,	—	—	203
22 September,	1788,	—	428
30 June,	1792,	X.	243
3 July,	—	—	248
20 January,	1793,	—	312
6 May,	—	—	342
21 July,	—	—	357

		Vol.	Page.
LEE, HENRY,			
16 October,	1793,	X.	382
26 August,	1794,	—	428
20 October,	—	—	446
LEE, MARY,			
11 October,	1780,	VII.	243
LEE, RICHARD HENRY,			
10 July,	1775,	III.	26
29 August,	—	—	68
29 October,	—	—	136
27 November,	—	—	172
26 December,	—	—	216
6 March,	1777,	IV.	351
24 April,	—	—	395
17 May,	—	—	423
1 June,	—	—	446
17 October,	—	V.	97
18 November,	—	—	157
15 February,	1778,	—	237
15 July,	1781,	VIII.	106
19 July,	1787,	IX.	261
24 October,	1793,	X.	386
15 April,	1794,	—	400
LEE, MISS SIDNEY,			
15 April,	1784,	IX.	40
LEE, THOMAS S.			
6 September,	1780,	VII.	186
22 October,	—	—	275
13 October,	1793,	X.	376
25 July,	1794,	—	423
LEWIS, ANDREW,			
6 September,	1755,	II.	98
3 March,	1777,	IV.	345
15 October,	1778,	VI.	90
LEWIS, BETTY,			
13 September,	1789,	X.	31
LEWIS, ROBERT,			
15 October,	1791,	X.	198
LEWIS, STEPHEN,			
2 February,	1797,	XII.	240
LEWIS, WARNER,			
14 August,	1755,	II.	94
LIANCOURT, DUKE DE,			
8 August,	1796,	XI.	161
LINCOLN, BENJAMIN,			
30 September,	1776,	IV.	125
7 January,	1777,	—	266
27 April,	—	—	402
24 July,	—	—	505
25 October,	—	V.	115
20 January,	1778,	—	217
3 October,	—	VI.	74
28 September,	1779,	—	357
12 December,	—	—	415
27 February,	1780,	—	474
28 March,	—	—	494
15 April,	—	VII.	18
26 July,	—	—	122
10 September,	—	—	193
8 November,	—	—	290
27 February,	1781,	—	438
4 April,	—	—	465
LINCOLN, BENJAMIN,			
11 May,	1781,	VIII.	39
1 July,	—	—	90
15 September,	—	—	159
29 October,	—	—	199
5 December,	—	—	214
30 —		—	220
27 April,	1782,	—	271
4 May,	—	—	282
17 June,	—	—	308
11 August,	—	—	330
18 —		—	333
1 September,	—	—	340
2 October,	—	—	353
6 February,	1786,	IX.	153
10 April,	—	—	157
23 March,	1787,	—	238
31 January,	1788,	—	310
11 February,	—	—	322
28 —		—	329
10 March,	—	—	334
2 May,	—	—	363
29 June,	—	—	391
28 August,	—	—	417
26 October,	—	—	439
14 November,	—	—	446
31 January,	1789,	—	468
11 March,	—	—	477
20 August,	—	X.	28
14 August,	1791,	—	185
LINN, JAMES,			
21 November,	1796,	XII.	236
LITTLE, WILLIAM,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R.			
29 June,	1780,	VII.	94
31 January,	1781,	—	390
8 January,	1783,	VIII.	370
29 April,	1794,	X.	406
16 February,	1795,	XI.	17
20 August,	—	—	57
LIVINGSTON, WILLIAM,			
29 June,	1776,	III.	445
6 July,	—	—	451
7 November,	—	IV.	162
21 —		—	189
1 December,	—	—	197
24 January,	1777,	—	286
8 March,	—	—	354
8 October,	—	V.	88
11 December,	—	—	182
31 —		—	206
20 January,	1778,	—	219
2 February,	—	—	231
22 —		—	242
14 March,	—	—	279
22 April,	—	—	331
26 —		—	341
12 May,	—	—	363
7 December,	—	VI.	129
3 March,	1779,	—	180
22 April,	—	—	225

		Vol.	Page.
LIVINGSTON, WILLIAM,			
4 May,	1779,	VI.	244
7 December,	—	—	414
21 —	—	—	427
19 February,	1780,	—	469
18 June,	—	VII.	79
1 August,	—	—	132
8 April,	1781,	—	471
6 May,	1782,	VIII.	290
LOUDOUN, EARL OF,			
February,	1757,	II.	217
LUZAC, JOHN,			
2 December,	1797,	XI.	221
LUZERNE, CHEVALIER DE LA,			
4 February,	1780,	VI.	457
5 May,	—	VII.	28
11 —	—	—	30
5 June,	—	—	73
12 September,	—	—	200
14 December,	—	—	324
23 May,	1781,	VIII.	49
13 June,	—	—	78
25 April,	1782,	—	268
28 —	—	—	272
24 September,	—	—	349
19 March,	1783,	—	406
29 —	—	—	407
20 August,	1784,	IX.	57
5 December,	—	—	75
1 August,	1786,	—	183
7 February,	1788,	—	314
29 April,	1790,	X.	87
10 September,	1791,	—	188

M.

MCCORMICK, GEORGE,			
27 November,	1786,	XII.	287
MCDOUGALL, ALEXANDER,			
28 April,	1777,	IV.	403
7 May,	—	—	409
23 —	—	—	430
16 March,	1778,	V.	280
31 —	—	—	302
8 April,	—	—	310
22 —	—	—	333
1 May,	—	—	353
5 —	—	—	359
24 October,	1780,	VII.	278
31 March,	1781,	—	464
MCHENRY, JAMES,			
12 March,	1782,	VIII.	254
12 September,	—	—	344
6 August,	1783,	—	468
22 August,	1785,	IX.	121
31 July,	1788,	—	404
3 July,	1789,	X.	12
30 November,	—	—	54
8 April,	1794,	—	397
20 January,	1796,	XI.	106
9 May,	—	—	125
MCHENRY, JAMES,			
1 July,	1796,	XI.	132
13 —	—	—	146
18 —	—	—	152
8 August,	—	—	159
3 April,	1797,	—	196
29 May,	—	—	203
27 March,	1798,	—	230
6 May,	—	—	231
4 July,	—	—	246
5 —	—	—	254
22 —	—	—	269
29 —	—	—	276
10 August,	—	—	286
13 —	—	—	290
3 September,	—	—	293
14 —	—	—	300
16 —	—	—	302
26 —	—	—	315
30 —	—	—	316
1 October,	—	—	318
15 —	—	—	322
15 —	—	—	549
21 —	—	—	331
13 December,	—	—	346
13 —	—	—	360
16 —	—	—	374
27 January,	1799,	—	394
28 —	—	—	396
25 February,	—	—	399
25 March,	—	—	406
7 April,	—	—	416
23 —	—	—	417
5 May,	—	—	426
13 —	—	—	429
6 June,	—	—	432
7 July,	—	—	445
12 August,	—	—	447
14 September,	—	—	449
15 —	—	—	450
5 November,	—	—	466
17 —	—	—	468
MCINTOSH, LACHLAN,			
26 May,	1778,	V.	382
MCINTOSH, WILLIAM,			
8 January,	1788,	IX.	300
MCKAY SAMUEL,			
11 April,	1776,	III.	352
MACKENZIE, ROBERT,			
20 November,	1760,	II.	334
9 October,	1774,	—	399
MCWHIR, WILLIAM,			
12 October,	1789,	X.	37
MADISON, JAMES,			
12 June,	1784,	IX.	49
30 November,	1785,	—	145
5 November,	1786,	—	206
18 —	—	—	211
16 December,	—	—	216
31 March,	1787,	—	245
10 October,	—	—	267
22 —	—	—	273

		Vol.	Page.
MADISON, JAMES,			
7 December,	1787,	IX.	285
10 January,	1788,	—	303
5 February,	—	—	312
2 March,	—	—	331
8 June,	—	—	369
3 August,	—	—	406
23 September,	—	—	432
30 March,	1789,	—	486
11 May,	—	X.	4
12 —	—	—	5
9 August,	—	—	25
10 —	—	—	26
20 May,	1792,	XII.	369
14 October,	1793,	X.	379
MAGILL, CHARLES,			
16 December,	1795,	XII.	213
MALCOM, WILLIAM,			
3 May,	1779,	VI.	242
16 October,	1780,	VII.	262
MALMEDY, M.			
16 May,	1777,	IV.	419
MANDRILLON, J.			
25 November,	1784,	IX.	72
29 August,	1788,	—	421
MANLY, JOHN,			
28 January,	1776,	III.	266
MARBOIS, BARBÉ DE,			
5 May,	1780,	VII.	29
20 June,	1784,	IX.	50
25 September,	1785,	—	130
MARSHALL, JOHN,			
26 August,	1795,	XI.	62
8 July,	1796,	—	143
15 —	—	—	148
4 December,	1797,	—	223
5 May,	1799,	—	424
MARSHALL, THOMAS,			
27 March,	1789,	IX.	485
6 February,	1791,	X.	137
MASON, GEORGE,			
5 April,	1769,	II.	351
10 May,	1776,	III.	383
3 October,	1785,	IX.	136
MATHEWS, JOHN,			
30 March,	1780,	VI.	496
25 May,	—	VII.	50
19 June,	—	—	80
9 September,	—	—	192
4 October,	—	—	223
23 —	—	—	276
26 February,	1781,	—	437
7 June,	—	VIII.	70
MAXWELL, WILLIAM,			
12 February,	1777,	IV.	319
5 September,	—	V.	54
10 May,	1779,	VI.	252
MERCER, GEORGE,			
7 November,	1771,	II.	365
MERCER, HUGH,			
3 September,	1776,	IV.	75
26 —	—	—	122
MESMER, FREDERIC ANTHONY,			
25 November,	1784,	IX.	72
MIFFLIN, THOMAS,			
24 March,	1776,	III.	338
14 February,	1777,	IV.	321
MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS,			
26 August,	1768,	XII.	297
MIRALLES, DON JUAN DE,			
27 February,	1780,	VI.	476
MONROE, JAMES,			
23 February,	1789,	IX.	473
9 April,	1794,	X.	309
5 June,	1795,	XI.	29
25 August,	1796,	—	164
MORGAN, DANIEL,			
4 October,	1775,	III.	111
13 June,	1777,	IV.	461
8 October,	1794,	X.	439
27 March,	1795,	XI.	25
16 December,	—	XII.	213
10 May,	1799,	XI.	427
MOROCCO, EMPEROR OF,			
1 December,	1780,	X.	60
31 March,	1791,	—	144
MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR,			
25 April,	1778,	V.	338
18 May,	—	—	370
24 July,	—	VI.	13
5 September,	—	—	54
4 October,	—	—	80
27 November,	—	—	129
8 May,	1779,	—	249
11 March,	1782,	VIII.	249
28 —	—	—	260
20 April,	—	—	264
30 —	—	—	277
28 November,	1788,	IX.	449
13 October,	1789,	X.	39
13 —	—	—	43
13 —	—	—	44
28 July,	1791,	—	174
28 January,	1792,	—	216
21 June,	—	—	238
20 October,	—	—	307
25 March,	1793,	—	333
19 June,	1794,	—	415
25 —	—	—	416
22 December,	1795,	XI.	99
MORRIS, ROBERT,			
1 January,	1777,	IV.	256
2 March,	—	—	338
4 June,	1781,	VIII.	66
28 —	—	—	85
13 July,	—	—	103
2 August,	—	—	122
17 —	—	—	134
21 —	—	—	142
27 —	—	—	148
25 January,	1782,	—	230
4 January,	1784,	IX.	3
12 April,	1786,	—	158
MORRIS, ROBERT HUNTER,			
5 January,	1756,	II.	122

		Vol.	Page.
Moultrie, William,			
25 May,	1786,	XII.	281
9 August,	1791,	X.	183
5 May,	1792,	—	231
10 February,	1793,	—	316
28 August,	—	—	366
Moustier, Count de,			
7 February,	1788,	IX.	320
26 March,	—	—	336
17 August,	—	—	413
18 October,	—	—	438
15 December,	—	—	453
25 May,	1789,	X.	8
1 November,	1790,	—	117
5 September,	1791,	—	186
Moylan, Stephen,			
11 April,	1778,	V.	315
21 November,	1780,	VII.	303
Muhlenberg, Peter,			
15 July,	1779,	VI.	297
Muir, James,			
24 February,	1794,	X.	393
Murray, William Vans,			
26 December,	1798,	XI.	383
26 October,	1799,	—	458
Muse, Battaile,			
22 August,	1785,	XII.	272
8 March,	1786,	—	280

N.

Nash, Abner,			
6 November,	1780,	VII.	284
Navarro, Don Diego Joseph,			
4 March,	1779,	VI.	186
30 April,	1780,	VII.	27
Nelson, Thomas,			
15 May,	1778,	V.	365
20 August,	—	VI.	34
15 March,	1779,	—	202
Neville, Presley,			
16 June,	1794,	XII.	317
Newenham, Sir Edward,			
25 December,	1787,	IX.	289
20 July,	1788,	—	398
20 October,	1792,	X.	309
Nicholas, John,			
30 November,	1797,	XI.	220
8 March,	1798,	—	227
Nicholas, Robert Carter,			
5 October,	1775,	III.	121
Nicola, Lewis,			
22 May,	1782,	VIII.	300

O.

Ogden, Matthias,			
8 January,	1780,	VI.	437
28 March,	1782,	VIII.	261
Orme, Robert,			
15 March,	1755,	II.	68
2 April,	—	—	70
Orme, Robert,			
30 June,	1755,	II.	84
Otto, L. W.			
5 December,	1785,	IX.	150

P.

Paine, Elijah,			
12 December,	1796,	XI.	174
Paine, Thomas,			
18 September,	1782,	VIII.	345
10 August,	1790,	X.	104
6 May,	1792,	—	232
Palfrey, William,			
12 November,	1775,	III.	158
Parsons, Samuel H.			
8 February,	1777,	IV.	314
17 May,	—	—	425
29 —	—	—	440
8 March,	1778,	V.	261
10 July,	1779,	VI.	291
18 December,	—	—	423
22 February,	1781,	VII.	423
Patterson, William,			
20 February,	1793,	X.	318
23 July,	—	—	359
Peabody, Nathaniel,			
25 May,	1780,	VII.	50
19 June,	—	—	80
Peachey, William,			
18 September,	1757,	II.	257
Pemberton, Edward,			
20 June,	1788,	IX.	387
Pendleton, Edmund,			
1 November,	1779,	VI.	392
23 September,	1793,	X.	369
22 January,	1795,	XI.	9
Peters, Richard,			
4 March,	1788,	XII.	295
Peters, Thomas,			
4 December,	1786,	XII.	288
Pettit, Charles,			
16 August,	1788,	IX.	411
Phillips, William,			
6 November,	1778,	VI.	105
20 October,	1779,	—	381
Pickering, Timothy,			
30 March,	1777,	IV.	371
22 November,	1780,	VII.	305
20 January,	1791,	X.	132
10 March,	1795,	XI.	18
27 July,	—	—	39
9 September,	—	—	67
16 —	—	—	69
23 —	—	—	72
27 —	—	—	74
12 October,	—	—	83
6 March,	1796,	—	113
25 —	—	—	114
9 June,	—	—	129
24 —	—	—	130
4 July,	—	—	134

			Vol.	Page.
Pickering, Timothy,				
8	July,	1796,	XI.	141
18	—	—	—	150
25	—	—	—	154
25	—	—	—	155
27	—	—	—	156
1	August,	—	—	158
10	—	—	—	163
4	January,	1797,	—	178
9	—	—	—	181
3	March,	—	—	192
29	August,	—	—	212
11	July,	1798,	—	257
9	September,	—	—	297
1	October,	—	—	309
15	—	—	—	321
18	—	—	—	324
3	March,	1799,	—	402
Pike, Nicholas,				
20	June,	1786,	IX.	174
Pinckney, Charles,				
11	January,	1790,	X.	73
29	March,	1791,	—	146
31	January,	1794,	—	219
17	March,	—	—	224
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth,				
28	June,	1788,	IX.	389
26	May,	1791,	X.	164
22	January,	1794,	—	391
24	August,	1795,	XI.	69
5	July,	1796,	—	144
10	August,	—	—	161
12	September,	—	—	171
5	December,	—	—	173
24	June,	1797,	—	206
15	October,	1796,	—	326
10	November,	—	—	341
31	March,	1799,	—	414
Pinckney, Thomas,				
16	January,	1792,	X.	215
20	February,	1796,	XI.	110
3	March,	—	—	112
22	May,	—	—	125
28	May,	1796,	—	201
Platt, George,				
22	November,	1791,	VIII.	210
Pleasants, Robert,				
29	December,	1788,	X.	66
28	March,	1790,	—	81
Powel, Samuel,				
29	June,	1790,	X.	141
Powell, Jeremiah,				
3	November,	1777,	V.	135
13	May,	1779,	—	353
26	August,	1779,	VI.	334
Price, Rowland,				
28	July,	1796,	XI.	62
Pulaski, Count,				
5	March,	1778,	V.	250
24	November,	—	VI.	123
8	February,	1779,	—	173
Putnam, Israel,				
29	March,	1776,	III.	337
21	May,	—	—	397
28	—	—	—	402
3	June,	—	—	405
25	August,	—	IV.	69
5	January,	1777,	—	288
25	May,	—	—	435
1	July,	—	—	476
21	—	—	—	501
24	—	—	V.	3
25	—	—	—	4
31	—	—	—	8
1	August,	—	—	11
7	—	—	—	23
11	—	—	—	26
16	—	—	—	29
22	—	—	—	42
23	September,	—	—	78
19	October,	—	—	104
25	—	—	—	113
19	November,	—	—	160
2	December,	—	—	176
25	January,	1778,	—	223
16	March,	—	—	253
29	April,	—	—	346
5	July,	1780,	VII.	101
2	June,	1783,	VIII.	433
Putnam, Jesse,				
28	July,	1795,	XI.	48

Q.

Quincy, Josiah,				
4	November,	1775,	III.	141

R.

Radnor, Earl of,				
5	July,	1797,	XI.	210
Ramsay, William,				
29	January,	1789,	II.	350
20	November,	1791,	VIII.	209
Randolph, Beverley,				
22	November,	1790,	X.	50
13	January,	1791,	—	127
Randolph, Edmund,				
1	August,	1779,	VI.	314
30	June,	1785,	IX.	116
21	December,	1786,	—	219
25	March,	1787,	—	263
9	April,	—	—	263
5	January,	1788,	—	276
25	September,	1789,	X.	34
30	November,	—	—	58
11	February,	1790,	—	90
10	October,	1791,	—	195
26	August,	1792,	—	296
1	October,	—	—	305
30	September,	1793,	—	372
23	October,	—	—	383
15	April,	1794,	—	483

			Vol.	Page.
RANDOLPH, EDMUND,				
29 April,	1794,		X.	406
19 June,	—		—	415
25 —	—		—	418
27 —	—		—	419
30 —	—		—	420
16 October,	—		—	442
18 —	—		—	445
15 December,	1794,		XI.	2
26 April,	1795,		—	26
May,	—		—	28
29 June,	—		—	31
18 July,	—		—	34
22 —	—		—	35
24 —	—		—	37
27 —	—		—	41
29 —	—		—	43
29 —	—		—	45
31 —	—		—	49
3 August,	—		—	53
4 —	—		—	54
20 —	—		—	55
27 September,	—		—	75
21 October,	—		—	85
25 —	—		—	87
READ, GEORGE,				
19 December,	1777,		V.	190
READ, JACOB,				
11 August,	1784,		IX.	54
REED, JOSEPH,				
8 November,	1775,		III.	150
20 —	—		—	166
28 —	—		—	177
15 December,	—		—	199
25 —	—		—	214
4 January,	1776,		—	224
14 —	—		—	237
23 —	—		—	257
31 —	—		—	275
10 February,	—		—	284
26 —	—		—	296
3 March,	—		—	299
7 —	—		—	308
25 —	—		—	330
1 April,	—		—	346
15 —	—		—	357
30 November,	—		IV.	536
23 December,	—		—	241
20 May,	1777,		—	538
14 June,	—		—	540
15 June,	1778,		V.	407
27 November,	—		VI.	127
12 December,	—		—	130
9 February,	1779,		—	516
12 —	—		—	173
28 March,	—		—	208
27 April,	—		—	230
8 May,	—		—	247
15 —	—		—	524
20 —	—		—	260
5 July,	—		—	283
29 —	—		—	309
REED, JOSEPH,				
22 August,	1779,		VI.	328
22 October,	—		—	388
4 December,	—		—	528
15 February,	1780,		—	466
28 May,	—		VII.	58
25 June,	—		—	89
4 July,	—		—	99
18 October,	—		—	264
20 November,	—		—	296
REDON, DON FRANCISCO,				
12 October,	1781,		VIII.	175
RIDDELL, HENRY,				
22 February,	1774,		II.	383
RITZEMA, RUDOLPHUS,				
14 July,	1776,		III.	472
ROBERTSON, JAMES,				
30 September,	1780,		VII.	538
4 May,	1782,		VIII.	281
ROBINSON, JOHN,				
23 October,	1754,		II.	466
23 —	—		—	466
20 April,	1755,		—	72
11 September,	—		—	99
24 April,	1756,		—	148
5 August,	—		—	171
19 December,	—		—	214
30 May,	1757,		—	235
10 June,	—		—	237
25 October,	—		—	266
1 September,	1758,		—	311
ROCHAMBEAU, COUNT DE,				
16 July,	1780,		VII.	110
19 —	—		—	111
31 —	—		—	126
5 August,	—		—	143
21 —	—		—	169
3 September,	—		—	181
8 —	—		—	191
13 —	—		—	202
26 —	—		—	218
10 October,	—		—	240
10 December,	—		—	318
15 —	—		—	325
15 February,	1781,		—	410
24 —	—		—	428
10 April,	—		VIII.	8
30 —	—		—	27
4 June,	—		—	64
13 —	—		—	74
24 —	—		—	81
27 —	—		—	84
2 July,	—		—	93
3 —	—		—	95
4 —	—		—	96
21 August,	—		—	139
9 February,	1782,		—	236
19 March,	—		—	259
5 May,	—		—	288
24 June	—		—	314
16 August,	—		—	331
14 December,	—		—	368

		Vol.	Page.
Shoemakerlat, Count de,			
16 May,	1784,	IX.	44
20 August,	—	—	55
1 December,	1785,	—	149
31 July,	1786,	—	181
6 January,	1787,	—	297
22 April,	—	—	359
29 January,	1789,	—	485
13 October,	—	X.	39
Rodney, Cæsar,			
18 February,	1777,	IV.	301
Rogers, Daniel,			
2 February,	1797,	XII.	249
Ross, James,			
22 August,	1795,	XI.	58
Rumsey, William,			
20 November,	1781,	VIII.	249
Rumsey, James,			
31 January,	1786,	XII.	279
Rutledge, Edward,			
5 October,	1778,	VI.	82
6 October,	1781,	VIII.	173
5 May,	1788,	X.	1
23 November,	—	—	51
24 May,	1791,	—	164
Rutledge, John,			
17 March,	1777,	IV.	306
15 March,	1779,	VI.	281
12 September,	1780,	VII.	281
31 October,	1781,	VIII.	200
1 July,	1795,	XI.	33

S.

St. Clair, Arthur,			
27 January,	1780,	VI.	452
8 March,	—	—	483
1 August,	—	VII.	134
1 October,	—	—	222
10 January,	1781,	—	362
12 —	—	—	364
3 February,	—	—	397
22 —	—	—	422
15 September,	—	VIII.	161
29 October,	—	—	198
31 August,	1785,	IX.	127
2 January,	1791,	X.	125
28 March,	1792,	—	227
4 April,	—	—	227
St. Clair, Sir John,			
27 April,	1758,	II.	282
Scannell, Alexander,			
17 May,	1781,	VIII.	46
Schuyler, Philip,			
25 June,	1775,	III.	11
10 July,	—	—	29
28 —	—	—	41
15 August,	—	—	60
20 —	—	—	62
8 September,	—	—	82
4 October,	—	—	112
5 —	—	—	119
Schuyler, Philip,			
26 October,	1775,	III.	138
5 November,	—	—	148
28 —	—	—	169
5 December,	—	—	190
18 —	—	—	207
24 —	—	—	220
16 January,	1776,	—	243
18 —	—	—	263
27 —	—	—	281
19 April,	—	—	351
15 May,	—	—	390
17 —	—	—	392
21 —	—	—	396
22 —	—	—	399
7 June,	—	—	406
13 —	—	—	417
26 —	—	—	430
24 —	—	—	430
28 —	—	—	442
11 July,	—	—	462
15 —	—	IV.	1
17 —	—	—	5
31 —	—	—	24
22 October,	—	—	155
18 January,	1777,	—	278
9 February,	—	—	315
12 March,	—	—	358
16 June,	—	—	402
20 —	—	—	405
2 July,	—	—	479
13 —	—	—	491
15 —	—	—	493
18 —	—	—	498
22 —	—	—	503
24 —	—	V.	1
13 March,	1778,	—	273
20 November,	—	VI.	114
18 December,	—	—	145
31 —	—	—	153
18 January,	1779,	—	166
24 November,	—	—	409
22 March,	1780,	—	489
31 —	—	VII.	3
21 May,	—	—	48
25 —	—	—	50
19 June,	—	—	80
6 November,	—	—	283
23 March,	1781,	—	460
14 May,	—	VIII.	41
16 August,	—	—	129
29 January,	1782,	—	231
15 July,	1783,	—	465
21 January,	1784,	IX.	15
15 May,	—	—	42
Scollay, William,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
Scott, Charles,			
27 October,	1778,	VI.	101
Seagrove, James,			
20 May,	1791,	X.	162
4 September,	1792,	—	291

		Vol.	Page.
SEAVER, EBENEZER,			
28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
SÉGUR, COUNT DE,			
1 July,	1790,	X.	103
SHELDON, ELISHA,			
17 December,	1780,	VII.	330
SINCLAIR, SIR JOHN,			
11 December,	1796,	XII.	323
SINCLAIR, ROBERT,			
6 May,	1792,	XII.	303
SKINNER, ABRAHAM,			
17 September,	1780,	VII.	209
SLAUGHTER, REUBEN,			
25 February,	1792,	X.	220
SMALLWOOD, WILLIAM,			
19 December,	1777,	V.	191
SMITH, SAMUEL,			
11 October,	1777,	V.	90
22 —	—	—	107
28 —	—	—	120
4 November,	—	—	135
12 —	—	—	143
SMITH, WILLIAM, AND OTHERS,			
8 June,	1788,	IX.	375
SMITH, WILLIAM S.			
3 March,	1783,	VIII.	387
31 August,	1783,	—	476
13 July,	1791,	X.	168
SNICKERS, EDWARD,			
16 June,	1774,	II.	387
SNYDER, G. W.			
25 September,	1798,	XI.	314
24 October,	—	—	337
SOUTHWICK, SOLOMON,			
1 March,	1781,	VII.	446
SPENCER, JOSEPH,			
26 September,	1775,	III.	108
14 December,	1776,	IV.	218
SPOTSWOOD, ALEXANDER,			
30 April,	1777,	IV.	407
13 February,	1788,	IX.	323
22 November,	1798,	XI.	345
STANWIX, JOHN,			
15 June,	1757,	II.	238
20 —	—	—	241
28 —	—	—	243
30 July,	—	—	245
8 October,	—	—	263
4 March,	1758,	—	273
10 April,	—	—	275
STARK, JOHN,			
19 October,	1778,	VI.	93
30 June,	1780,	VII.	97
25 June,	1781,	VIII.	82
STEPHEN, ADAM,			
18 November,	1755,	II.	112
28 —	—	—	115
28 December,	—	—	120
1 February,	1756,	—	130
24 May,	1777,	IV.	431
STEUBEN, BARON,			
9 January,	1778,	V.	213
STEUBEN, BARON,			
19 December,	1778,	VI.	147
26 February,	1779,	—	176
11 March,	—	—	193
8 February,	1780,	—	464
18 —	—	—	468
2 April,	—	VII.	9
22 October,	—	—	276
10 December,	—	—	317
6 February,	1781,	—	404
20 —	—	—	420
9 July,	1782,	VIII.	315
14 April,	1783,	—	417
12 July,	—	—	462
23 December,	—	—	503
15 March,	1784,	IX.	25
STEWART, ROBERT,			
2 May,	1763,	II.	338
13 August,	—	—	339
STEWART, WALTER,			
22 January,	1778,	V.	222
STILES, EZRA,			
15 May,	1781,	VIII.	45
STIRLING, LADY,			
20 January,	1783,	VIII.	375
STIRLING, LORD,			
14 December,	1776,	IV.	217
7 July,	1778,	V.	434
21 August,	1779,	VI.	326
13 January,	1780,	—	444
13 —	—	—	445
14 —	—	—	445
14 —	—	—	447
5 March,	—	—	478
22 —	—	—	490
14 July,	1781,	VIII.	105
STODDERT, BENJAMIN,			
14 November,	1792,	X.	310
STONE, JOHN H.			
6 December,	1795,	XI.	97
23 December,	1796,	—	176
STONE, THOMAS,			
16 February,	1787,	IX.	231
STRICKLAND, WILLIAM,			
15 July,	1797,	XII.	329
STUART, DAVID,			
1 July,	1787,	IX.	257
17 October,	—	—	271
5 November,	—	—	274
30 —	—	—	283
26 July,	1789,	X.	17
28 March,	1790,	—	82
15 June,	—	—	94
20 November,	1791,	—	204
8 January,	1797,	XI.	179
SULLIVAN, JOHN,			
7 November,	1775,	III.	145
13 June,	1776,	—	421
16 —	—	—	422
28 January,	1777,	IV.	304
15 March,	—	—	364
27 August,	—	V.	47

		Vol.	Page.
Sullivan, John,			
24 October,	1777,	V.	108
10 March,	1778,	—	288
17 July,	—	VI.	6
31 —	—	—	23
28 August,	—	—	40
1 September,	—	—	44
12 —	—	—	63
31 May,	1779,	—	264
21 June,	—	—	275
1 July,	—	—	280
15 December,	—	—	420
20 November,	1780,	VII.	297
25 —	—	—	308
17 December,	—	—	339
4 February,	1781,	—	349
11 May,	—	VIII.	37
29 —	—	—	56
T			
Taft, Mr.			
8 November,	1789,	X.	46
Taggart, William,			
1 March,	1781,	VII.	446
Tallmadge, Benjamin,			
27 June,	1779,	VI.	278
5 July,	—	—	284
24 September,	—	—	354
5 February,	1780,	—	460
11 November,	—	VII.	292
28 —	—	—	315
8 April,	1781,	VIII.	3
30 —	—	—	30
Taylor, Thomas,			
14 September,	1795,	XII.	212
Telfair, Edward,			
20 May,	1791,	XII.	199
Ternant, John,			
26 March,	1778,	V.	299
24 September,	1791,	X.	194
2 October,	—	—	194
May,	1793,	—	346
Ternay, Chevalier de,			
6 August,	1780,	VII.	145
16 —	—	—	154
Thomas, John,			
24 May,	1776,	III.	401
Thomson, Charles,			
22 January,	1784,	IX.	16
24 July,	1789,	X.	16
Thurston, Charles M.			
10 August,	1794,	X.	425
16 December,	1795,	XII.	213
Tichenor, Isaac,			
2 December,	1796,	XI.	174
Tilghman, James,			
February,	1774,	II.	382
5 June,	1786,	IX.	168
Tilghman, William,			
21 July,	1793,	XII.	308
Trumbull, John,			
31 December,	1795,	XI.	105
25 June,	1799,	—	443
Trumbull, Jonathan,			
18 July,	1775,	III.	31
18 —	—	—	32
4 August,	1775,	—	46
2 September,	—	—	74
8 —	—	—	83
21 —	—	—	96
2 November,	—	—	139
2 December,	—	—	182
15 —	—	—	198
26 April,	1776,	—	373
10 June,	—	—	416
9 July,	—	—	453
7 August,	—	IV.	33
11 —	—	—	40
18 —	—	—	53
6 September,	—	—	76
9 —	—	—	88
23 —	—	—	105
30 —	—	—	127
15 October,	—	—	138
10 November,	—	—	170
12 December,	—	—	212
14 —	—	—	219
24 January,	1777,	—	294
6 March,	—	—	351
7 April,	—	—	379
11 May,	—	—	412
2 July,	—	—	476
17 —	—	—	497
31 —	—	V.	9
1 October,	—	—	75
14 July,	1778,	—	440
12 July,	1779,	VI.	293
30 September,	—	—	360
27 June,	1780,	VII.	93
17 December,	—	—	331
28 November,	1781,	VIII.	212
8 May,	1782,	—	292
15 May,	1784,	IX.	41
20 July,	1788,	—	396
4 December,	—	—	451
Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr.			
16 April,	1781,	VIII.	14
5 January,	1784,	IX.	4
4 April,	—	—	35
17 July,	1793,	X.	356
3 March,	1797,	XI.	190
Tryon, William,			
26 April,	1778,	V.	343
V.			
Vanderkemp, Francis Adrian,			
28 May,	1788,	IX.	368
Varick, Richard,			
21 October,	1780,	VII.	287
1 January,	1784,	IX.	2

	Vol.	Page.
VARNUM, JAMES M.		
1 November, 1777,	V.	131
18 — —	—	156
VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN,		
5 February, 1785,	IX.	90
VAUGHAN, JOHN,		
27 April, 1788,	IX.	354
VAUGHAN, SAMUEL,		
30 November, 1785,	IX.	147
12 November, 1787,	—	281
VERGENNES, COUNT DE,		
21 November, 1782,	VIII.	363
VIOMENIL, BARON DE,		
7 December, 1782,	VIII.	365
W.		
WADE, NATHANIEL,		
25 September, 1780,	VII.	212
WADSWORTH, JEREMIAH,		
22 October, 1786,	IX.	200
WALKER, BENJAMIN,		
12 January, 1797,	XI.	183
WALLEY, THOMAS,		
28 July, 1795,	XI.	42
WALTON, GEORGE,		
1 January, 1777,	IV.	256
WARD, ARTEMAS,		
17 November, 1775,	III.	161
9 May, 1776,	—	382
16 June, —	—	421
9 July, —	—	455
11 — —	—	461
WARREN, JAMES,		
10 July, 1775,	III.	15
31 March, 1779,	VI.	210
7 October, 1785,	IX.	139
23 May, 1789,	X.	7
WASHINGTON, AUGUSTINE,		
2 August, 1755,	II.	91
WASHINGTON, BUSHROD,		
15 January, 1783,	VIII.	372
30 September, 1786,	IX.	198
15 November, —	—	209
10 November, 1787,	—	277
27 July, 1789,	X.	23
12 August, 1798,	XI.	289
27 — —	—	292
31 December, —	—	386
5 May, 1799,	—	425
WASHINGTON, FRANCES,		
24 February, 1793,	X.	319
17 March, —	—	325
WASHINGTON, GEORGE A.		
31 March, 1789,	XII.	336
WASHINGTON, GEORGE S.		
5 May, 1788,	IX.	365
6 August, —	—	410
23 March, 1789,	—	479
5 December, 1790,	X.	122
WASHINGTON, HARRIOT,		
30 October, 1791,	X.	201
WASHINGTON, JAMES,		
20 January, 1799,	XI.	393
WASHINGTON, JOHN AUGUSTINE,		
14 May, 1755,	II.	75
28 June, —	—	80
18 July, —	—	88
25 March, 1775,	—	404
20 June, —	III.	5
27 July, —	—	38
10 September, —	—	84
13 October, —	—	127
31 March, 1776,	—	339
29 April, —	—	375
31 May, —	—	403
22 July, —	IV.	16
22 September, —	—	101
19 November, —	—	182
18 December, —	—	229
12 April, 1777,	—	387
5 August, —	V.	20
18 October, —	—	102
10 June, 1778,	—	398
4 July, —	—	431
23 September, —	VI.	68
WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE,		
5 May, 1749,	II.	420
WASHINGTON, LUND,		
26 November, 1775,	III.	170
10 May, 1776,	—	384
17 August, 1779,	VI.	321
30 April, 1781,	VIII.	31
20 September, 1783,	—	486
WASHINGTON, MARTHA,		
18 June, 1775,	III.	2
WASHINGTON, MARY,		
18 July, 1755,	II.	86
14 August, —	—	93
WASHINGTON, RICHARD,		
15 April, 1757,	II.	231
20 September, 1759,	—	331
10 August, 1760,	—	332
14 July, 1761,	—	335
20 October, —	—	336
WASHINGTON, WILLIAM,		
8 January, 1791,	X.	126
WATERBURY, DAVID,		
30 June, 1781,	VIII.	88
1 July, —	—	92
21 — —	—	109
WAYNE, ANTHONY,		
9 February, 1778,	V.	232
2 March, —	—	250
18 June, —	—	411
1 July, 1779,	VI.	282
9 — —	—	287
10 — —	—	288
14 — —	—	296
30 — —	—	313
18 May, 1780,	VII.	42
20 July, —	—	115
6 September, —	—	187
21 November, —	—	304

		Vol.	Page.
WAYNE, ANTHONY,			
27 November,	1789,	VII.	310
3 January,	1791,	—	362
8 —	—	—	357
26 February,	—	—	436
8 April,	—	—	472
WEARE, MESHECH,			
30 June,	1789,	VII.	96
5 January,	1791,	—	359
22 —	—	—	381
10 May,	—	VIII.	36
24 —	—	—	51
2 August,	—	—	123
22 January,	1792,	—	226
31 —	—	—	232
4 May,	—	—	283
WEBB, SAMUEL B.			
8 January,	1778,	V.	210
WEBSTER, NOAH,			
31 July,	1788,	IX.	402
WELCH, WAKELIN,			
July,	1786,	XII.	282
WEST, JOHN,			
13 January,	1775,	II.	402
WHARTON, JOHN,			
27 October,	1777,	V.	116
WHARTON, THOMAS,			
17 October,	1777,	V.	95
7 March,	1778,	—	251
WHEATLEY, PHILLIS,			
28 February,	1776,	III.	297
WHITE, ALEXANDER,			
25 March,	1798,	XII.	334
WHITE, ROBERT,			
16 December,	1795,	XII.	213
WHITE, WILLIAM,			
31 December,	1793,	X.	389
WHITING, ANTHONY,			
11 November,	1792,	XII.	354
WILLARD, AARON,			
24 November,	1775,	III.	169
WILLARD, JOSEPH,			
22 March,	1781,	VII.	459
23 December,	1789,	X.	64
WILLETT, MARINUS,			
22 February,	1780,	VI.	472
24 October,	—	VII.	278
WILLIAMSON, HUGH,			
31 March,	1784,	XII.	267
15 March,	1785,	IX.	104
WILSON, JAMES,			
4 April,	1788,	IX.	342
23 January,	1792,	X.	215
23 July,	1793,	—	359
WITHERSPOON, JOHN,			
20 January,	1780,	VI.	448
10 March,	1784,	XII.	264
8 March,	1785,	IX.	102
WOLCOTT, OLIVER,			
1 February,	1796,	XI.	107
WOLCOTT, OLIVER, JR.			
2 October,	1795,	XI.	76
4 July,	1796,	—	135
6 —	—	—	136
15 May,	1797,	—	198
29 —	—	—	204
WOOD, JAMES,			
11 October,	1780,	VII.	244
12 September,	1796,	XI.	168
WOODFORD, WILLIAM,			
10 November,	1775,	III.	151
3 March,	1777,	IV.	347
13 December,	1779,	VI.	417
18 —	—	—	425
WOOSTER, DAVID,			
2 September,	1775,	III.	75
11 March,	1777,	IV.	357
WOOSTER, MARY,			
21 May,	1789,	X.	6

Y.

		Vol.	Page.
YOUNG, ARTHUR,			
6 August,	1786,	XII.	283
15 November,	—	—	286
1 November,	1787,	—	292
12 December,	1793,	—	309

2. Letters to Public Bodies, and to Individuals whose Names are not known.

				Vol.	Page.
Captains of several Independent Companies in Virginia,	20 June,	1775,		III.	4
Speaker of the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay,	31 July,	—		—	44
President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay,	7 August,	—		—	55
Provincial Congress of New York,	8 —	—		—	56
Committee of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	11 —	—		—	58
Inhabitants of the Island of Bermuda,	6 September,	—		—	77
Major and Brigadier-Generals,	8 —	—		—	80
Inhabitants of Canada,				—	92
Committee of Hartford,	26 —	—		—	107
Committee of Falmouth, Casco Bay,	24 October,	—		—	130
	6 November,	—		—	144
Council of Massachusetts Bay,	10 January,	1776,		—	233
General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	16 —	—		—	246
	19 —	—		—	253
Officers of the Navy,				—	519
Council of Massachusetts Bay,	26 February,	—		—	295
Commanding Officer at New York,	14 March,	—		—	317
General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	21 —	—		—	324
Committee of Safety of New York,	17 April,	—		—	357
	30 —	—		—	376
Committee on Long Island,	16 May,	—		—	391
Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania,	17 June,	—		—	427
Captain of Governor Franklin's Guard,	30 —	—		—	446
Committee of Essex County, New Jersey,	30 —	—		—	447
General Court of Massachusetts Bay,	11 July,	—		—	459
Secret Committee of the Convention of the State of New York,	13 —	—		—	470
New York Convention,	17 —	—		IV.	7
Committee of the City of New York,	19 —	—		—	8
Board of War,	29 —	—		—	20
President of the Massachusetts Council,	2 August,	—		—	28
New York Convention,	8 —	—		—	35
Officers and Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Association,	8 —	—		—	37
New York Convention,	12 —	—		—	44
	17 —	—		—	49
	23 —	—		—	58
President of the New York Convention,	30 —	—		—	69
Assembly of Massachusetts,	6 November,	—		—	161
Board of War,	30 —	—		—	196
Council of Safety of Pennsylvania,	15 December,	—		—	223

				Vol.	Page.
Officer commanding at Morristown,	29	December,	1776,	IV.	253
Council of Safety of Pennsylvania,	19	January,	1777,	—	281
Council of Massachusetts Bay,	28	February,	—	—	330
Convention of New York,	1	March,	—	—	337
Council of Massachusetts Bay,	13	—	—	—	361
Pennsylvania Board of War,	2	April,	—	—	374
Brigadier-Generals of Militia in the Western parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut,	18	July,	—	—	500
Council of Safety of New York,	4	August,	—	V.	17
Board of War,	26	January,	1778,	—	206
Officer commanding Sheldon's Light Dragoons,	14	April,	—	—	325
Committee of Arrangement from Congress,	6	October,	—	VI.	65
Committee of Congress appointed to confer with the Commander-in-Chief,	11	January,	1779,	—	193
Committee of Congress,	15	—	—	—	198
	20	—	—	—	207
Magistrates of New Jersey,	8	January,	1780,	—	430
Board of Admiralty,	15	March,	—	—	464
Officer commanding at West Point,	27	September,	—	VII.	280
Board of General Officers for the Examination of Major André,	29	—	—	—	535
Board of War,	25	October,	—	—	279
Officer commanding the British Fleet at New York,	25	January,	1781,	—	333
Officer commanding the New Jersey Line,	26	—	—	—	335
Commissioners for redressing the grievances of the New Jersey Line,	27	—	—	—	336
Officer commanding the New Jersey Troops,	7	February,	—	—	406
Officer commanding his Britannic Majesty's Ships of War at New York,	21	August,	—	VIII.	146
General and Field Officers of the Army,	19	April,	1782,	—	208
Yankee Club of Stewartstown, in the County of Tyrone, Ireland,	20	January,	1784,	IX.	13
Trustees of the Alexandria Academy,	17	December,	1785,	—	151
Committee of Congress,	20	April,	1789,	X.	461
Associate Judges of the Supreme Court,	30	September,	—	—	35
Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States,	3	April,	1790,	—	66
Protectors and Directors of the Poetical Society of Leyden in Holland,	30	June,	—	—	102
Secretary of the Treasury, for the time being,	28	August,	—	—	110
President of the National Assembly of France,	27	January,	1791,	—	133
Secretaries of the Departments of State, Treasury, and War,	4	April,	—	—	157
Circular to the Governors of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and South Carolina,	29	September,	1792,	—	533

			Vol.	Page.
Commissioners of the Federal District,	18 December,	1792,	XII.	305
Questions submitted by the President to the Cabinet respecting a Proclamation of Neutrality, and the Reception of a French Minister, ...	18 April,	1793,	X.	533
Provisional Executive Council of France,	24 May,	—	—	347
Heads of Departments and the Attorney-General, ...	29 July,	—	—	361
	3 August,	—	—	362
Commissioners of the Federal District,	28 January,	1795,	XI.	14
Commissioners of the Federal District,	21 October,	1796,	XII.	321

No. II.

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO WASHINGTON BY VARIOUS PERSONS.

This table includes references, not only to whole letters, but also to extracts, where these are of considerable length and important in their matter; being such as are introduced for the purpose of illustrating Washington's writings.

		Vol.	Page.
A.			
ADAMS, JOHN,			
1 April,	1776,	III.	356
1 —	—	—	534
August,	1777,	V.	14
	1789,	X.	466
7 July,	1798,	XI.	532
9 October,	—	—	548
AFFLECK, EDMUND,			
30 August,	1781,	VIII.	523
ANDERSON, DR. JAMES,			
8 February,	1798,	XI.	274
ANDRÉ, JOHN,			
24 September,	1780,	VII.	531
1 October,	—	—	543
ARBUTHNOT, M.			
21 April,	1781,	VII.	384
ARMSTRONG, JOHN,			
20 February,	1788,	IX.	350
23 December,	1791,	X.	223
ARNOLD, BENEDICT,			
11 March,	1777,	IV.	345
26 —	—	—	346
ARNOLD, BENEDICT,			
April,	1779,	VI.	517
5 May,	—	—	522
14 —	—	—	523
18 —	—	—	525
13 July,	—	—	527
25 May,	1780,	VII.	95
25 September,	—	—	533
1 October,	—	—	541
B.			
BARLOW, JOEL,			
2 October,	1798,	XI.	560
BIENIEWSKY, COUNT DE,			
18 March,	1782,	VIII.	256
BLAIR, ARCHIBALD,			
19 June,	1799,	XI.	556
BOLLMANN, J. ERICK,			
10 April,	1796,	XI.	497
BUCHAN, EARL OF,			
15 September,	1791,	X.	230
BURGOYNE, JOHN,			
25 November,	1777,	V.	521

	Vol.	Page.
C.		
CABOT, GEORGE,		
16 September, 1795,	XI.	66
CADWALADER, JOHN,		
26 December, 1776,	IV.	248
27 — —	—	250
CARLETON, SIR GUY,		
7 May, 1782,	VIII.	536
20 June, —	—	537
7 July, —	—	539
2 August, —	—	540
25 October, —	—	541
6 April, 1783,	—	542
24 — —	—	427
12 May, —	—	543
12 November, —	—	545
19 — —	—	546
24 — —	—	547
1 December, —	—	547
CARRINGTON, EDWARD,		
13 October, 1795,	XI.	80
22 April, 1796,	—	121
CLINTON, GEORGE,		
9 October, 1777,	V.	472
20 December, —	—	178
CLINTON, SIR HENRY,		
March, 1779,	VI.	507
26 September, 1780,	VII.	534
30 — —	—	539
9 October, —	—	552
23 — —	—	556
COLLINS, JOHN,		
1789,	X.	487
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT OF,		
19 June, 1775,	III.	482
2 April, 1776,	—	533
14 June, —	—	353
July, —	—	457
24 August, —	—	529
30 December, —	IV.	551
17 October, 1777,	V.	106
14 April, 1778,	—	539
5 May, —	—	384
18 June, —	—	401
7 July, —	—	436
20 November, —	VI.	110
25 August, 1779,	—	343
CONWAY, THOMAS,		
16 November, 1777,	V.	483
29 December, —	—	203
31 — —	—	204
10 January, 1778,	—	494
27 — —	—	502
23 July, —	—	517
CORNWALLIS, EARL,		
17 October, 1781,	VIII.	530
17 — —	—	530
18 — —	—	532
CRAIK, JAMES,		
6 January, 1778,	V.	493

	Vol.	Page.
D.		
DAVIES, WILLIAM,		
18 April, 1779,	VI.	512
DAYTON, ELIAS,		
24 January, 1781,	VII.	561
DIGBY, ROBERT,		
2 August, 1782,	VIII.	540
DINWIDDIE, ROBERT,		
30 October, 1753,	II.	428
30 — —	—	429
1754,	—	1
16 November, 1756,	—	201
24 September, 1757,	—	256
DRUMMOND, LORD,		
17 August, 1776,	III.	598
DUANE, JAMES,		
10 October, 1780,	VII.	228
DUCHÉ, JACOB,		
2 April, 1783,	V.	481
DUNMORE, LORD,		
24 September, 1773,	II.	378
E.		
ESTAING, COUNT D',		
July, 1778,	VI.	3
F.		
FAIRFAX, BRYAN,		
17 July, 1774,	II.	393
FAUQUIER, FRANCIS,		
June, 1758,	II.	290
FITZGERALD, JOHN,		
16 February, 1778,	V.	510
FLEURY, LOUIS,		
November, 1777,	V.	154
FRANCE, KING OF,		
19 September, 1791,	XII.	94
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN,		
4 September, 1777,	V.	528
16 September, 1789,	X.	33
G.		
GAGE, THOMAS,		
23 November, 1755,	II.	116
13 August, 1775,	III.	500
GATES, HORATIO,		
29 July, 1776,	IV.	12
8 December, 1777,	V.	487
23 January, 1778,	—	509
19 February, —	—	511
30 August, 1780,	VII.	185
3 September, —	—	185
GILMER, GEORGE,		
29 April, 1775,	II.	508
GRAHAM, CATHARINE MACAULAY,		
June, 1790,	X.	71
GRASSE, COUNT DE,		
23 September, 1781,	VIII.	528

		Vol.	Page.
Greene, Nathanael,			
5 September,	1776,	IV.	85
9 November,	—	—	165
15 —	—	—	180
22 April,	1779,	VI.	230
24 —	—	—	230
21 May,	1780,	VII.	53
24 June,	—	—	506
27 July,	—	—	514
5 October,	—	—	232
18 March,	1781,	VIII.	16
21 November,	—	—	217
22 April,	1784,	IX.	495
6 May,	—	—	496
H.			
Hamilton, Alexander,			
25 September,	1780,	VII.	215
	1788,	IX.	434
30 September,	1790,	X.	496
10 April,	1791,	—	156
30 July,	1792,	—	510
27 August,	—	—	288
1 September,	—	—	526
9 —	—	—	515
9 —	—	—	528
11 —	—	—	529
1 March,	1793,	—	322
1 June,	—	—	349
3 —	—	—	349
21 —	—	—	353
3 August,	—	—	546
5 —	—	—	547
23 —	—	—	548
24 October,	—	—	550
April,	1794,	—	554
27 May,	—	—	414
22 June,	—	—	421
October,	—	—	450
November,	—	—	451
3 February,	1795,	XI.	16
10 May,	1796,	XII.	391
19 January,	1797,	XI.	187
8 July,	1798,	—	532
20 August,	—	—	537
15 February,	1799,	—	401
3 May,	—	—	422
15 June,	—	—	439
Hancock, John,			
21 October,	1789,	X.	489
23 —	—	—	490
26 —	—	—	493
Harrison, Benjamin,			
4 October,	1787,	IX.	266
Harrison, Robert H.			
18 April,	1779,	VI.	512
Hawley, Joseph,			
5 July,	1775,	III.	489
21 June,	1776,	—	437
27 —	—	—	438
Hazelwood, John,			
26 October,	1777,	V.	113
Hazen, Moses,			
27 May,	1782,	VIII.	302
Heath, William,			
6 February,	1777,	IV.	308
Henry, Patrick,			
20 February,	1778,	V.	512
5 March,	—	—	513
19 October,	1787,	IX.	266
Hopkins, Mark,			
26 May,	1776,	III.	537
Howard, John E.			
23 November,	1795,	XI.	94
Howe, Lord,			
19 August,	1776,	IV.	512
17 January,	1777,	—	552
Howe, Robert,			
27 January,	1781,	VII.	563
Howe, Sir William,			
22 August,	1775,	III.	67
25 December,	—	—	203
2 February,	1776,	—	523
1 August,	—	IV.	512
21 September,	—	—	107
11 November,	—	—	529
23 January,	1777,	—	555
27 February,	—	—	556
21 April,	—	—	557
22 May,	—	—	559
5 June,	—	—	560
6 September,	—	V.	54
3 October,	—	—	80
6 November,	—	—	518
—	—	—	519
21 December,	—	—	520
5 February,	1778	—	535
14 —	—	—	537
10 March,	—	—	538
15 —	—	—	539
Humphreys, David,			
24 March,	1787,	IX.	238
I.			
Innes, Harry,			
18 December,	1788,	IX.	474
J.			
Jay, John,			
14 October,	1779,	VI.	377
7 January,	1787,	IX.	510
29 May,	1788,	—	372
23 September,	1791,	X.	499
30 April,	1794,	—	465
5 August,	—	—	445
29 June,	1795,	XI.	34
3 September,	—	—	481
4 —	—	—	482
18 April,	1796,	—	123
Jefferson, Thomas,			
28 May,	1781,	VIII.	73
15 December,	1789,	X.	42
8 May,	1791,	—	159

			Vol.	Page.
Jefferson, Thomas,				
23 May,	1792,		X.	504
9 September,	—		—	517
18 —	—		—	531
1 June,	1793,		—	348
10 July,	—		—	536
11 —	—		—	356
31 —	—		—	364
3 August,	—		—	546
5 —	—		—	547
11 —	—		—	364
23 —	—		—	548
17 October,	—		—	549
2 December,	—		—	368
31 —	—		—	390
23 February,	1795,		XI.	473
Johnson, Thomas,				
29 August,	1795,		XI.	60
Jones, Joseph,				
23 January,	1778,		V.	499
June,	1788,		VII.	68
August,	—		—	150
K.				
Knox, Henry,				
17 December,	1775,		III.	211
28 May,	1784,		IX.	36
14 January,	1787,		—	513
22 February,	—		—	235
19 March,	—		—	237
14 January,	1788,		—	310
10 February,	—		—	333
1 March,	1793,		X.	322
1 June,	—		—	348
3 August,	—		—	546
5 —	—		—	547
23 —	—		—	548
28 December,	1794,		XI.	9
29 July,	1795,		—	534
26 August,	—		—	538
L.				
Lafayette, General,				
26 November,	1777,		V.	171
30 December,	—		—	488
19 February,	1778,		—	531
23 —	—		—	534
6 August,	—		VI.	23
11 January,	1779,		—	190
12 June,	—		—	551
7 October,	—		—	555
31 July,	1780,		VII.	516
30 October,	—		—	558
16 December,	—		—	340
26 —	—		—	340
23 March,	1781,		VIII.	509
8 —	—		—	512
15 April,	—		—	20
15 —	—		—	22
18 —	—		—	513
Lafayette, General,				
23 April,	1781,		VIII.	515
3 June,	—		—	66
28 —	—		—	100
20 July,	—		—	118
31 —	—		—	198
23 October,	—		—	187
17 March,	1790,		X.	105
26 August,	—		—	141
7 March,	1791,		—	177
3 May,	—		—	179
6 June,	—		—	189
22 January,	1792,		—	234
15 March,	—		—	502
Lafayette, Madame,				
8 October,	1792,		X.	315
13 March,	1793,		—	394
Langdon, John,				
6 April,	1789,		X.	459
Langhorne, John, (fictitious,)				
25 September,	1797,		XI.	501
Lansdown, Marquis of,				
4 July,	1791,		X.	203
2 March,	1794,		—	412
Laurens, John,				
23 December,	1780,		VII.	341
Lear, Tobias,				
8 May,	1791,		X.	169
Lee, Charles,				
14 February,	1776,		III.	293
5 April,	—		—	345
24 November,	—		IV.	530
30 —	—		—	531
4 December,	—		—	532
8 —	—		—	533
8 —	—		—	533
11 —	—		—	534
5 April,	1777,		—	325
30 December,	—		V.	228
13 April,	1778,		—	335
15 June,	—		—	407
25 —	—		—	554
28 —	—		—	556
30 —	—		—	557
1 July,	—		—	555
Lee, Charles,				
30 November,	1795,		XI.	93
7 July,	1796,		—	485
Lee, Henry,				
20 January,	1778,		V.	220
13 October,	1780,		VII.	544
16 —	—		—	545
20 —	—		—	545
21 —	—		—	547
25 —	—		—	547
11 October,	1786,		—	205
13 September,	1788,		—	551
15 June,	1792,		X.	244
29 April,	1793,		—	343
14 June,	—		—	540
17 August,	1794,		—	560
17 July,	1795,		—	561

		Vol.	Page.
LEE, RICHARD HENRY,			
	1775,	III.	70
20 October,	1777,	V.	99
12 June,	1781,	VIII.	106
3 July,	1786,	IX.	173
8 March,	1794,	X.	400
LEWIS, CHARLES,			
20 April,	1775,	II.	508
LIANCOURT, LAROCHEFOUCAULT,			
25 July,	1796,	XI.	489
LINCOLN, BENJAMIN,			
14 October,	1782,	VIII.	356
9 February,	1788,	IX.	329
24 —	—	—	334
24 September,	—	—	555
LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R.			
14 January,	1778,	V.	284
LUDWELL, PHILIP,			
8 August,	1755,	II.	94
LUZERNE, MARQUIS DE LA,			
17 January,	1790,	X.	87
LYNCH, THOMAS,			
	1775,	III.	185
16 January,	1776,	—	525

M.

MCHENRY, JAMES,			
14 August,	1785,	IX.	501
3 April,	1794,	X.	398
2 July,	1796,	XI.	483
19 September,	1798,	—	542
16 October,	—	—	331
10 November,	—	—	552
31 March,	1799,	—	420
10 November,	—	—	573
MACKENZIE, ROBERT,			
13 September,	1774,	II.	399
MADISON, JAMES,			
2 July,	1784,	IX.	50
9 December,	1785,	—	508
8 November,	1786,	—	208
21 February,	1787,	—	247
16 April,	—	—	516
30 September,	—	—	542
18 October,	—	—	547
20 December,	—	—	288
20 January,	1788,	—	312
4 June,	—	—	370
21 July,	—	—	407
24 August,	—	—	549
14 September,	—	—	554
4 January,	1792,	X.	42
20 June,	—	XII.	385
24 October,	1793,	X.	552
MARSHALL, JOHN,			
11 July,	1796,	XI.	143
1 May,	1799,	—	424
MASON, GEORGE,			
5 April,	1769,	II.	354
14 October,	1775,	III.	152
MERCER, HUGH,			
25 April,	1775,	II.	507
MONROE, JAMES,			
8 April,	1794,	X.	557
3 January,	1796,	XI.	20
MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR,			
18 April,	1778,	V.	338
1 May,	—	—	340
6 December,	1788,	IX.	451
4 February,	1792,	X.	238
MORRIS, ROBERT,			
23 December,	1776,	IV.	237
30 —	—	—	545
27 February,	1777,	—	339
29 May,	1781,	VIII.	67
MOUSTIER, COUNT DE,			
19 May,	1789,	X.	469
1 June,	—	—	470
12 July,	1790,	—	118

N.

NICOLA, LEWIS,			
May,	1782,	VIII.	302

O.

ORME, ROBERT,			
2 March,	1755,	II.	69

P.

PAINE, THOMAS,			
7 September,	1782,	VIII.	346
1 May,	1790,	X.	104
21 June,	1791,	—	232
PEACHEY, WILLIAM,			
22 August,	1757,	II.	254
PENDLETON, EDMUND,			
11 September,	1793,	X.	370
30 December,	1794,	XI.	10
PHILLIPS, WILLIAM,			
16 January,	1779,	VI.	140
PICKERING, TIMOTHY,			
22 April,	1783,	VIII.	417
15 January,	1791,	X.	132
31 July,	1795,	XI.	52
2 July,	1796,	—	483
21 —	—	—	488
6 July,	1798,	—	530
1 September,	—	—	540
24 October,	1799,	—	572
PINCKNEY, CHARLES,			
14 December,	1789,	X.	73
8 January,	1792,	—	225
PINCKNEY, CHARLES COTESWORTH,			
12 June,	1791,	X.	165
24 February,	1794,	—	392
16 September,	1795,	XI.	61
27 July,	1796,	—	145
PINCKNEY, THOMAS,			
10 October,	1795,	XI.	110
PUTNAM, ISRAEL,			
8 October,	1777,	V.	471
16 October,	—	—	104

		Vol.	Page.
PUTNAM, ISRAEL,			
13 February,	1778.	V.	294
R.			
RADNOR, EARL OF,			
19 January,	1797,	XI.	210
RANDOLPH, EDMUND,			
5 August,	1792,	X.	512
28 October,	—	—	285
1 March,	1793,	—	322
1 June,	—	—	349
3 August,	—	—	546
5 —	—	—	547
23 —	—	—	548
24 October,	—	—	373
10 November,	—	—	385
9 April,	1794,	—	558
11 October,	—	—	443
22 April,	1795,	XI.	26
14 July,	—	—	36
20 —	—	—	44
19 August,	—	—	479
REED, JOSEPH,			
3 March,	1776,	III.	347
22 December,	—	IV.	542
8 March,	1777,	—	537
4 June,	—	—	539
1 May,	1779,	VI.	519
8 —	—	—	520
15 November,	—	—	391
ROBERTSON, JAMES,			
29 September,	1780,	VII.	537
2 October,	—	—	541
ROBINSON, BEVERLY,			
25 September,	1780,	VII.	533
ROBINSON, JOHN,			
December,	1756,	II.	216
ROCHAMBEAU, COUNT DE,			
12 July,	1780.	VII.	511
25 February,	1781,	—	426
26 April,	—	VIII.	28
31 May,	—	—	64
RUTLEDGE, EDWARD,			
12 June,	1791,	X.	165
S.			
SCHUYLER, PHILIP,			
5 January,	1776,	III.	243
28 May,	—	—	536
5 April,	1780,	VII.	5
4 May,	1781,	VIII.	42
8 August,	—	—	129
SHIRLEY, WILLIAM,			
5 March,	1756,	II.	133
SHREVE, ISRAEL,			
20 January,	1781,	VII.	561
SIEYES,			
20 June,	1790,	X.	497
SPOTSWOOD, ALEXANDER,			
30 April,	1775,	II.	509
STEPHEN, ADAM,			
7 October,	1777,	V.	467
STEUBEN, BARON,			
December,	1777,	V.	598
STIRLING, LORD,			
29 August,	1776,	IV.	515
STUART, DAVID,			
15 March,	1790,	X.	82
2 June,	—	—	94
SULLIVAN, JOHN,			
11 September,	1777,	V.	459
11 —	—	—	460
24 October,	—	—	458
1 December,	1779,	VI.	421
T.			
TALLMADGE, BENJAMIN,			
6 April,	1781,	VIII.	4
TERNANT, JOHN,			
17 May,	1793,	X.	347
THOMSON, CHARLES,			
7 February,	1784,	IX.	17
TRUMBULL, JONATHAN,			
13 July,	1775,	III.	31
15 September,	—	—	96
December,	1775,	—	183
August,	1776,	IV.	35
TRUMBULL, JONATHAN, JR.			
22 June,	1799,	XI.	444
V.			
VANDERKEMP, FRANCIS ADRIAN,			
15 May,	1788,	IX.	369
VERGENNES, COUNT DE,			
29 July,	1782,	VIII.	549
VIOMENIL, BARON DE,			
18 December,	1782,	VIII.	366
W.			
WARD, SAMUEL,			
23 October,	1777,	V.	112
WASHINGTON, BUSHROD,			
27 September,	1786,	IX.	199
31 October,	—	—	200
6 June,	1788,	—	378
WAYNE, ANTHONY,			
16 July,	1779,	VI.	537
17 —	—	—	537
2 January,	1781,	VII.	350
21 —	—	—	387
WHEELOCK, ELEAZER,			
2 December,	1775,	III.	208
WILKINSON, JAMES,			
28 March,	1778,	V.	516
WILLETT, MARINUS,			
August,	1792,	X.	263
WOLCOTT, OLIVER,			
4 February,	1795,	XI.	17
2 July,	1796,	—	483

No. III.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

This table includes references to letters and extracts from letters, written by various persons to others, in relation to subjects mentioned in Washington's Writings.

A.

			Vol.	Page.
Adams, John, to Richard Henry Lee,	15 November,	1775,	II.	501
to James McHenry,	6 July,	1798,	XI.	531
André, John, to Sir Henry Clinton,	14 April,	1779,	VI.	510
to the Garrison of Fort Lafayette,	1 June,	—	—	269
to Elisha Sheldon,	7 September,	1780,	VII.	522
to the Board of Officers,	29 —	—	—	535
to Sir Henry Clinton,	29 —	—	—	537
Anonymous, to Horatio Gates,	17 November,	1777,	V.	484
to Patrick Henry,	12 January,	1778,	—	496
to the President of Congress,	17 —	—	—	497
Arnold, B., to the President of Congress,	18 February,	1780,	VI.	529
to John Anderson,	30 August,	—	VII.	521
to Elisha Sheldon,	7 September,	—	—	522
	10 —	—	—	523
to John Anderson,	15 —	—	—	527
to Beverly Robinson,	18 —	—	—	526
to Sir Henry Clinton,	26 —	—	—	534

B.

Barber, Francis, to Elias Dayton,	12 February,	1777,	IV.	279
Bland, Theodoric, to John Sullivan,	11 September,	—	V.	460
Braddock, E., to the Secretary of State,	5 June,	1755,	II.	78

C.

Carleton, Sir Guy, to Thomas Gage,	16 September,	1775,	III.	110
Clark, Abraham, to Elias Dayton,	7 March,	1777,	IV.	298
Clinton, Sir Henry, to John Burgoyne,	8 October,	—	V.	131
to West Hyde and John André,		1779,	VI.	509
to Lord George Germain,	11 May,	—	—	513
	22 —	—	—	270
	28 July,	—	—	307
	20 August,	—	—	345
	21 —	—	—	327
	4 July,	1780,	VII.	86
Commissioners in Canada, to Congress,	27 May,	1776,	III.	411
Congress, President of, to Lafayette,	13 September,	1778,	VI.	502
to Louis the Sixteenth,	22 October,	—	—	504
to General Lafayette,	24 —	—	—	504
	1 January,	1779,	—	149

				Vol.	Page.
CONTRECŒUR, to the Marquis Duquesne,	2 June,	1754,		II.	449
CONWAY, T., to the President of Congress,	22 April,	1778,		V.	372
CORNWALLIS, EARL, to Nesbitt Balfour, .	August,	1780,		VII.	555
D.					
DARKE, JOHN, to Henry Lee, . . .	12 May,	1792,		X.	245
DARTMOUTH, LORD, to Thomas Gage, .	27 January,	1775,		III.	507
	15 April,	—		—	509
	1 July,	—		—	512
	20 August,	—		—	113
to William Howe, ...	5 September,	—		V.	159
	27 October,	—		—	160
DELANCEY, OLIVER, (enlisting orders,) .	5 September,	1776,		IV.	590
DICKINSON, JOHN, to Charles Thomson, .	10 August,	—		—	291
DINWIDDIE, ROBERT, (passport,) . .		1753,		II.	429
to the Lords of Trade, ...	17 November,	—		—	430
	29 January,	1754,		—	431
to M. Drouillon, ...				—	454
to James Abercromby, . . .	28 May,	1756,		—	161
DRUMMOND, LORD, to James Robertson, .	5 February,	1776,		III.	596
DUANE, JAMES, to George Clinton, . .	19 February,	1778,		V.	533
DUMAS, M., to the Sieur Donville, . .	23 March,	1756,		II.	137
E.					
ESTAING, COUNT D', to John Sullivan, .	21 August,	1778,		VI.	44
to the President of Congress, . .	26 —	—		—	12
	26 —	—		—	30
F.					
FAIRFAX, W., to Lawrence Washington,	10 September,	1746,		II.	415
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, to General Lafayette,	24 August,	1779,		VI.	506
G.					
GAGE, THOMAS, to Lord Dartmouth, .	2 November,	1774,		III.	506
	15 —	—		—	507
	18 January,	1775,		—	507
	17 February,	—		—	509
	15 May,	—		—	510
	12 June,	—		—	510
	25 —	—		—	511
	24 July,	—		—	513
	20 August,	—		—	127
	26 —	—		—	513
	20 September,	—		—	514
	15 October,	—		—	514
GATES, HORATIO, to Thomas Conway, .	3 December,	1777,		V.	485
to Thomas Mifflin, . . .	4 —	—		—	486
to the President of Congress, .	11 —	—		—	487
	15 March,	1779,		VI.	214
GEORGE THE THIRD, to Lord North, .	1774	to	1783,	—	532

				Vol.	Page.
GÉRARD, M., to Count de Vergennes, .		October,	1778,	VI.	506
		September,	1779,	—	395
GERMAIN, LORD GEORGE, to Sir H. Clinton,	24	August,	1776,	IV.	27
to Sir William Howe, . . .	14	January,	1777,	—	277
to Sir Henry Clinton, . . .	8	March,	1778,	V.	341
	8	—	—	—	548
	12	April,	—	—	551
	1	July,	—	—	551
	4	November,	—	VI.	207
	25	June,	1779,	—	513
	4	November,	—	—	293
	15	March,	1780,	VII.	33
	3	May,	—	—	30
	7	February,	1781,	VIII.	519
	7	March,	—	—	520
GERRY, ELBRIDGE, to Horatio Gates, .	27	September,	1776,	IV.	117
GRASSE, COUNT DE, to Rochambeau, .	29	March,	1781,	VIII.	76
	8	July,	—	—	522
to General Lafayette, . . .	26	October,	—	—	193
GREENE, N., to the President of Congress,	1	July,	1777,	IV.	490
	26	July,	1780,	VII.	512
to James Robertson, . . .	2	October,	—	—	541

H.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, to Israel Putnam,	9	November,	1777,	V.	161
to George Clinton, . . .	13	February,	1778,	—	508
	12	March,	—	—	306
HARRISON, R. H., to the Pres. of Congress,	27	August,	1776,	IV.	513
	17	October,	—	—	154
	25	—	—	—	524
	29	—	—	—	526
	11	September,	1777,	V.	57
HASLET, JOHN, to Thomas Rodney, .	4	October,	1776,	IV.	516
to Cæsar Rodney, . . .	28	—	—	—	526
	12	November,	—	—	527
HAZEN, MOSES, to Philip Schuyler, . .	1	April,	1776,	III.	361
HENRY, PATRICK, to Henry Lee, . .	27	June,	1795,	X.	562
to Archibald Blair, . . .	8	January,	1799,	XI.	557
to Timothy Pickering, . . .	16	April,	—	—	404
HOPKINSON, FRANCIS, to Jacob Duché, .	14	November,	1777,	V.	478
HOWARD, JOHN E., to Timothy Pickering,	29	January,	1827,	—	468
HOWE, SIR WILLIAM, to Lord Dartmouth,	19	December,	1775,	III.	203
	16	January,	1776,	—	248
to Lord George Germain, . .			—	—	520
			—	—	521
	25	April,	—	—	325
	7	July,	—	—	452
	7	—	—	IV.	108
	7	—	—	—	519

				Vol.	Page.
HOWE, SIR WILLIAM, to Lord G. Germain,	6 August,	1776,	IV.	4
	25 September,	—	—	107
to John Burgoyne,	20 July,	1777,	V.	5
to Lord George Germain,	22 October,	—	—	160
HYDE, WEST, to Sir Henry Clinton,	14 April,	1779,	VI.	510

J.

JACKSON, ROBERT, to Lawrence Washington,	18 October,	1746,	II.	416
JAMESON, JOHN, to Benedict Arnold,	23 September,	1780,	VII.	530
to Solomon Allen,	23 —	—	—	530
JAY, JOHN, to Richard Peters,	29 March,	1811,	XII.	395

K.

KNOX, HENRY, to James McHenry,	23 October,	1798,	XI.	550

L.

LAFAYETTE, GENERAL, to Mad. de Lafayette,	19 June,	1777,	V.	451
	12 September,	—	—	455
to Baron Steuben,	12 March,	1778,	—	529
to the President of Congress,	23 September,	—	VI.	502
	13 October,	—	—	503
	26 —	—	—	505
to Count de Vergennes,	14 February,	1779,	—	545
	May,	—	—	547
	1 June,	—	—	548
to the President of Congress,	12 —	—	—	549
to Count de Vergennes,	9 July,	—	—	553
	18 —	—	VII.	479
	30 —	—	—	490
to Benjamin Franklin,	29 August,	—	VI.	507
to the President of Congress,	7 October,	—	—	553
to Count de Vergennes,	9 January,	1780,	VII.	492
	2 May,	—	—	501
to Count de Rochambeau,	19 —	—	—	501
to Rochambeau and Ternay,	9 August,	—	—	519
to the Governor of Virginia,	28 June,	1781,	VIII.	101
to the President of Congress,	23 December,	—	—	208
	5 February,	1783,	—	408
to the Marquis de Chasteler,	25 July,	1797,	XI.	502
LAFAYETTE, MAD. DE, to General Ferrary,		1795,	XI.	496
LAURENS, JOHN, to the President of Congress,	6 December,	1779,	VI.	385
LEARNED, E., to Messrs. Amory and Johonnot,	9 March,	1776,	III.	532
LEE, CHARLES, to the Mass. Congress,	10 July,	1775,	III.	498
to Joseph Reed,	24 November,	1776,	IV.	535
LIVINGSTON, EDWARD, to G. W. Lafayette,	18 March,	1796,	XI.	119
LOUDOUN, LORD, to Robert Dinwiddie,		1756,	II.	211
LUZERNE, M. DE LA, to Count de Vergennes,	8 October,	1779,	VI.	365

				Vol.	Page.
Luzerne, M. de la, to Count de Vergennes,	16 April,	1780,		VII.	15
	24 June,	—		—	92
	14 June,	1782,		VIII.	312

M.

McDougall, Alexander, to Henry Knox,	8 February,	1783,		VIII.	552
McHenry, James, to John Adams, . .	12 July,	1798,		XI.	533
to Alexander Hamilton, . .	4 February,	1799,		—	563
Madison, James, to the Editor, . .	5 January,	1828,		II.	497
Magaw, R., to the British Adjutant-General,	15 November,	1776,		IV.	179
Massachusetts Congress, to S. Kirkland,	4 April,	1775,		III.	495
to Charles Lee, ...	10 July,	—		—	499
Maubourg, Latour, ...	26 July,	1795,		XI.	492
Mifflin, Thomas, to Horatio Gates, .	28 November,	1777,		V.	485
Monroe, James, to Lord Stirling, . .	10 September,	1782,		VI.	263
Montbarrey, Prince de, to Rochambeau,	1 March,	1780,		VII.	493
	20 —	—		—	499
	7 March,	1781,		VIII.	41
Montgomery, Richard, to Philip Schuyler,	13 October,	1775,		III.	132
	13 November,	—		—	180

O.

Ogden, Matthias, to Henry Knox, .	8 February,	1783,		VIII.	552
Orme, Robert, to Robert Hunter Morris,		1755,		II.	471

P.

Phillips, W., to Lord George Germain,	25 March,	1780,		VII.	4
Pinckney, Charles C., to James McHenry,	31 October,	1798,		XI.	551
Pownall, Thomas, to Sir William Johnson,	April,	1770,		II.	484
Putnam, Israel, to Horatio Gates, . .	26 July,	1776,		IV.	30
to a British Officer, . . .	7 August,	1777,		V.	27

R.

Randolph, Edmund, to the Editor of the Philadelphia Gazette,	10 October,	1795,		XI.	85
Rawdon, Lord, to Major Rugely, . .	1 July,	1780,		VII.	554
Reed, J., to the Committee of Northampton,		1775,		III.	501
Robinson, Beverly, to Benedict Arnold,	17 September,	1780,		VII.	525
	19 —	—		—	527
Rochambeau, Count de, to Vergennes, .	16 July,	1780,		VII.	504
Rogers, Robert, (enlisting orders,) .	30 December,	1776,		IV.	521
Ross, James, to John Sullivan, . .	11 September,	1777,		V.	459
Russell, Benjamin, to the Editor, . .	22 May,	1835,		X.	491

S.

Schuyler, P., to the New York Congress		1776,		III.	535
Ségur, M. de, to General Lafayette, .	5 December,	1781,		VIII.	296

			Vol.	Page.
SHELDON, ELISHA, to Benedict Arnold,	9 September,	1780,	VII.	523
SULLIVAN, JOHN, to Philip Schuyler,	6 July,	1776,	IV.	4
to the President of Congress,	25 October,	1777,	—	517
to Meshech Weare,	25 —	—	V.	463
to the President of Congress,		—	—	460
SUTHERLAND, A., to Benedict Arnold,	21 September,	1780,	VII.	529

T.

TERNAY, CHEVALIER DE, to Vergennes,	18 October,	1780,	VII.	241
TRUMBULL, JONATHAN, to H. B. Livingston,	13 October,	1776,	IV.	198

V.

VARNUM, JAMES M., to Nathanael Greene,	12 February,	1778,	V.	240
VERGENNES, COUNT DE, to General Lafayette,	5 March,	1780,	VII.	496
	3 June,	—	—	503
to Chevalier de Ternay,	2 December,	—	—	242
to M. de la Luzerne,	4 —	—	—	379
	15 February,	1781,	—	380
to General Lafayette,	10 March,	—	VIII.	525
	19 April,	—	—	526
	11 May,	—	—	527
	1 December,	—	—	208
to M. de la Luzerne	24 —	—	—	229
	23 March,	1782,	—	294
	2 May,	—	—	298

W.

WARD, HENRY, to Nathanael Greene,	26 September,	1775,	III.	503
WARREN, JOSEPH, to John Scollay,	17 May,	—	—	510
WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE, to Mr. Hanbury,			II.	481
to Lord Fairfax,		1751,	—	422
to a friend,	6 April,	1752,	—	423
WATSON, BROOK, to William Franklin,	19 October,	1775,	III.	142
WHITE, WILLIAM, to B. C. C. Parker,	28 November,	1832,	XII.	408
WOOSTER, DAVID, to Philip Schuyler,		1775,	III.	120

No. IV.

SPEECHES AND MESSAGES TO CONGRESS.

1. Speeches to Congress.

				Vol.	Page.
Inaugural Speech to both Houses of Congress,	30	April,	1789,	XII.	1
Speech, 1st Congress, 2d Session,	8	January,	1790,	—	7
Speech, 1st Congress, 3d Session,	8	December,	—	—	12
Speech, 2d Congress, 1st Session,	25	October,	1791,	—	18
Speech, 2d Congress, 2d Session,	6	November,	1792,	—	27
Speech, 3d Congress, 1st Session,	3	December,	1793,	—	36
Speech, 3d Congress, 2d Session,	19	November,	1794,	—	44
Speech, 4th Congress, 1st Session,	8	December,	1795,	—	56
Speech, 4th Congress, 2d Session,	7	December,	1796,	—	65

2. Messages to Congress.

Relative to Indian Hostilities,	7	August,	1789,	XII.	79
On Indian Treaties,	17	September,	—	—	81
Concerning the Eastern Boundary of the United States,	9	February,	1790,	—	83
On a Treaty with the Creek Indians,	4	August,	—	—	84
On a Treaty with the Creek Indians,	7	—	—	—	86
On a Treaty with the Cherokee Indians,	11	—	—	—	87
On establishing a Permanent Seat of Government,	24	January,	1791,	—	89
Relative to Great Britain,	14	February,	—	—	90
Relative to Spain and Portugal,	18	—	—	—	92
On the Acceptance of the Constitution by the King of France,	5	March,	1792,	—	94
Transmitting Questions relative to Algiers,	8	May,	—	—	95
Respecting the French Minister Genet, and the Relations with France,	5	December,	1793,	—	96
Relative to Transactions with Spain,	16	—	—	—	99
Relative to Morocco and Algiers,	16	—	—	—	101
On the Execution of the Law imposing an Embargo,	28	March,	1794,	—	102
Relative to Hostile Proceedings against the Territories of Spain,	20	May,	—	—	103
Concerning British and Indian Encroachments,	21	—	—	—	104
Relative to the Intercourse with Foreign Nations,	28	February,	1795,	—	105
Concerning a Treaty with the Creek Indians,	25	June,	—	—	108

			Vol.	Page.
On the Presentation of the Colours of the French Republic, . . .	4 January,	1796,	XII.	110
On the Progress made in erecting Public Buildings at the Permanent Seat of Government, ...	8 —	—	—	111
Assigning his Reasons for not complying with the Resolution of the House of Representatives requesting "a Copy of the Instructions, Correspondence, and other Documents relative to the Treaty lately concluded between the United States and Great Britain," . . .	30 March,	—	—	112
Respecting the Territory South of the Ohio River, ...	8 April,	—	—	116
On the Injury sustained by American Commerce from French Cruisers, .	19 January,	1797,	—	117

No. V.

PROCLAMATIONS.

			Vol.	Page.
On the Evacuation of Boston, . .	21 March,	1776,	III.	322
Respecting an Oath of Allegiance to the United States, ...	25 January,	1777,	IV.	297
Respecting Deserters from the Army, .	6 April,	—	—	379
For a National Thanksgiving, . .	3 October,	1789,	XII.	119
Concerning the Location of the Permanent Seat of Government, . . .	24 January,	1791,	—	121
Concerning the District of Columbia, .	30 March,	—	X.	148
Respecting the Opposition to the Excise Laws, ...	15 September,	1792,	—	532
Offering a Reward for apprehending Persons, who had committed Outrages upon the Cherokee Indians, ...	12 December,	—	XII.	124
Proclamation of Neutrality, . . .	22 April,	1793,	X.	535
Warning the Insurgents in the Western Parts of Pennsylvania to desist from their Opposition to the Laws, . .	7 August,	1794,	XII.	125
Concerning the Western Insurrection,	25 September,	—	—	129
For a National Thanksgiving, . .	1 January,	1795,	—	132
Granting Pardon to the Western Insurgents, ...	10 July,	—	—	134

No. VI.

ADDRESSES.

The references are to all the Addresses contained in the work, arranged in chronological order. A few of them only are addresses made to Washington, the larger part being his answers.

				Vol.	Page.
To the Officers of the Virginia Regiment,	8	January,	1756,	II.	123
From the Officers of the Virginia Regiment,	31	December,	1758,	—	477
To Congress on his Appointment as Commander in Chief,	16	June,	1775,	III.	1
To the Captains of several Independent Companies in Virginia,	20	—	—	—	4
From the Independent Company of Alexandria,			—	—	5
To the New York Provincial Congress,	26	—	—	—	13
From the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts,		July,	—	—	485
To the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts,	4	July,	—	—	14
To the Inhabitants of Canada,		September,	—	—	92
To the General Assembly of Massachusetts,		March,	1776,	—	335
From the Committees of Safety and Inspection in Berkshire County, Massachusetts,	7	June,	—	—	538
To the Inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia,	18	February,	1778,	V.	241
To the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church at Rariton,	2	June,	1779,	VI.	267
To Christopher Ellery and others,		March,	1781,	VII.	446
To Jabez Bowen and others,		—	—	—	450
To the President and Professors of the University of William and Mary,	27	October,	—	VIII.	195
To William Ramsay and others,	20	November,	—	—	209
To the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Delegates of Maryland,	22	—	—	—	210
From the President and Members of Congress,	28	—	—	—	212
To the President of Congress,	28	—	—	—	212
To the Officers assembled at Newburg,	15	March,	1783,	—	560
To the Governors of all the States on disbanding the Army,	8	June,	—	—	439
From the President of Congress,	26	August,	—	—	474
To the President and Members of Congress,	26	—	—	—	474

				Vol.	Page
Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States,	2 November,	1783,		VIII.	491
To Congress on resigning his Commission,	23 December,	—		—	504
From the President of Congress,	—	—		—	570
To a Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia,	15 July,	1784,		IX.	53
To a Committee of the General Assembly of Virginia,	16 November,	—		—	72
From the Secretary of Congress,	14 April,	1789,		X.	460
To the Secretary of Congress,	14 —	—		—	460
To the Mayor, Corporation, and Citizens of Alexandria,	16 —	—		XII.	137
To the Citizens of Baltimore,	17 —	—		—	139
To the Delaware Society for promoting Domestic Manufactures,	—	—		—	141
To the State Society of the Cincinnati in Pennsylvania,	20 —	—		—	142
To the President and Executive Council of Pennsylvania,	20 —	—		—	143
To the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of Philadelphia,	20 —	—		—	144
To the President and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania,	20 —	—		—	146
To the Ministers, Church-wardens, and Vestry-men of the German Lutheran Congregation, in and near Philadelphia,	20 —	—		—	147
To the Ladies of Trenton,	21 —	—		—	150
To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York,	9 May,	—		—	149
To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church,	—	—		—	152
To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church,	—	—		—	153
To the General Committee, representing the United Baptist Churches in Virginia,	—	—		—	154
To the Ministers and Elders of the German Reformed Congregations,	June,	—		—	156
To the Governor and Council of North Carolina,	15 —	—		—	157
To the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts,	9 July,	—		—	158
To the Directors of the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,	—	—		—	160
To the Senate and Assembly of New York,	—	—		—	161
To the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church,	19 August,	—		—	162

				Vol.	Page.
To the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College,	August,	1789,		XII.	164
To the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania,	September,	—		—	165
To the Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church,	October,	—		—	166
To the Religious Society called Quakers, at their Yearly Meeting,	—	—		—	168
To the Legislature of Connecticut,	—	—		—	169
To the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, 27	—	—		—	170
To the Inhabitants of Boston, 27	—	—		—	171
To the President and Fellows of Harvard University, 27	—	—		—	173
To the Inhabitants of Portsmouth, 2	November,	—		—	174
To the Executive of New Hampshire, 3	—	—		—	175
To the Legislature of New Jersey,	December,	—		—	176
To the Roman Catholics in the United States,	—	—		—	177
To the General Assembly of Georgia,	—	—		—	179
To the General Assembly of Virginia, 27	April,	1790,		—	182
To the Delegates of the State Societies of the Cincinnati,	May,	—		—	183
To the Hebrew Congregation of Savannah,	—	—		—	185
To the People of South Carolina,	—	—		—	186
To the Freemen of the Town of Newport, 16	August,	—		—	189
To the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island, 16	—	—		—	190
To the Corporation of Rhode Island College, 17	—	—		—	191
To the Inhabitants of Providence, 17	—	—		—	192
To the Convention of the Universal Church,		—		—	193
To the Legislature of Rhode Island,		—		—	194
To the Governor and Council of North Carolina, 26	August,	—		—	195
To Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation of Indians, 19	January,	1791,		X	130
To the Intendant and Wardens, Representatives of the Citizens of Charleston, 3	May,	—		XII.	196
To the Mayor and Aldermen of Savannah, 13	—	—		—	197
To the Congregational Church and Society at Medway, in Georgia,	—	—		—	198
To the Governor of Georgia, 20	—	—		—	199
To the Inhabitants of Camden, South Carolina, 25	—	—		—	200
To Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-tree, Chiefs and Counsellors of the Seneca Nation of Indians, 29	December,	—		X.	210

			Vol.	Page.
To the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,	January,	1798,	XII.	200
To the Members of the New Church in Baltimore,	—	—	—	202
To the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia,	16 May,	—	—	202
To the Merchants and Traders of Baltimore,	—	—	—	203
To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Salem, in Massachusetts,	June,	—	—	204
To the Inhabitants of Alexandria,	4 July,	—	—	204
To Nicholas Cruger, Chairman of a Meeting of the Citizens of New York,	13 August,	—	—	205
To the Inhabitants of Richmond,	—	—	—	206
To the Inhabitants of New London,	—	—	—	207
To the Citizens of Annapolis,	September,	—	—	208
To the Burgesses and other Citizens of Harrisburg,	4 October,	1794,	—	209
To the Inhabitants of Carlisle,	—	—	—	210
To the Selectmen of the Town of Boston,	28 July,	1795,	XI.	42
To the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia,	29 August,	—	XII.	211
To the Inhabitants of Camden and Orangeburg Districts, in South Carolina,	14 September,	—	—	212
To the Inhabitants of Georgetown, South Carolina,	14 —	—	—	212
To the Citizens of Frederic County, Virginia,	16 December,	—	—	213
Farewell Address to the People of the United States,	17 September,	1796,	—	214
To the Council and Assembly of New Jersey,	21 November,	—	—	236
To the Senators in Congress from Vermont,	12 December,	—	XI.	174
To the General Assembly of Virginia,	27 —	—	XII.	236
To the House of Representatives of South Carolina,	24 January,	1797,	—	237
To the Assembly of North Carolina,	25 —	—	—	238
To the Senate of Pennsylvania,	—	—	—	239
To the Senators and Representatives of Delaware,	2 February,	—	—	240
To the Assembly of Rhode Island,	—	—	—	241
To the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania,	17 —	—	—	242
To the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts,	—	—	—	243
To the Clergy of different Denominations, in and near Philadelphia,	March,	—	—	245
To the Citizens of Alexandria and its Neighbourhood,	—	—	—	246

No. VII.

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

ABERCROMBY, JAMES, Major-General, Dinwiddie writes to, respecting Washington, II. 161, 262. Succeeds Lord Loudoun as commander in America, 289; III. 202.

Achæan Confederacy, abstract of the, IX. 523.

ADAMS, JOHN, II. 405. Quotations from intercepted letters of, in 1775, 499. Remarks on them, 500. On the early intention of the colonists to become independent; on a form of government, 501. On the choice of a commander-in-chief; on Lee's plan of securing New York; intercepted letters of, III. 230, 481, 513. His opinion of the extent of the authority of the commander-in-chief, 230. Attends a council of officers, 249, 251. His introduction of Dana to the commander-in-chief, 356. Member of the first Board of War, 429. His letter, after the evacuation of Boston, respecting the device for a medal, 534. On a committee of Congress to confer with Howe, IV. 88. Favors General Gates, V. 14. Returns from his first mission to France; minister plenipotentiary for negotiating peace; Luzerne's opinion of, VI 365, 385. Commended by Vergennes, VIII. 208. Commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace, 372. Candidate for the Vice-Presidency, IX. 459, 469, 557. Reports respecting; answers queries of the President, X. 20, 464 - 468. His opinion of Paine's "Rights of Man," 160 - 162. Gives the casting vote about the affair of neutral vessels, 410. Advised not to withhold promotion from his son, XI. 188. His election and inauguration as President of the United States, 194. Convenes Congress, 198, 202. Makes nominations of ministers to France, 202. Remarks on his speech, 202, 204. Appoints a fast, 239. His correspondence with Washington, and nomination of him to the command of the Provisional army, 242, 246, 261, 264, 282, 304, 532. His visit to Massachusetts, 288, 543. His arrangement and appointment of major-generals, 296, 301, 305, 307, 330, 331, 542, 548. His non-compliance with the conditional acceptance of Washington, 303, 305, 315, 320, 542. A letter from Joel Barlow communicated to, 398, 404.

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY, minister to the United Netherlands, X. 415; XI. 56, 188. Makes inquiries about a sword, 170. In Berlin, 391.

ADAMS, SAMUEL, proscribed by General Gage, III. 37. Favors General Gates, V. 14, 373; VII. 399; IX. 468.

ADAMS, Captain, captures a vessel, III. 150.

ADAMS, Captain, a volunteer at the seizing of General Prescott, IV. 495.

Addresses to and by Washington, XI. 173, 175, 176; XII. 137 to 247.

ADET, his conversation with the Secretary of State, about the British treaty, XI. 36, 41. Explanations demanded of, 131, 483. Issues a pamphlet, 179, 186.

Adjutant-General, pay of the, IV. 372. Persons proposed to fill the office of, V. 158. Importance of the office, XI. 251, 252.

Admiralty, Court of, recommended, III. 155, 184, 217. Board of, requests troops from the army for a naval enterprise, VI. 484. Their report respecting Paul Jones, VIII. 45.

ADOLPHUS, his History cited and corrected, in regard to the commissioners for carrying into effect Lord North's bills, V. 398.

AFFLECK, EDMUND, a British naval commander, writes respecting marine prisoners, VIII. 146, 523.

AGNEW, a British general, killed at Germantown, V. 82.

Agriculture, Washington's habits in regard to, II. 329. Society for, at Philadelphia, IX. 141. Washington chosen honorary member of the South Carolina Society for promoting, 155. Commended, 323. Approbation of societies for, 326. Effects of manufactures on, 464. Experiments in; machines for, X. 68. Farm for, proposed, 81. Works on, and societies commended, 242, 340, XI. 17. On encouraging, XII. 70. Washington's correspondence on, 251. State of, in

America, 283, 330. Young's Annals of, commended, 286, 292. Condition of, in Virginia, 293. Importance of contrivance and system in, 300, 359, 363, 367. The United States favorable to, 304. Washington re-engages in, 329. National Board of, in Great Britain, 330. Washington's papers on; his habits, 336, 351, 361. Lambert's remarks on, 356. Economy in, 360, 367. Extract from a diary on, 379.

Aids-de-camp, number and rank of, III. 269. Their responsibility and labors; pay of, increased, 368 – 370. Qualifications, and want of, IV. 18. Names of the commander-in-chief's, during the Revolution, XII. 415.

Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of, referred to, II. 11, 13, 430.

Albany, committee of, provides for holding Ticonderoga, III. 62. Conspiracies of the Tories there, IV. 15. A plot discovered, 24. One fifth of the militia drafted from the county of, to go to Kingsbridge, 42.

Albany Convention, why Virginia did not send delegates to the, II. 18.

ALDEN, ICHABOD, Colonel, killed at Cherry Valley, VI. 111, 114, 122.

Alderton, Point, III. 69, 141.

Alexandria, reply of the Independent Company of, to the commander-in-chief, offering their services, III. 5. Alarmed and deserted, 339. Address to the citizens of, after the capitulation of Cornwallis, VIII, 209. Festivities at, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution by Virginia, IX. 389. Prosperity of, XI. 233. Address to the mayor, corporation, and citizens of, in April, 1789, XII. 136. Extract from their address, 137. Measures in regard to neutrality, approved at, 204. Address to the citizens of, and of its neighbourhood, in March, 1797, 246. See *Fairfax County Resolves*.

Alexandria Academy, one thousand pounds given to, IX. 151. Correspondence concerning a donation to, X. 393.

Algiers, on the treatment of, IX. 242, 380. American prisoners at, X. 15, 357. Vessels captured by, 15. The building of a frigate for, XI. 146, 151. Consul received at, 158. Treaty with, XII. 57, 95, 101. Restoration of captives at, 58, 68, 101, 107. Arrangements for fulfilling the engagements with, 68.

Alien and Sedition Laws, remarks on the, XI. 345, 387.

ALIQUIPPA, an Indian queen, makes requests for her son, II. 47. Visited in 1753, 446.

Allegany Mountains, surveys made there, in 1748, II. 416, 420.

Allegiance. See *Oath of Allegiance*.

ALLEN, ETHAN, III. 63. His defeat and subsequent treatment, 133, 142, 201, IV. 548. Proposition to exchange, V. 272, 310. Question as to his rank, 293, 539. Exchanged; visits camp, 362. Receives a brevet commission, 373. Writes to Stark about suspected persons in Vermont, VI. 7.

ALLEN, IRA, cited as to the effects of Washington's letter to Chittenden, VIII. 384.

ALLEN, SOLOMON, Lieutenant, conducts André to Lower Salem, and goes to head-quarters, VII. 530, 532.

ALLEN, WILLIAM, appointed a British colonel; raises loyalists, IV. 523.

Alliance, a frigate, carries Lafayette to France; mutiny on board the, VI. 193, 194. Arrives in Boston with arms and powder for the United States, VII. 176, 438.

ALTE, THEOPHILUS, forwards a sword to Washington, XI. 171.

American, on the name of, XII. 218, 392.

American character, importance of, and exertions for establishing, XI. 83, 139.

American Museum, by Mathew Carey, XII. 296.

American Philosophical Society, Washington elected into the, VI. 467.

AMES, FISHER, IX. 468. His speech on the British treaty, XI. 127.

AMHERST, JEFFERY, General, II. 334.

Ammunition, great want of, III. 22, 47. Want of, prevents an attack on the enemy, V. 126. See *Powder*.

Amphictyonic Confederacy, abstract of the, IX. 521.

AMSBURY, WILLIAM, examined as a spy, reports the approach of the British forces under Burgoyne from Canada, IV. 466, 467. Brings a canteen with a false head to Sullivan, 468.

ANDERSON, EPHRAIM, employed in constructing fire-ships at New York, IV. 19.

ANDERSON, JAMES, author of works on agriculture, X. 242, 339, 410; cited, XI. 274.

ANDERSON, JAMES, principal manager of Washington's farms, XI. 338. Directions to, XII. 359.

ANDRÉ, JOHN, British commissioner to effect an exchange of prisoners, VI. 213, 509. His letter proposing the terms of capitulation at Verplanck's Point, 269. Author of the "Cow Chase," VII. 117. Circumstances and

letters connected with his apprehension, trial, conviction, and execution as a spy, 205, 212, 214 - 221, 235, 241, 256, 257, 521. Comparison of his case with Nathan Hale's, 549.
ANDRIANI, Count, X. 138.
ANGELL, ISRAEL, Colonel, ordered to Red Bank, V. 86. Makes a brave opposition at Springfield bridge, VII. 87, 507.
Animal Magnetism, IX. 72.
Annals of Agriculture, XII 286, 292.
Annapolis, convention of States at, IX. 162, 223, 226, 513. Address to the citizens of, upon neutrality, XII. 208.
Anne, Fort, enemy repulsed at, evacuation of, IV. 492. Surrender of, VII. 269, 270.
ANSLEY, an agent to ascertain the claims of the Refugees, IX. 177.
ANTASITY, a Cherokee Indian warrior, arrives at Fort Loudoun, with followers, II. 244.
ANTILL, EDWARD, Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment called "*Congress's Own*," engages in recruiting, IV. 267.
ARBUTHNOT, M., Admiral, VI. 307, 313. Number and condition of the reinforcements under, 340, 345, 350. Proposes to visit Rhode Island, 358. Goes to the South, 486. Joined by Admiral Graves, VII. 113, 127. Differs from Clinton; blockades the French fleet at Newport, 131, 137, 290. His reply to a complaint of ill treatment of naval prisoners, 384. Cited, about sailing to the Chesapeake, 457. His action with Destouches; enters Chesapeake Bay, 464, 465, 468.
ARCHER, HENRY W., a volunteer aid to Wayne; his bravery at the storming of Stony Point, VI. 303, 539.
Ardent Spirits, VI. 181. Condemned, IX. 454, 455. Duty imposed on home-made, X. 171, 259. Measures for checking opposition to the collection of the duties thereon, 259, 426. See *Excise Law*.
ARENDT, Baron d', appointed to the command of Fort Island, V. 69, 100, 107, 108; of the German battalion, 101. Retires for his health, 131.
ARMAND, Marquis de la Rouerie, Colonel, commissioned to raise a corps of Frenchmen, IV. 422; V. 171; 298. His recruits to be credited to the quotas of the respective States, VI. 172; 236. In Sullivan's expedition, 276. At Ridgefield, 305. Commended, but discouraged as to promotion, 429. The incorporation of his corps with Pulaski's, 462. A certificate recommendatory of, 463. A continuance of a partisan corps under, recommended, VII. 252. Commendation of, 252, 309. Dissatisfied with the promotions of officers, 309, 310; 399. Goes to France, 394, 422. His return from France; ordered to join General Greene, VIII. 238, 242. Appointed brigadier-general, 391. Recommended for promotion in France, IX. 44; 138. Congratulated on his marriage, 190.
Armed Vessels. See *Navy*.
Armies should be brought to a central point at the commencement of a campaign; fall a sacrifice by injudicious division, IV. 358.
Arms, manufacture of, III. 127. Exceedingly bad in the army, 156. Great want of, 239, 283, 365. Expedients for obtaining, 259, 283, 381. Taken in Scotch transports, ordered to New York, 455. Diminution of, by the troops, IV. 332, 477. Letter respecting, 337. Important supply of, 338, 375. Measures to prevent the soldiers from carrying off, VII. 26. Wanted in the army, and solicited of the French, 118, 125, 407. Arrive from France, 176. Manufactories of, should be encouraged, XII. 8.
Arms of the Washington Family, I.
ARMSTRONG, JOHN, a colonel in Forbes's expedition, II. 317 - 319. Facts respecting; is recommended, and appointed brigadier-general, III. 72, 73, 294, 319. Ordered to the southern department, 294, 309, 310. Resignation of, IV. 373. Major-general of the Pennsylvania troops, 483, V 45. His position at the battle of the Brandywine, 58. At Germantown, 78, 464. Stationed along the Schuylkill, 59. Opposes attacking Philadelphia, 168. Solicited to return to the army, 301. In the council of war at Valley Forge, 360. Cited on the adoption of the Constitution, and the first President, IX. 350; X. 136; on St. Clair's defeat, 223.
ARMSTRONG, JOHN, aid to General Gates, author of the "Newburg Addresses," VIII. 555, 566.
ARMSTRONG, Captain, taken at Verplanck's Point, VI. 269.
Army, the American, circumstances connected with the appointment of its commander-in-chief and with its origin, III. 1, 479, 486. See *Boston* and *Cambridge*. Washington arrives at Cambridge and takes the command of; its state at that time; army returns during the years 1775 and 1776, 14, 484, 486, 493. In a dangerous situation, 27. Reinforcements to, voted, 33.

Formed into three divisions, 33, 54. No detachments to be made from, for any particular provincial service, 45, 75, 83, 97. Reduction of the regiments of, recommended, 51; 55. Visited by delegates of Congress, 62, 137. Approbation of the discipline of, 70. Its security and inactivity, 84. See *War, Continental Articles of.* Difficulties in; in danger of dissolution, 98. See *Rifle Companies.* Prepares for winter, 113, 115; 137. Troubles in arranging, 150, 156, 178. See *Enlistments* and *Marines.* Monthly expense of, 179, 218. Militia called in, to supply the deficiency; and furloughs, 189, 195, 256. Distressed for fuel and hay; how supplied, 190. Entire disbanding and recruiting of, at Cambridge, 222, 225, 340. Pressing evils and wants of, 238. Must be taught to fight without breast-works, 277. Its condition concealed by the Commander-in-chief, 284, 344. Proceeds to New York, 312, 330, 354. Receives the thanks of Congress, 360, 533. See *New York.* Murmurs at the distinction made in the pay, 370. Orders for reinforcing, by 13,800 militia, 416. See *Ordnance* and *War.* State of, at New York, in August, 1776, IV. 34. Sickness in, 93. On the eve of dissolution, 110. Condition, wants, and difficulties of, 110, 122, 130. Plan adopted for re-organizing and recruiting, 116, 134. Lee's laconic remark respecting it, 132. Eastern militia ordered to join it, 159. Crosses into New Jersey, 172, 174. Escapes across the Hackinsac and Passaic Rivers, 189. Reinforced, 192. Retires to Brunswic, Princeton, and Trenton, and crosses the Delaware, 194, 200, 206. See *Delaware.* An increase of, strongly urged, 225, 234. The situation, wants, local prejudices, promotions, and supplies of, 232. Numbers and condition of, at the battle of Trenton, 243, 244. Crosses the Delaware into New Jersey, before the battle of Princeton, 254. Its movements after the battle of Princeton, 263. Sixteen additional regiments voted, 271. Diminution of numbers; necessities of, January 19th, 1777, 282, 283. See *Small Pox.* Warm debate in Congress, and resolutions respecting, 326. Numbers and character of, March, 1777, 352. Cannot be detached, 413. See *Discipline.* Disposition of, when they move from their winter encampment at Morristown, 432. Spies reported to be in it, 437. Situation, condition, and purposes of, 463. Reinforcements ordered to, from Peekskill, 464. Visited by a committee of Congress, 503. Proposition to have one east, and one south of the Hudson, 525. Halts at the Delaware, V. 7, 21. Harassed by marching and countermarching, 20. Decisions of a council of war, in regard to its future movements, 40. Marches through Philadelphia towards the Head of Elk, 43, 46. Its skirmishes with the enemy, and loss, 52, 53, 56. See *Brandywine.* Its distresses, 67, 71, 77, 110. Advances to the Warren Tavern, 70. See *Germantown.* In want of general officers, 85. Officers tender their commissions, 99, 312. Its numbers; council of war called respecting, 121, 122, 145. Its state and numbers, November, 1777, 128, 155, 173. Difficulty about disposing of, for the winter of 1777-8, 129, 180, 195, 522. Unreasonable charges against it, 155. Provisions not supplied for it, 159, 188. Movement against it, 174, 180. Destitute of provisions, 193, 197, 239 to 242. Placed in winter-quarters at Valley Forge, 195. See *Valley Forge.* Condition of, 197, 212, 238. Preparations in, for the campaign of 1778, 201, 241, 251, 294, 297, 312, 319, 337. One month's extraordinary pay voted to, by Congress, 209. Numerous resignations in, 295, 312, 321, 334, 340, 351, 373. Its slow augmentation, 300. The new organization and establishment of, 312, 351, 404, 525. Unreasonable jealousy of, in Congress, 328. Spurious resolves respecting it, 333, 336. Its irksome and dangerous situation, 352. Total force, May 8th, 1778, 380. Must act on the defensive, 361. Preparations for marching, 374, 380, 386, 387. Sickness in, 380, 386, 399. Pursues the British army from Philadelphia, 409, 414, 415, 416, 418, 422 to 429, 431, 552. Disposition of the detachments, for harassing the enemy, 417. Sufferings from the weather, 420, 423, 427, 430, 432. See *Monmouth.* Discontents about rank, 435. Marches towards New York city, upon the arrival of the French fleet, VI. 2. Encamps at White Plains, 10. Disposition of, for operations, 61, 62, 87. Expenses of, 80, 81. Temper of, 81. Disposition of, for winter-quarters in 1778-9, 24, 129. Preparations for the campaign of 1779, 159, 200, 238. Diffi-

culty of filling it; arrangement and apportionment of the infantry for the next campaign, 196, 197. Gratuity of one hundred dollars voted to certain soldiers of it, 199, 471. Feeble and reduced, 251, 312, 315. Its movements, 268, 276. Preparations as to winter-quarters for it, in 1779 – 80, 400, 408, 414, 419, 428. State of, in detail, 401, 455. Measures recommended for keeping it up, 403, 455. A year's engagement in it, recommended, 404. Distressed for provisions, 427, 432, 439, 441, 448, 456. Preparations for the campaign of 1780, 464. Returns ordered, with a view to supply the quotas, 468. Difficulty in relation to the length of service, 469. New plan of procuring supplies for it, 482, 489, 492. Its numbers, VII. 6. Dissatisfactions, 19. Committee chosen to effect reforms and changes in, 14 – 16, 23. Suffers from want of provisions and forage, 25, 54. Measures for filling it up, 51. Mutinies and distresses, 55 – 58. Addresses to, from the enemy, with a view to promote desertions, 57. Circulars respecting the quotas of men; the numbers required of Eastern and Middle States, 70. Exertions of ladies in behalf of it, and correspondence connected therewith, 89, 90, 243, 376, 408. Moves towards New York, 127, 129 – 134, 137. Proceeds to Dobbs's Ferry, 136, 143. Plan of a new arrangement for it, 245 – 256, 297. Goes into winter-quarters; disposition of it, 310 – 313, 318, 321. Levies necessarily discharged from it, 321. Four general principles for the disposition of it, 331. Distresses and consequent mutinies in it, 348 – 360, 380 – 383. Suffers from want of pay, clothing, and provisions; measures for relieving, 351 – 358, 370, 381 – 383, 560. Gratuities to, 356. Measures for the security of, 426. Its condition and wants, VIII. 7. Circulars to the Eastern States respecting the distresses of it, 36. Moves to Valentine's Hill, 86, 97, 99. Marches to White Plains, 95. Its junction with the French army, 99, 100, 124, 519. Its preparations and movements towards Virginia, 122, 130, 134, 139, 140, 148, 150, 155, 157. Arrives before Yorktown, 168. Disposition of, after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, 189. Its march to the northward, and disposition for the winter, 200. Measures for filling it up, 255. Force and prospects, 273. On the reduction of it, 308. Moves to Verplanck's Point, 340. Joined by the French army, 345. Discontented from the total want of money and from hardships, 353. Cantoned at New Windsor, 364. Alarming discontents in, and address to Congress, December, 1782, 369, 393. Difficulties connected with the Newburg Addresses, 392, 393, 551. Cessation of hostilities ordered, and proclaimed to it, 416, 421, 425, 542, 567. Gratuity of arms and accoutrements voted to the men for the war, 423, 424. Correspondence originating in the address of the officers of it, respecting the three months' payment, and the non-settlement of accounts, 435 – 439, 456. Circular letter addressed to the governors of all the States on disbanding it, 439. See *Pennsylvania Line*. Reduction of it, 456, 502. The commander-in-chief's farewell address to it, 491. See *Provisional Army* and *Standing Army*.

Army accounts, importance of an office for auditing, III. 258, 466. Commissioners appointed to audit, 467.

Arnold, Benedict, Colonel, preparations for his expedition against Quebec, III. 63, 82, 85, 102. Instructions to, 86, 90. Assisted by Goodwin's plans and journal, 90. Leaves Cambridge, 102. Assisted by Getchell and Berry, 112. His progress, and his arrival near Quebec, 120, 125, 168, 177, 190. See *Quebec*. Colonel Enos with the rear division returns, 164. Commended, 190, 192, 276. Joined by Montgomery, 219. Wounded; appointed brigadier-general, 266, 319. Continues the blockade of Quebec, 276. Fitting out a fleet on the lake, IV. 12. See *Champlain*. Ordered to New London, 219, 220. Cited, requesting a resignation and an inquiry into his conduct, 345. Commended, 351, 410. By request declines a court of inquiry; why not promoted, 378. Fights the British on their return from Danbury, 405. Appointed major-general; horse presented to, by Congress, 408. Ordered to Peekskill, 410. Visits Congress about his public accounts; is dissatisfied with his promotion, 416. His unsuccessful application for the restoration of his rank. Lee cited respecting, 417. Succeeds Schuyler in the command at Philadelphia, 453. Ordered to Trenton to oppose Howe; is ignorant of Washington's situation, 463. Recommended as a suitable

person to call out and lead on militia against Burgoyne, 467, 469. Goes to the northern army; yields in command to St. Clair, 498, 500, V. 3, 10. Rank of, considered in Congress, and restored, 24, 215, 217. Wounded at Saratoga, 217, 361. Epaulettes and sword-knots presented to, 361. Appointed to command in Philadelphia; instructions to, 412, 413. Requested to aid Duportail in planning the security of Philadelphia, 421. Purposes to enter the navy; his lameness; his love of money, VI. 35. His conduct at Philadelphia reported to Congress, 138, 514. His trial, 231, 247, 251, 514. His proposition to command a naval expedition or receive a furlough, 484, 493. His petition to Congress respecting specie and accounts, 529. In secret correspondence with the enemy under the name of *Gustavus*, VII. 72, 580. Intrusted with the printing of Lafayette's proclamation, 72. His solicitation of the command at West Point, 95, 140, 265, 266, 521. Directions to, upon his taking the command there, 139, 144. Directed to guard against an attack, 147, 181, 189. To furnish a guard for the commander-in-chief, 205. Meets Washington at King's Ferry, 205, 595. His treason and André's fate; his appointment as colonel in the British army; great exertions made to seize him, 205, 212, 520. His address to the inhabitants of America, 200. Effects of his treason upon the spies in New York, 260, 281. His intention as to the life of the commander-in-chief, 264, 265. An opinion respecting, said to have been expressed by Washington to Schuyler, 265. Letter to Reed respecting, 286. Commands a British expedition from New York to Virginia, 347, 348, 403, 411, 465. Distrusted by the British, 348. Measures and instructions for opposing his expedition, 403, 404, 411, 417 – 426, 445, 448, 452. See Lafayette. To be executed if taken, 419, 547. Reinforced by Phillips, 457, 465. Further particulars about his enterprise, and Lafayette's expedition against, VIII. 6, 521. Lafayette's refusal to hold correspondence with, 61.

Arsenal at Harper's Ferry recommended and established, XI. 69, 231, 255, 457; XII. 63.

Artichoke, for the benefit of stock, XII. 290.

Articles of War. See *War, Continental, Articles of*.

Artificers, regiment of, IV. 22.

Artillery, Knox supersedes Gridley in the command of; plan for its organization, III. 146. To be increased in number, IV. 175. The field-pieces to be of brass, 176. A regiment of, to be raised in Virginia, 191. Three battalions ordered to be recruited; inadequacy of the pay for the, 232. The command of, should not be given to a foreigner, 445. To be credited to the quotas of States; return of, in April, 1779, VI. 197. See Knox.

Asgill, Charles, Captain, VIII. 265. Is selected as a subject for retaliation in the case of Huddy; his character and family connexions, 301, 302. His application to Sir Guy Carleton, 302, 311. Allowed to be on parole, 350. Intercessions for, referred to Congress, 361, 549. Is set at liberty, 362 – 364. His treatment, IX. 169, 196, 221.

Ashby, John, Captain, II. 107. Orders to, in case of an attack, 145.

Ashby's Fort, II. 163, 167.

Ashe, Samuel, governor of North Carolina, XII. 238.

Asia, a British armed ship, in New York harbour, III. 13.

Assessment Bill, respecting a provision for religious teachers in Virginia, IX. 136.

Association, a non-importation agreement by the members of the Virginia Assembly, II. 356. Drawn up by the members of the House of Burgesses, on the passing of the Boston Port Bill, 486. For embodying the citizens of Boston to defend the town, III. 140.

Associators, a company of mounted volunteers in Virginia, II. 161. See Ruggles.

Atkis, Edmund, an Indian agent, II. 236, 237. Hastily imprisons ten Indians, 245. Has the management of Indian affairs, 284.

Attakullakulla, a Cherokee chief, sues for peace, II. 336.

Attorneys-General during the presidency of Washington, XII. 432.

Augusta, Fort, in Pennsylvania, II. 241, 244.

Austin, Samuel, III. 532.

Austria, Emperor of, proposes to act as mediator for a general peace, VIII. 71. Letter to the, XI. 125.

B.

BACHE, SARAH, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, superintends the contributions of the Philadelphia ladies, and forwards supplies to the army, VII. 376, 377, 408.
BADGELY, ABNER, complaint and inquiry respecting his detention, VIII. 282, 291. On the case of, 312, 537.
BAKER, JOHN, Lieutenant, proceeds towards Logstown and encounters a party of the enemy at Turtle Creek, II. 238.
BAKER's Genealogy of the Washington family, of Sulgrave, I. 552.
BALDWIN, LOAMMI, assistant engineer, ordered to Canada; pay and rank of, III. 366.
BALLARD, ROBERT, Major, in danger of prosecution for the property of disaffected persons, VI. 416.
Balls, cut and fixed to the end of nails, found in the American camp, IV. 107.
Baltimore, citizens of, meet the Commander-in-chief, VIII. 157. Merchants of, lend money to Lafayette for his troops, 514. Reception of Lafayette there, in 1784, IX. 55. Miniature ship *The Federalist* sent from, to Washington, 375. Reception of Washington and his suite there, on his retiring from the Presidency, XI. 197. Addresses to the citizens of, in April, 1789, XII. 139; to the members of the New Church of, 201; to merchants and traders of, in May, 1793, 203.
BANISTER, JOHN, delegate in Congress, V. 321.
Bank, shares taken up in the, X. 172, 176, XII. 18.
Bank stock, in England, XII. 252, 258, 282.
Baptists, United, address to the general committee, representing the, in Virginia, XII. 154. Patriotic character of the, 155.
Barbadoes, extracts from a journal of a voyage and visit to, II. 424. Description of, 425.
Barbary States, tribute paid to, IX. 194.
BARBER, FRANCIS, Lieutenant-colonel, on the state of the soldiers at Ticonderoga, IV. 279. Chosen inspector, V. 348. is activity at Springfield, VII. 509. Aids in suppressing the revolt in the New Jersey line, 561. Wounded at Yorktown, VIII. 179. Accidentally killed, 415.
BARCLAY, THOMAS, makes a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, X. 60. Appointed consul at Morocco, 145. Death of, 332, 333, 357.
BARD, SAMUEL, Life of, cited, X. 13.
Barley, scarcity of; sowed with clover and other grasses, XII. 288, 289. The raising of, in Virginia, 294, 331, 347. Distinction made in regard to, 332. Mode of sowing, 379.
BARLOW, JOEL, goes to Europe, IX. 381, 386. Consul at Algiers, XI. 158. A letter of, forwarded to President Adams, 398, 404, 560.
BARNEY, JOSHUA, Captain, commands the miniature ship *The Federalist*, IX. 375, 376; X. 115, 335.
BARNWELL, ROBERT, speaker of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, XII. 237.
BARRAS, Count de, arrives to take command of the French fleet, VIII. 40. His proposed interview with the commander-in-chief at Weathersfield, 40, 48, 54. Hints at obstacles to a proposed expedition to the Chesapeake, 78, 113, 114. His unsuccessful detachment against Lloyd's Neck, 114. Proceeds to the Chesapeake to join Count de Grasse, 135, 147, 152, 161, 516.
Barren Hill, particulars of the affair at, V. 377, 545. Indians engaged at, VII. 204. See LAFAYETTE.
BARRINGTON, a British major, captured with General Prescott, IV. 495.
BARRY, JOHN, Captain, his creditable exploit in capturing British ships, V. 271. Fights, and runs the Raleigh frigate ashore and escapes, VI. 90.
BARTON, WILLIAM, Lieutenant-Colonel, captures General Prescott on Rhode Island; presented with a sword by Congress; appointed colonel, IV. 495, V. 205.
BARTON, WILLIAM, sends an essay on *Heraldry* to Washington, XII. 297.
BARTON and BUSKIRK, Colonels, with Tory levies, attempt to cut off militia at Paramus, IV. 423.
BARTRAM, WILLIAM, X. 102.
BASSETT, Colonel, accidental death of, X. 313.
Bastille, the key of, and a painting of its demolition, sent to Washington, X. 104 to 106.
Bath, mineral springs at, visited in 1748, II. 417.
Baton Rouge, fort at, captured by Spaniards, VI. 476.
Batteries, ineffectual against the passage of ships, IV. 82, 138.
Battle, of the Great Meadows, II. 51, 456. Of the Monongahela, 85, 468. On Long Island, IV. 68, 513. At Chatterton's Hill, near White Plains,

157, 324. At Trenton, 265. At Princeton, 259, 262. Of the Brandywine, V. 57, 456. At Germantown, 72, 82, 463. At Monmouth, 421, 435, 431.

BAYE, a Hessian colonel, V. 42.

BAYARD, JAMES, taken prisoner at Sweders' Ford, V. 229.

BAYLEY, JACOB, Colonel, visits headquarters with an Indian chief, III. 54. Questions proposed to, respecting Canada, VI. 56; 218.

BAYLOR, GEORGE, III. 165. Joins the artillery, 303. Aid to Washington; distinguished in the affair at Trenton, and despatched to Congress, IV. 248. Presented by Congress with a horse, 249. Appointed to a regiment of horse, and receives instructions, 269, 293. Wounded in a skirmish at Herringtown, VI. 75, 76.

BEALE, ALEXANDER, Captain, commands at Fort Frederic, II. 243.

Beans, a good preparation for wheat, XII. 293. The Eastern Shore, 332.

BEATTY, JOHN, Major, elected commissary-general of prisoners, V. 393. Directions to, in regard to persons who violated their paroles, VI. 294. Reports on the subject of exchanges, and receives directions, 351.

BEAUJEU, a French captain, projects and commands in the attack on Braddock, II. 472. Killed, 473.

BECKWITH, Major, an unofficial British agent, his interview with Hamilton, X. 116, 494. His conversation about the republication of the "Rights of Man," 161.

BEDEL, TIMOTHY, Captain, stationed with a company at Coos, on Connecticut River, III. 65. Appointed colonel of a regiment raised by New Hampshire, 252. Defeated at the Cedars, 408, 409, 417.

Bedford, destruction of, VI. 63, 66.

Bedford, N. Y., skirmish near, VI. 286.

Bee, The, a work published by James Anderson, X. 242.

Behaviour, Rules of, II. 411.

Belgic Confederacy, abstract of the, IX. 527.

BELKNAP, JEREMY, XI. 239. Death of, 240.

BELSHAM, his History cited and corrected respecting Hancock's election to the presidency of Congress, III. 37.

Belvoir seat, particulars respecting, and its occupants, II. 52, 182, XII. 327.

Bennington, V. 15. Preparations to oppose the enemy at, 30. Battle of, 42.

BENSON, EGBERT, one of the commissioners to inspect and superintend the embarkation at New York, VIII. 431, 565. A commissioner for determining the St. Croix River, XII. 66.

Berkshire County, letter, and address from, respecting General Schuyler, III. 537, 538.

Bermuda Islands, project for getting powder from the; temper of the inhabitants, III. 47. Letter to the inhabitants of the, 77. Powder obtained from; Gage takes away the superfluous provisions from; Congress grants a petition from, in part, 72. Their attachment to the colonists, 135. Vessels from the, arrive in the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, VI. 228. Privateers of the, capture vessels, XI. 10, 13, 100.

BERRY and GETCHELL, reconnoitre on the Kennebec and Dead Rivers, and report, III. 112.

Beverly, the inhabitants of, capture a vessel of supplies, III. 155. Vessels at, unfit for service, 382.

BIDDLE, CLEMENT, Washington's correspondence with, XI. 227, XII. 289.

BIDDLE, NICHOLAS, Captain, V. 77.

BIELFIELD, Count de, his arrival in America, VIII. 256. His plan for raising troops, 268, 269.

BIGELOW, JOHN, Major, sent to Burgoyne respecting the capitulation at the Cedars, IV. 56.

BILLINGS, Captain, killed at the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, VII. 351.

Billingsport, preparations to obstruct the Delaware at, III. 427. British detached to, V. 77. Is taken by the enemy, 84. British repulsed in attempting to weigh the chevaux-de-frise there, 84.

Bills, legislative, on the signature of, X. 371.

BLAIN, EPHRAIM, commissary of purchases, V. 222.

BLAIR, ARCHIBALD, proposed nomination of, as associate judge, X. 27. His resignation, XI. 107. Correspondence with, upon the decease of Patrick Henry, 437, 556.

BLAIR, JOHN, president of the Virginia council, acts as governor, II. 271.

BLAIR, SUSAN, one of the successors to Mrs. Reed, in an association of ladies in Philadelphia, VII. 408.

BLAND, RICHARD, member of the Williamsburg Convention, and of the first Congress, II. 396. Facts respecting, XI. 240.

BLAND, THEODORIC, Colonel, superintends the march of the convention troops to Charlottesville, VI. 105. To take the command at Charlottesville, 177. Directions to, respecting Gen-

erals Phillips and Riedesel, 318; XII. 290.
Bland's Treatise recommended, II. 124, III. 154.
Blankets, want of, V. 67, 77. How to be obtained, 67, 110, 225, 329.
Blazing, a mode of marking trees, II. 171, 242.
BLODGET, named as a superintendent of the affairs of the Federal City, X. 311.
BLOUNT, WILLIAM, Governor of the Territory south of the Ohio River, makes returns, X 261; XII. 117; 419.
Boats, recommendation of flat-bottomed, V. 93, VII. 289, 292.
BOLLMANN, J. ERICK, attempts to effect Lafayette's escape from the prison at Olmutz, XI. 111, 492. His letter respecting the means that may be used for that purpose, 497.
BOND, WILLIAM, Colonel, detached to Canada, III. 365.
Bordeaux, compensation demanded for injury caused by the embargo at, XII. 105.
Bordentown, Navy Board at, V. 116, 117. Vessels destroyed near, 362, 364.
BOSOMWORTH, Captain, II. 279, 284.
Boston, particulars respecting Washington's visit to, in 1756, II. 132. Occupied by General Gage, 400. Closely besieged, III. 18, 28, 40, 85, 95, 122, 511. The light-house at, burned, 36. Scarcity of fuel and of fresh provisions in, 40, 56, 85, 181, 186. Fleet sails from, 47. People liberated from, 54. A vessel arrives at, with fresh provisions, from New York, 57. A circular respecting an attack on, 80. An attack on, declared inexpedient, 82. Vessel bound from Quebec to, with letters, taken, 113, 118. Opinions, purposes, and plans in relation to an evacuation of, 113. A second council of officers decides against attacking, 127. The association for embodying the citizens to defend, 140. A plan for shutting up the harbour of, 141. Vessels bound to and from, shipwrecked and captured, 150, 155, 183, 194, 203, 281. Attack from expected, and measures taken, 161, 176. Troops arrive at, 167, 222. Small-pox in, 177, 188, 195. The resolution of Congress respecting an attack on; Hancock's letter cited, 221, 291. The commander-in-chief's desire to attack, 259, 287, 291, 292. Council of officers decide against attacking, 290, 292, 297. Indications of an evacuation of, 293, 306, 311. British troops begin to leave, 304. Plan for attacking, in case the British make an attempt on Dorchester Heights, 305. Selectmen of, send a message to the commander-in-chief, 307, 311, 531. Evacuated; consequences in England, 319, 341, 445, 530. See *Medal*. Stores and cannon left there by the British, 321, 327, 333, 342. Proclamation on the evacuation of, 322. See *British Fleet*. The number and vocations of the Refugees who leave; an inquiry in relation to their property, 325, 327. Number of British troops that embark, 326. Demolition of the castle at, 327. Preparations for defending, 328, 382. American troops at, ordered to Canada, 455, 461. Return of troops at, July 1st, 1776, 456. American troops at, after its evacuation, 494. Circumstances attending the President's visit to, in 1789, X. 47, 48, 489. On the proceedings and resolves of, in regard to the British treaty, XI. 34 – 36, 38, 40, 44. Letter to the selectmen of, respecting the British treaty, 42, 48. Address to the inhabitants of, in 1789, XII. 171.
Boston Port Bill, proceedings of the Virginia House of Burgesses respecting the, II. 486; III. 486; XII. 400.
BOTETOURT, Lord, arrives in Virginia as governor, II. 355. Dissolves the Assembly, 356.
BOUCHER, JONATHAN, II. 361. Author of a View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, XI. 291.
BOUDINOT, ELIAS, commissary of prisoners, IV. 373. Commissioner respecting prisoners, V. 272, 377. Resigns his office of commissary-general of prisoners; elected delegate to Congress, 393. President of Congress, VIII. 376; XI. 40. Director of the mint, 72, 74.
BOUILLIE, Marquis de, surprises and captures St. Eustatia, VIII. 225.
Boundbrook, attempt to surprise Lincoln at, IV. 391. Washington moves to, 440.
Bounty, to Indians for captives, III. 431. For enlistments for three years, 443. To the eastern troops, that remain for six weeks after the end of the year 1776, IV. 253, 254, 256, 546. Great perplexities in consequence of the different sums offered for a, 317. Evil effects of an extravagant, 375. Objections to the proposition to pay one half of it in hard money, and its abandonment; increase of, VI. 54 – 56, 159. Evils and advantages of increase of the, 196, 471, 495. Perplexities from State bounties, 196, 495.

BOUQUET, HENRY, Colonel, commander of the advance of the army, in 1758, concerts measures with Washington, II. 290. Commands at Raystown, 291. Cited respecting the conduct of a party of Catawba Indians, 293. Approves the Indian dress, 294. His permission to Washington to attend the election at Winchester, 296. Resolves to construct a new road from Raystown to the Ohio, which is disapproved by Washington, 300, 311. Despatched to Fort Pitt; has a battle with the Indians near Turtle Creek, 340.

BOWDOIN, JAMES, president of the council of Massachusetts, IV. 33, V. 287, VII. 24. Procures information respecting Halifax, 37, 38.

BOWIE, his application for papers for memoirs of Washington, IX. 28, 102.

BOYD, ALEXANDER, II. 247.

BOYES, his manuscripts returned to him, V. 223.

BRADDOCK, EDWARD, General, papers relating to the expedition of, II. 23, 472. Arrives in Virginia; makes preparations for the campaign; invites Washington to join his family, 68. Requests a meeting of different governors to concert measures, 71. Meets them at Alexandria, 74. Joined by Washington at Frederic Town, 75. Reaches Fort Cumberland; appoints Washington aid-de-camp, 76. Complains of the contractors, 77, 469. Aided by Franklin, 78, 469. Calls a council of war at the Little Meadows, 81. Leaves Washington sick, who exacts a promise of joining him before reaching Fort Duquesne, 83, 85. Defeated at the battle of the Monongahela, 85, 473. Particulars of the battle, 85, 468. Conduct of the Virginia troops and the regulars under, 87, 470. Mortally wounded, 88, 471, 475. Troops under, rewarded, 97. News of the defeat of, reaches England, 122. Forces of, when at Will's Creek, 469. Description of his battle-ground, 470, 474. Number of killed and wounded, 471. Particulars taken from French narratives of his defeat, 472. The numbers of the enemy, 474. Causes of his defeat, 475. His death and burial, 476. Recovery of papers lost at the defeat of, IX. 102.

Braddock's Road, II. 295, 296, 298. Condition of, in 1758, 299, 300. History of, 302; 308.

BRADFORD, WILLIAM, appointed attorney-general, X. 403. Death of, XI. 62.

BRADFORD, commissary of prisoners, VII. 384.

Brandywine, battle of the, V. 57, 456. British loss at, 57, 58, 62. Lafayette's letter respecting, 455. Thanks of Congress thereupon, 470. Effects of, in France, 470.

BRANT, JOSEPH, commands Tories and Indians at Cherry Valley, VI. 112, 114; 266. Action with, at Newtown, 349. Flies towards Niagara, 356. Commits ravages on the Mohawk River, VII. 231. Arrives in Philadelphia, 240; 298, 299.

BRAXTON, CARTER, sent to turn the Virginia vote in Congress, concerning independence, III. 347.

BREARLEY, DAVID, Lieutenant-Colonel, appointed chief-justice of New Jersey, VII. 167. His opinion in the case of Hatfield and Badgely, VIII. 313, 537.

BREHAN, Marchioness de, her visit to Mount Vernon, IX. 438, 448, 453. Her portrait of Washington, X. 117.

Brest, equipment of the French squadron at, VII. 33. Second division of the French fleet blockaded at, 176, 178, 196, 319.

BREWER, JONATHAN, Colonel, his honorable conduct towards Colonel Whitcomb; appointed barrack-master, III. 161.

BRICE, Major, aid to Lafayette, V. 454.

Bricks, hints respecting, XII. 338.

BRINLEY, an engineer, XII 291.

British Army, its situation and strength in and about Boston, III. 17, 28, 30, 39, 40. See *Boston*. Reinforced, 40. Inactive, 53, 57. Prepares for winter, 103, 126. Measures for cutting off its supplies, 117. Reinforced in 1776, 222. Arrives at Staten Island, 463. Prepares for the campaign of 1777, IV. 386, 392, 437, 442. Importance of annoying, upon its first landing, 443. Advances to Somerset Court-House, and retreats, 462, 469, 479. Harassed in retiring to Amboy, 470. Excursion of, to Westfield, 474, 475, 479. See *Staten Island*. Embarkation of the, 481, 485. Lands near Elk, V. 45, 53. Desertions from the, 50. Passes the Schuylkill on the way to Philadelphia, 69, 71, 72, 102. Forces of the, 124, 127. Wants bread, 178. Their excursion to Chestnut Hill, 180. Forces in the; proposed campaign for 1778, 360, 361, 548. Evacuates Philadelphia and crosses Jersey, 409, 410, 414. Desertions from the, 420, 430, 434, 435. Leaves Monmouth, 427, 429, 432. Its loss in crossing the Jerseys, 434. Quits the Jerseys, 435–

437. Forces of the, in America, at different stages of the war; regulations for the Provincials, 542. Operations of the, in the campaign of 1779, VI. 367. Advance of, towards the borders of North Carolina, VII. 268. Force of the, VIII. 275. Evacuates New York, 501. See CARLETON, GAGE, HOWE, and *Staten Island*.

British Commissioners, expected; designs of the, III. 310. A resolve of Congress respecting the, 329. Injurious effects to be apprehended from their mission, 347. Other commissioners expected, V. 340, 383. The expectations of the British ministry therefrom, 341, 548. Virtually rejected, 344, 397, 412. Their arrival and names; their papers forwarded to Congress, 397, 398. Disposal of private letters commendatory of the, 400, 401, 403, 412. Their second letter to Congress, and the treatment of it, VI. 16. Their objectionable address to Congress after Governor Johnstone's resignation, and the consequences, 79. Their seditious papers, proclamation, and manifesto; and measures thereupon, 96. See CARLISLE, EDEN, HOWE, and JOHNSTONE.

British Debts, an objectionable bill respecting, IX. 275, 288.

British Fleet, cannot stay in Boston. III. 311. Remains in the outer harbour, after the evacuation, 324, 326, 330, 342. Number of the vessels that sail for Halifax, 326. Driven out of Nantasket Road, 432. Sails from Halifax for Sandy Hook, 441. Arrives, 443. Sails from the Hook, V. 3, 4. Arrives in the Chesapeake Bay, 41, 42, 44. Measures against the expected reinforcements to, from Cork, 440. The sailing of, from Sandy Hook, VI. 95, 100, 102. Sustains damage in the blockade of the French fleet at Newport, VII. 403, 431, 434, 435. Sails for the Chesapeake, 449, 457.

British Ministry, their incorrect information respecting America, and impracticable aims at the commencement of the revolutionary war, discernible in Lord Dartmouth's and General Gage's correspondence, III. 506. Did not approve the affair at Lexington, nor the burning of Falmouth, 520, 522. Their expectations from the commissioners for carrying into effect Lord North's bills, V. 341, 548. Constantly deceived respecting America, VI. 271. Reject the mediation of Spain, 320, 343. The improbability of their deriving succour from other powers, 343. Their little success in obtaining succours from Germany, 457. Their impressions respecting the condition of things in America, VII. 30. Morris's informal conferences with the, XII. 91. See DARTMOUTH, GERMAIN, NORTH, and TOWNSHEND.

British Treaty, reception of the, by the United States Senate, XI. 32. The President's views of the, 42. Misrepresented, 47, 50, 71. Ratified, 57. Opposed by seaport towns, 58 Ratified in London; papers in relation to, called for by the House of Representatives, 115, 122, 123, XII. 112. Approved at Philadelphia, 211. Disapproved in Camden and Orangeburg Districts, and at Georgetown, 212. Approbation of the, in Frederic County, 213. See *Great Britain* and JAY.

BRODHEAD, DANIEL, Colonel, at Fort Pitt; directions to, respecting the western Indian expedition, VI. 205, 224. His success, 384, 387. Proposes expeditions, 433. Wants supplies, VII. 270. To render aid to Colonel Clark in an expedition against Detroit, 343.

BROGLIE, Count de, discourages Lafayette's coming to America, V. 446.

BROGLIE, Prince de, visits head-quarters, VIII. 358.

BRONAUGH, WILLIAM, Captain, ordered to Fort Cumberland, II. 208.

BROOKE, ROBERT, Governor of Virginia, X. 22.

Brookfield, Massachusetts, fixed on for a laboratory, IV. 319.

BROOKS, ELEAZER, at the battle of Chatterton's Hill, IV. 528.

BROOKS, JOHN, Lieutenant-Colonel, chosen inspector, V. 348. On a committee from the army to Congress, VIII. 551, 552, 554, 564; X. 185. Commands troops at Cambridge, at the time of the President's visit, 490. Recommended for brigadier-general in the Provisional army, XI. 265.

BROOME, Colonel, IV. 10.

BROUGHTON, NICHOLSON, his instructions; with Captain Selman, sails to the St. Lawrence, III. 125, 135, 517. Their descent upon St. John's, 197.

BROWN, MONTFORT, Governor of Providence Island, captured, III. 353. Exchanged for Lord Stirling, IV. 105, 143, 148.

BROWN, Colonel, with thirty men, killed by the Indians, VII. 281.

BRUFF, Captain, at Fort Ontario, XI. 159.

Brunswic, the British army marches

to, after the battle at Princeton, IV. 261, 264. Skirmishes near, 264, 301. Evacuation of, 470, 472.

BUCHAN, Earl of, requests a portrait of Washington, X. 229. Sends him a box made of the oak that sheltered William Wallace, 231.

BUCHANAN, Colonel, visited by Washington, and accompanies him to Vass's Fort, II. 190, 194; 203.

Buchanan's Island, British troops transported to, IV. 92.

BUCKNER, Colonel, does not aid Colonel Parker; ordered under arrest, IV. 301.

Buck-wheat, cultivation, and the use made of, at Mount Vernon, XII. 320, 331, 340, 347. When to be sown, 342.

BULLEN, a Catawba warrior, proposes a plan for bringing in the Creek and Chickasaw Indians, II. 237.

BULLITT, THOMAS, Captain, commands at Fort Cumberland, II. 196. Conduct of, at Grant's defeat, 313; 376.

Bull's Ferry, near Fort Lee, expedition to, under Wayne, VII. 116.

Bunker's Hill, the number of killed and wounded at the battle of; an official account forwarded to England, III. 10, 25, 36, 38, 113, 511. Occupied by the British, 17, 28, 30, 43, 126. Houses burnt near, by Major Knowlton, 241. An attack on, unadvisable, 287. Left by the British in 1776, 319, 321; 328; 341; 343.

BUNNER, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed at Monmouth, V. 428, 429.

BURGOYNE, JOHN, III. 114. Going to England, 177, 181. Returns with an army, 432. Expected by way of the lakes, 464. Replies to General Lee and proposes an interview, 498. Information received respecting, IV. 466, 467. His intention to join Howe, 475, 476, 480. Means for opposing, 486, 489. Success of, 493. Brings mercenaries and savages, 500, 501. Moves in detachments, 503. His progress impeded, V. 2. Preparations for opposing, 3, 8, 18, 28, 31. Forces of, 19. His wants, 42. Success against; his capitulation, 74, 91 – 125, 137. His requests respecting embarkation, not granted, 186, 521. His opinion about the conquest of America, 186. Not to visit the seaport towns, 189. Friendly letter to, and his reply, upon leaving the country, 266, 267. His departure, 346, VI. 105. Resolve passed for his recall, countermanded; proposal made for his exchange, VIII. 15. Proposal to exchange for President Laurens, 125, 240. See *Convention Troops*.

BURKE, ÆDANUS, his pamphlet on the Society of the Cincinnati, IX. 28.

BURKE, EDMUND, on Indian alliances, V. 275.

BURKE, THOMAS, his sketch of a warm debate in Congress respecting the army, IV. 326. Brings charges against General Sullivan, V. 457.

BURNABY, ANDREW, facts taken from his "Travels in America," II. 182, 421.

BURR, AARON, Lieutenant-Colonel, V. 64. Has permission to retire from the army, VI. 101. His resignation, 213.

BURRELL, appointed colonel of the Connecticut regiment raised after Montgomery's defeat, III. 262.

BURTON, Colonel, II. 82. Wounded at the battle of the Monongahela, 86, 471.

BUSHKIRK, a British lieutenant-colonel, IV. 423. Expedition of, against Elizabethtown, VI. 452.

BUSHNELL, and his projects for the destruction of ships, IX. 134.

Business, maxims for, XI. 148.

Busts of Lafayette, voted by the General Assembly of Virginia, IX. 51.

BUTLER, RICHARD, Colonel, commended for his conduct at the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, VII. 349, 351. Appointed superintendent of Indian affairs; agency of, in procuring an Indian vocabulary, IX. 213, 301, 306, 341. Queries proposed to, respecting western inland navigation, 302. Commands the levies against the western Indians, X. 151.

BUTLER, THOMAS, Colonel, at the battle of Monmouth, V. 425.

BUTLER, WALTER, an officer at the attack on Cherry Valley, VI. 112, 114; 206. Action with, at Newtown, 349. Flies toward Niagara, 356.

BUTLER, WILLIAM, a veteran soldier, his remarks respecting Braddock's defeat, II. 475.

BUTLER, WILLIAM, Lieutenant-Colonel, sent against Indians and Tories on the frontiers, VI. 38, 39. Destroys the Anaquaga and Unadilla settlements, 98.

BUTLER, ZEBULON, Colonel, at Wyoming, VII. 345, 346.

BYRD, WILLIAM, Colonel, appointed a commissioner to the southern Indians, II. 114. Commands the new Virginia regiments, 281. Posts a company at Edwards's and Pearsall's Forts and arrives at Fort Cumberland, 293.

BYRON, Admiral, arrival of the fleet of, VI. 59, 237, 238. Engagement of, with Count d'Estaing, 320

C.

Cabinet of the President, the first appointment of the members of, X. 11. Questions proposed to, in view of the expected expedition from Canada against Louisiana, 113. The President's route for his southern tour communicated to, with instructions, 157. Dissensions in the, between Hamilton and Jefferson, 280, 283, 306, 515. On the induction of the President into office, 321. Meeting of, called for instructions to commissioners for a treaty with the Indians, 328. Questions sent to, relating to the proclamation of neutrality and the reception of the French minister; and their opinions, 337, 533. Consulted respecting vessels fitting out as privateers, 345; about a British letter of marque in New York, 354. Proceedings in, on the *Little Sarah* and M. Genet, 355, 356, 360, 361, 536. Consulted on the expediency of arming and equipping vessels, 361; and on an immediate convocation of Congress, 362. Prepares eight rules about the equipment of vessels in the ports of the United States by belligerent powers, and favors the recall of Genet, 363, 546. Case of the *Citizen Genet*, a privateer, submitted to, 366 Consulted on Van Berckel's request respecting the Dutch consul Heinaken, XI. 27, 28. Questions proposed to, on the ratification of Jay's treaty, 31. Consulted on the proceedings in Boston relating to the British treaty, 35. Proceedings on the ratification of the British treaty, 57. On a call for papers in relation to the British treaty, 114. On a minister to France, and Mr. Monroe's recall, 132, 483. On a mission to France, 572. List of the members of, during Washington's administration, XII. 432.

Cabot, George, the correspondence with, upon the arrival of George Washington Lafayette, XI. 64, 66, 71, 95.

Cadwalader, John, General, directions to, before the battle of Trenton, IV. 241. Prevented by the ice from crossing the Delaware, 247. His movements, 248. Marches to Bordentown, 250. Joins the army at Trenton, 258. Recommended to Congress, 292. Declines his appointment as brigadier-general, 329. Despatched to arrange the Maryland Eastern Shore militia, V. 52. His aid solicited at camp, 289. Marches against the enemy's rear, 417. His duel with Conway, 516. Regrets not having accepted the appointment of Congress, VII. 230, 231; XII. 309.

Cadwalader, Lambert, Colonel, IV. 180. Taken prisoner and released without parole, 188.

Caldwell, James, suggests the removal of the Jersey troops to Morristown, VII. 406.

Caldwell, Joseph, XII. 213.

Caldwell, Mrs., shot, VII. 76.

Call, Major, conduct of, X. 269, 273.

Callbeck, Philip, President of the Council, and acting governor of St. John's, brought away by violence; presents a memorial to Washington, and is discharged; his letter cited, III. 193, 194.

Callender, John, Captain, court martial respecting, III. 490.

Calvert, Benedict, II. 370.

Cambridge, troops at, III. 6. Washington arrives there and takes command of the army, 14, 27, 38, 484. Determination of the first council of war at, 16, 18, 19. Provincial Congress at, 44. Conference there, between a committee of Congress, delegates from four colonies, and the Commander-in-chief, respecting the army, 123. Council of war there, 249, 251, 253. Visited by the President in 1789, X. 47, 48, 490, 491. See *Army*.

Camden, Lord, his remarks in Parliament respecting America, V. 247.

Camden, Gates's defeat near, VII. 185, 186, 189, 191, 197, 201, 205, 326. Address to the inhabitants of; Baron de Kalb buried at, XII. 200. Disapprobation of the British treaty by the citizens of the District of, 212.

Campbell, Alexander, district attorney for Virginia, X. 195.

Campbell, Archibald, a British lieutenant-colonel, taken, III. 432. In Concord gaol; writes to Washington and Howe respecting his treatment, IV. 330 – 333, 556. Resolve of Congress respecting; and its impolicy, 334, 342, 350. Unjustifiable treatment of, 440, 460, 556, 557, 559. To be treated with kindness, 461. Proposition to exchange, V. 24, 269, 272, 310, 539. Exchanged, 362.

Campbell, a British general, V. 64. At Staten Island, 105, 174. Claims officers from Governor Livingston, 183. Commissioner at the meeting at Tappan, in regard to prisoners, VIII. 342.

Campbell, a British lieutenant-colonel,

killed in the attack on Fort Montgomery, V. 105, 474.
CAMPBELL, Captain, his proposal to bring off prisoners on parole, from Long Island, VI. 173.
CAMPBELL, Major, at the battle of Germantown, V. 468.
Canada, expedition to, II. 29. Situation of affairs in, III. 143. The raising of troops for, 249. General Thomas appointed to the command there; artillery ordered to, 333, 348. Officers there think themselves neglected in the new arrangement, 349. Importance of securing; detachments sent to, 365, 375. Commissioners sent there from Congress with instructions, 390. Sad condition of affairs at, 390 – 393, 406, 432. Reinforcements voted for, 407. Deplorable condition of the army there, 411. American army driven out of, 423, 445. Alarm and exposure in consequence of the army's retreat from, 465. Number of prisoners taken in, IV. 548. Expedition to, proposed, in 1778; troops ordered to the Highlands, V. 281, 285, 286, 291, 300. Importance of its union with the States, 359. Expedition to, in 1778–9, proposed, VI. 64, 72, 106 – 121, 135, 145, 165, 214, 544. Plan of the expedition to, 106, 160, 215, 342, 307, 308. Objection to introducing French troops into, 107. British troops despatched to, from New York, 367, 372, 384. A French missionary offers to visit, as secret emissary, 422. Another proposition for an expedition to, 423. See LAFAYETTE and WOOSTER.
Canadian Refugees, land ceded to, X. 65.
Canadian Regiments, III. 174. See *Congress's Own*, HAZEN, and LIVINGSTON.
Canadians, seem averse to engaging in the war, III. 41. Friendly, 55, 60, 119. Advice to Schuyler respecting, 82. Instructions to Arnold respecting, 86, 90. Address to the, circulated by Arnold, 92. Invited to send delegates to Congress; exertions to raise a regiment of, 174. Ill treated and unfriendly, 362. Character of, 425. Dispositions of, after the French treaty, VI. 308. Lafayette's proclamation to, VII. 44, 72.
CANNON, Colonel, agent in regard to Western lands, XII. 317.
CAPELLEN, VAN DER, of Holland, corresponds with Governor Livingston, VI 414.
Capitol, Blodget's plan of the, X. 278; XII. 322. On the situation of the, 334.
CAREY, JOHN, publishes Washington's "Official Letters to Congress," XI. 185, 217.
CAREY, MATHEW, letter to, about the *American Museum*, XII. 296.
CAREY, Colonel, at New York, IV. 27.
CARLETON, SIR GUY, threatens a descent upon Crown Point and Ticonderoga, III. 41. Solicits the Indians' aid, 54. Cited respecting the disposition of the Indians and Canadians, 119. His escape from Montreal, 207. Proclamation by, forwarded to Congress, 219. His conduct to the captured and wounded, 268. Transmits a copy of his orders, IV. 56; their remarkable character, 57. Made a knight of the Bath, 143. Obliged to return to Canada, 173. Succeeds Clinton as commander of the British army, VIII. 281, 536. Charged with a commission of peace; forwards papers, 294, 295, 299, 536. Allusions of, to the affair of Huddy, 296, 536. His request for a passport for Morgann to go to Congress, 296, 537. Instructions to, upon his leaving England, 297. His advances respecting peace, 312. Correspondence with, about the case of Hatfield and Badgely; a refusal to correspond with, on civil affairs, 312, 317, 537, 539. His proposition to exchange American seamen for British soldiers, 317, 338, 540. Correspondence with, respecting Lippencot's trial; asks a passport for Chief Justice Smith, 324, 336, 537; on the recall of Cornwallis and release of Laurens; his reason for not evacuating New York; ordered to the West Indies, 325. His despatches on negotiations for peace and exchange of prisoners, 325, 326, 540. Reprobates the conduct of Lippencot, 336, 363. On the incursions of Indians, 343. Written to, and replies, on the liquidation of the accounts of prisoners, 352, 541. Informed of Asgill's release, 363. Communicates official intelligence of peace, 415, 542. Correspondence with, on plans for releasing prisoners and evacuating posts, 427, 431, 543. His interview with the Commander-in-chief, 427, 430, 543. Correspondence with, on the evacuation of Penobscot and New York, 490, 497 – 502, 545 – 547. His departure, 500 – 502.
CARLISLE, Earl of, a commissioner for carrying into effect Lord North's bills, V. 397, 398. Declines Lafayette's challenge, VI. 79.

Carlisle, fixed on, for a laboratory, IV. 319. Address to the inhabitants of the borough of, XII. 210.
CARLYLE, JOHN, would furnish supplies to the soldiers, II. 3. Neglect of the deputies of, 42, 43. Sent to the governor on business, 62. His willingness to contract for clothing, 100. A witness, 132.
CARLYLE AND ADAM, contract for wheat, XII. 259.
CARMARTHEN, Lord, on the infraction of the treaty of peace, IX. 179.
CARMICHAEL, WILLIAM, secretary to John Jay, VI. 385. Refusal of the Spanish Court to receive, as *Chargé d'Affaires*, VIII. 413, X. 74. Neglects to forward information, 278, 369. Instructions sent to, by David Humphreys, XII. 92.
CARR, a British colonel, wounded, IV. 160.
CARRINGTON, EDWARD, Lieutenant-Colonel, a commissioner for exchange of prisoners, VI. 483. Consulted about persons to fill offices, XI. 78, 80, 83, 90. Declines the office of Secretary of War, 106. On the British treaty, 121. Recommended for quartermaster-general for the Provisional army, 265, 269, 299. His aid solicited in relation to officers for the Provisional army, 429.
CARROLL, CHARLES, of Carrollton, a commissioner to Canada, III. 390. Visits the camp on a committee from Congress, V. 71, 213. His sentiments at the time of Conway's cabal, 373. Declines the appointment of Indian commissioner, X. 313.
CARROLL, JOHN, a Catholic clergyman, accompanies the commissioners to Canada, III. 390. Archbishop; reply to his memorial about instructing the Indians, X. 228.
Carrots, on raising, IX. 324, XII. 343, 344.
CARTER, CHARLES, his statements to Captain Peachey, II. 254. The publishing of a letter to, IX. 308, 313.
CARTER, LANDON, complains that England neglects Virginia, II. 145; V. 388.
Carthagena, unsuccessfully besieged, II. 421.
CARY, ROBERT, instructions to, on business, II. 328 - 331, 337, 341; respecting tobacco, XII. 251, 257, 260. Invoices sent to, 253, 262. Sends to Virginia for tobacco, 257, 258. His sales not approved, 258, 260.
CASSATY, JAMES, despatched from Fort Rensselaer to Detroit, to prepare for Baron Steuben's arrival, VIII. 471.
Castle William, III. 54, 114. On surprising, 162.
CASTRIES, Marquis de, opinions respecting, VII. 324.
CASWELL, RICHARD, Colonel, captures General McDonald, IV. 78. Governor of North Carolina, 305. Visited by Lafayette, V. 454.
Catawba Creek, Fort William at the head of the, attacked, and the settlement there broken up, II. 190. Washington meets Colonel Buchanan at, 194.
Catholics. See *Roman Catholics*.
Cattle, price of, XII. 294. Number of, at Mount Vernon, 314. On penning and feeding, 363, 364. See *Stock*.
Cavalry, sent from Connecticut to New York, and cannot be kept, III. 453, 465. American army destitute of, 454. First return of, 494. Proposition for forming a company of, IV. 14. A body of, equipped by the British, 152. Pulaski appointed to command the, V. 48, 49. Under the exclusive direction of Congress; to be credited to the quotas of States, VI. 197. Scarcity of, VII. 82. Substitute recommended for regiments of, 252. See *Maréchaussé* and *Orderly Book*.
Cayenne, Lafayette's plantation at, IX. 163.
Cedars, defeat of Bedel at the, III. 408. Cowardly conduct at, 417. Americans taken prisoners, killed and plundered at; capitulation; the consequent proceedings of Congress, IV. 1 - 3, 56, 549. Virtual refusal of Congress to confirm the capitulation, communicated to the British officers in Canada; and their conduct, 56. Hostages given at, VI. 481. Measures for exchanging prisoners taken at, 512, VIII. 71, 125 - 127.
CELERON, a French officer, deposites metallic plates near the banks of the Ohio River, II. 430.
Cements, experiments relative to, IX. 456.
CENIS, recommended by Franklin and Turgot, V. 32.
Census, on the first taking of the, in the United States, X. 176, 185, XII. 22.
Cerberus, a British man-of-war, threatens Falmouth, III. 144.
Chain of Forts. See *Forts*.
CHALMERS, GEORGE, his assertion respecting the early purpose of American Independence, II. 496.

CHALMERS, raises loyalist troops, IV. 523.
Chamblee, Fort, surrenders, III. 142. Number of prisoners taken at, IV. 548.
CHAMPE, JOHN, Sergeant, his adventure to seize the person of Arnold in New York, VII. 545–549.
Champlain, Lake, III. 41. Fleet on, IV. 12. Destruction of the fleet on, 155.
Chaplaincy in the army, advised, II. 188, 200, 203, 278. Dinwiddie's remarks on a, 200, 201. Is provided for, 278. Inadequacy of the pay; importance of, III. 220. Advance of the pay of; officers ordered to fill the, 456. Number of persons allowed, IV. 436. Washington's agency in regard to the, XII. 399.
CHAPMAN, Major, II. 78. Left by Braddock, 82.
Chargé d'Affaires, non-concurrence of Portugal in the grade of, XII. 93.
Charleston, Lafayette's account of, V. 452. Apprehensions for its safety, VII. 10, 19, 22, 42. Capitulation of, 69, 326. Gazette published at, by the British, 92. Inquiry into the loss of, 102. Considerations about the reduction of, 326, 328, 329, 408. Leslie arrives at, 348. Importance of, to the enemy, VIII. 130. Rutledge's proposition for a combined attack on, 173, 200. Proposition to Count de Grasse to attack, 185. British evacuation of, 340, 359. Visited by the President, X. 144, 146, 152, 157, 161. Donation to sufferers there by a fire, XI. 164. Address and resolutions passed at, sustaining the Executive, 236. President's address to the citizens of, in 1791, XII. 196.
CHASE, SAMUEL, a commissioner to Canada, III. 390. On a committee of Congress to inquire into the conduct of the British and Hessian officers towards Americans, IV. 309. On a committee reporting a plan for the government of the Western Territory, IX. 47. Appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, XI. 107; 240.
CHASTELLUX, a French major-general, visits head-quarters and Philadelphia, VII. 308, 319, 325. Commended, 336; VIII. 4. To command a proposed expedition to Penobscot, 10. Present at the Wethersfield interview, 54. His intercepted letter, 60; 87. Has an interview with Count de Grasse, 162. Letter to, on leaving the country, 366; 468 Humorous letter to, about his marriage, IX. 346.
CHASTELLUX, Madame de, her application for aid, XII. 319.
Chatterton's Hill, battle at, IV. 526.
Chaudière River, III. 112.
CHEESMAN, Captain, death and burial of, at Quebec, III. 264.
Cherau Neck, action at, VIII. 357.
Cherry Valley, attack upon, VI. 111, 114, 122, 185.
Chesapeake Bay, threatened and deserted, III. 339. British expedition in the, VI. 261. Arrival of the French fleet in the, VIII. 148, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160. French fleet leaves the, 197.
Chestnut Hill, Howe's expedition to, and loss, V. 180, 182, 238.
CHIAPPE, FRANCO, American agent at Mogadore, X. 61.
CHILD, MOSES, III. 169, 170, 289.
CHIPMAN, JOHN, Captain, detaches men to Fort Edward; skirmish, loss, and capitulation of, at Fort George, VII. 269, 270.
CHITTENDEN, THOMAS, governor of Vermont, letter to, about the jurisdiction of the State and its negotiations with the enemy; its effects, VIII. 220, 384. Letter respecting his remonstrance to Congress, 382.
CHOISY, a French brigadier-general, commands at Newport, VIII. 64, 65. Arrival of, in the Chesapeake, 161. Commands the American and French troops at Gloucester, 168. Directions to, in regard to the surrender of Gloucester, 182. His march with troops to Charlotte County, 259. Sent to Governor Hancock about Vaudreuil's proposed expedition to Penobscot, 329. Sails for France, 369.
CHOUIN, Major, despatched by Count d'Estaing to Congress; visits the Commander-in-chief, VI. 4, 13.
CHURCH, BENJAMIN, recommended; on a committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress to accompany the Commander-in-chief to Cambridge, III. 20, 484. His letter in cipher to Major Cane; his trial, 115, 502. Imprisoned in Connecticut, 167, 505. Biographical notice of, 502.
Cincinnati, Society of the, meeting of, at Philadelphia, in 1784, IX. 21, 42, 47, 495. Particulars of the institution of the, 22, 216, 252. Jealousy of the, 26, 28, 35, 216, 495. Judge Burke's pamphlet, 28. The wearing of the order of, not permitted in Sweden, 56. Alterations in its rules, 47, 127, 217

256, 495. Mirabeau's "Considerations," 147. Washington, president, 212, 256. Meeting of, in 1787; circumstances connected with it and with Washington's attendance, 212, 216, 219, 222, 229, 236, 245, 251, 253, 254. Extract from the *Encyclopédie* respecting, 255. Address to the State Society of the, in Pennsylvania, in 1789, XII. 142. Address to the, in 1790, 183. Unreasonable prejudices against it, 298.

Citizen Genet, a privateer, X. 360, 366.

Clandenen, George, requests made of, about western lands, XII. 301.

Clark, George Rogers, his spirited enterprise against Fort St. Vincent's and capture of Governor Hamilton, VI. 316. His proposed expedition against Detroit, VII. 342.

Clarke, Abraham, censures the proclamation imposing the oath of allegiance, IV. 298.

Claypoole, printer of the Farewell Address, XII. 235. Cited respecting it, 396.

Clergy, Assessment Bill of Virginia, in relation to the support of the, IX. 136. Influence of, in Massachusetts, 330.

Clifton, Colonel, enlists loyalists, IV. 523.

Clinton, George, brigadier-general of the militia on Hudson's River, III. 469. Appointed to command the levies on Hudson's River, IV. 10, 35. Opposes the evacuation of New York, 92. Ordered to concert with Lincoln and others an expedition against Long Island, 126. Commands the New York militia attached to the general army, 149. Ordered to fortify Fort Montgomery, 409; to call out militia, 478, 480. Chosen governor of New York, V. 20. Resumes the command of Fort Montgomery, 27. Provides forces to oppose the enemy, 28. His presence at the northward recommended; his account of the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton, 31, 472. Letter of, transmitted to Congress, 129. Declines taking the direction of the works on the Hudson, 177, 178, 281. Discountenances an enterprise against New York city, 303; 387; VI. 121. Requested to dismiss the New York militia, 409; to befriend Major Ballard, 416. Goes to Schenectady; is furnished with troops, VII. 271, 281. His safe return; inquiries made of, 281. Invested with powers for completing the army, 283. Threatened with capture or assassination, 472. Consulted about a *Peace Establishment*, VIII. 417, 485. At the conference between the Commander-in-chief and Sir Guy Carleton, 427; 485. His difficulty with Hamilton, IX. 272. Written to, about the western posts, X. 192; about the nomination of a supervisor, 221; about Lord Dorchester's speech, 394.

Clinton, Sir Henry, British general, III. 114. Goes to North Carolina, 223, 256, 301. Arrives at New York; Lord Germain cited, respecting his expedition to the south, IV. 27. Visits England, is knighted; returns; claims a spy of General Putnam, V. 27, 64. His incursion into New Jersey, 64; 114. Commands the expedition against Fort Montgomery, 105, 475. Fails to join Burgoyne, 119. His letter to Burgoyne, taken out of a bullet, 131. Plan for taking the person of, 261. Succeeds Sir William Howe in the command of the British army; instructions to, 337, 395, 548. An interview proposed by, 394. His request of a passport for Ferguson, 397, 404, 411. Takes the place of Howe with Lord North's commissioners, 397. Evacuates Philadelphia, 409. His route, 420. Ordered to despatch men to the West Indies, VI. 60. Writes to Lord Germain about the diminution of his army, and detachments, 88. Gives no passports for transporting flour and fuel to the convention troops, 94, 96. Cited respecting expeditions to St. Augustine and Savannah, 101. Proposes a meeting of commissioners for an exchange of the convention troops; calls for officers on parole, 139. Letters to and from, respecting an exchange of prisoners, 194, 213, 507, 509, 513. To keep the seacoast alarmed, 208. On Long Island, 209. His expedition against Stony and Verplanck's Points, 269, 270, 272. Dissatisfied with his instructions, 270, 271. His situation, July 28th, 1779, 307. Disappointed in not receiving reinforcements; his proposed expedition to South Carolina and Georgia, 327, 341, 358, 426, 486. Weary of the service; solicits a recall; recommends Lord Cornwallis as his successor; is commended by the King, 345, 346. Sends troops to Jamaica, 358. His arrival at the southward and progress to Stono, VII. 18. Number of troops and ships engaged in his expedition to Carolina, 40. Cited about Lafayette's proclamation to the Canadians, 45. His return to New York,

69, 74, 84, 85. Cited respecting the expedition against Springfield, 86. Accedes to a proposition to appoint agents for prisoners, 123. His kind treatment of prisoners, 123. His expedition against Rochambeau, 131–146. Lands troops on Long Island, 137, 143, 147. Number of troops under, 197. Correspondence with, about the treatment of prisoners taken at Charleston, 234, 552. His exertions in behalf of André, 236, 534, 538, 539. His measures to aid the British movements at the south, and detachment of Leslie, 269. Declines granting Mathews's request, 277. On an exchange of prisoners, 302. Makes an embarkation for the southward, 325. Humphreys' attempt to surprise and seize, 338. Sends emissaries to the Pennsylvania line, 359, 362, 472. Cited respecting his numbers, and the comparative importance of different southern States, 458. Misconstrues intercepted letters respecting an attack on New York, VIII. 60. Extracts from intercepted letters to, 112, 519. Sends conditional instructions to Lord Cornwallis to forward a detachment to New York, 116. His solicitation of a recall, 119, 281. Proposition to, for a meeting of commissioners in relation to prisoners, 215, 245, 247. The application to, for Lippencot as a subject for retaliation, 263, 264, 265, 280, 292. His account of the meeting of commissioners at Elizabethtown, 278. His return to England, 281. His disapprobation of Lippencot's conduct, 338. Measures taken to bewilder him in the campaign of 1781, IX. 404.

Clinton, James, Colonel, III. 469. Appointed brigadier-general, IV. 32. Commands at the Highlands, in the Continental service, 149. Wounded at Fort Montgomery, V. 475 Ordered to Albany, VI. 111. Ordered on the Western expedition, under Sullivan, 264, 275. His movements censured, but prove successful, 280. Directed to march to the northward, upon the incursion of Sir John Johnson, VII 64; to take the command of the northern department, 279, 280, 282; to make provision for replacing troops to be recalled from the frontiers, VIII. 79; to send troops toward York Island, 89.

Clinton, Fort, repaired by the British, IV. 104. Inquiry into the loss of, 280. Progress of the works at, VI. 67.

Closen, Baron, aid to Rochambeau, despatched to Count de Grasse, with intelligence of Admiral Digby's arrival, VIII. 162.

Clothing, want of, in the army, III. 21, 210. Designed for the army, stopped by the New York Convention, IV. 299. Want of, and measures for procuring, V. 67, 100, 155, 156, 199, 225, 329. Purchases of, 156. Sufficiency of, VI. 127, 192, 253. Perplexities about a supply of, 408. Mismanagement in the department of, 201, 397. Method of providing, condemned, and a remedy proposed, VII. 298. Want of 351–355, 388. Non-arrival of, from France, 360; VIII. 287.

Clough, Alexander, Major, to procure intelligence from New York, VI. 40. Barbarously and mortally wounded, 75, 76.

Clove, camp at the, IV. 495. Advance into the, 501.

Clover lots, on the River Farm, XII. 362. On the Union Farm, 370.

Clymer, George, on a committee of Congress to remain in Philadelphia, IV. 253, 552. Written to, after the battle at Trenton, 256.

Cobb, David, Lieutenant-Colonel, aid to the Commander-in-chief, despatched to Rochambeau, VIII. 84. Despatched again, with a detailed plan of an attack on the north part of New York Island, 88. Sent to Sir Guy Carleton, 497; IX. 3.

Cobbett, William, XI. 181.

Cobble Hill, near Boston, fortified, III. 172, 175.

Cochran, John, commended, VII. 192.

Coinage, plans of, IX. 125.

Coins, scarcity of small, XII. 25.

Cole River, Washington's lands at, XII. 319.

Colerain, unsuccessful meeting of deputies at, from the Creek nation, XII. 65.

Colerus, Major, IV. 429.

Cole's Fort, in the Minisink settlement, VI. 113, 123.

Collier, Sir George, VI. 294. Goes to Penobscot, 307, 350.

Collins, John, Governor of Rhode Island, states grounds of opposition to the Federal Constitution, X. 39, 487.

Collins, apprehended, and sent to Philadelphia for trial, IV. 374.

Columbia, District of, proclamation and particulars respecting the limits, and establishment of, as a permanent seat of government, X. 147. See *Federal City* and *Government*.

Combahee River, British detachment sent to the, VIII. 357.

Commander-in-chief of the American

army, circumstances, and political motives connected with the choice of a, III, 1, 479. His arrival in Cambridge to take command of the army, 14, 484. Three aids-de-camp allowed to, 269. Guard of the, IV. 407. His commission and his instructions, 482, 483, IX. 16, 17. List of his aids-de-camp, XII. 415.

Commerce, the enlargement of the powers of Congress for the regulation of, IX. 122, 125, 145, 501. Advantages or evils of foreign, 140, 194. Curtailed for want of credit, 464. On the formation of a treaty of, with Great Britain, X. 43. A navy necessary for the protection of, XII. 68. British ministry avoid direct answers about a treaty of, 91. General policy in regard to, 232. See *Trade*.

Commissary, in the French war, some of the duties of, in Virginia, II. 259. In the American army, recommended, III. 21. Pay of, recommended to be increased, 414.

Commissioners to France, instructed to procure engineers, IV. 491. Disagree, V. 383. See *British Commissioners*.

Commissions, retained by the Commander-in-chief, III. 22. Issued, who may apply for, 102; 108; 387. Persons holding, under the crown, 145, 159. Comparative pecuniary value of, in the two armies, V. 322. See *Foreign Officers*, *Officers*, and *Rank*.

Committee from Congress, to the army, III. 123. To the Northern Department, 174. To the main army, IV. 117, 130. To remain in Philadelphia, 253. Sent to camp, V. 212, 231. At Philadelphia, consults and corresponds with the Commander-in-chief, VI. 153, 167. To the army, with extensive powers, VII. 14. To promote a coöperation with the French fleet and army, 33, 34, 47, 50. Addresses a circular to the different States, 50, 70, 80; 179. Importance of the measures recommended by, 93. The powers of, 121. Reception of, on their return to Congress, 226.

Common Sense, a pamphlet, commended, III. 276. Effects of, 347, IX. 49.

Commutation, opposition to, in Connecticut, IX. 6. Not approved, 210, 280, 285. See *Specific supplies*.

Company, rules and directions respecting, II. 411, IX. 482. The reception of, by the President, X. 18, 99.

Conciliatory Bills. See North.

Concord, remarks on the march of the British troops to, II. 406. Provincial Congress adjourned to, III. 44.

Confederacies, abstract of the general principles of ancient and modern, IX. 521.

Confederation of the United States, completed, VII. 456. Defects and necessity of a reform in the, VIII. 410. Impotency of the, IX. 140, 167, 187, 298. A paper drawn up with a view to reforming it, 249, 521.

Confiscation, on restitution for, VIII. 542.

Congregational Church and Society of Medway, address to the, XII. 198.

Congress, Continental, first suggested by Franklin, II. 396. Appoints Washington commander-in-chief of the American army, III. 1–6, 481. Consents to a Continental currency; votes a Continental army; appoints officers, 6, 23. John Hancock chosen president of, 37. Resolves by, respecting Canada, 41. Recommends to Maschusetts the old form of an Assembly for a form of government, 44. Jealous of military power, 51. Raises rifle companies, 100. Appoints a committee respecting the army, 123. Orders vessels to intercept brigantines, 125. Resolves of, respecting Nova Scotia, 169. Sends a committee to the Northern Department, having instructions to invite delegates from Canada to Congress, and to raise a regiment of Canadians, 174. Declaration of, respecting the proclamation of the King, 204. Resolves on nine battalions for the defence of Canada, 250. Their resolve respecting the mode of receiving the expected commissioners, 329. Jealousies and party feelings in, about independence, 347, 357. Orders naval officers before it, to answer for their conduct, 353. Votes thanks after the evacuation of Boston, 360, 533. Sends commissioners to Canada, 390. Appoints a fast, 392. Visit to, by the Commander-in-chief, 395, 402–406. Votes to employ Indians, 407, 431. Recalls Wooster from Canada, 411. Offers a bounty for captures by Indians, 431. Votes to augment the forces in the Northern Department, 443; to raise companies of Germans and riflemen, 444. Declares Independence, 455. Resolution of, respecting the letter addressed to "George Washington, Esq.," 474. Measures taken by, in regard to the Indians, 496. Appoints officers, IV. 32. Public papers confided to the care of, 46. Proceedings of, respecting the affair at the Cedars, 56; in relation to the mission

of Sullivan by Howe, 97. Reorganizes the army, 116. Committee of, visits camp, 117, 130. Resolutions of, respecting the appointment of officers, enlistments, and bounties, 134. Warm debate in, respecting the army; hostile feelings to the Commander-in-chief, 227. Appoints five major-generals and ten brigadiers, 329. Their resolve before their adjournment to Baltimore, 210, 222. Confers extraordinary powers on Washington, and issues a circular to the governors of the States, 222, 256, 560. Appoints a committee to remain in Philadelphia, 253. Valuable men absent, 341. Authorizes the States to fill military vacancies, 293. Condemns the distinctive appellations of regiments, 294. Appoints Lafayette major-general, V. 19, 454. Their plan for raising recruits under the direction of the State authorities, 15. *Yeas* and *nays* first entered in the journals of, in the question about Arnold's rank, 25. Confers extraordinary powers on the Commander-in-chief, 65. Adjourns to Lancaster, and afterwards to York, 69. Hancock retires from, 106, 133. Henry Laurens appointed President, 120. Disposition of, towards Washington, 203, 300, 423. Sends a committee to camp to mature a new system of arrangements, 212, 213, 231. Appoints commissioners to confer about prisoners, 272, 294, 317. Authorizes the Commander-in-chief to call out five thousand militia, 311, 317. Numbers, and able men absent from, 326, 327, 350, 496, 508. Indecision and delay of, 328, 508. Spurious resolves attributed to, 332, 333, 336. Proceedings of, in relation to Lord North's bills and commissioners, 344, 397, 398, 401. Their reception of the news of the French treaty, 353, 357. Adjourns to Philadelphia, 436. Votes thanks after the battle of Monmouth, 438. Proceedings of, in regard to Governor Johnstone, VI. 32. Recommends to young men to organize themselves into cavalry, 35. Visited by the Commander-in-chief; the mode of his reception, 137. Henry Laurens leaves the presidency of, 140. John Jay chosen President, 141, 378. Able men withdrawn from, 142–144, 151, 152. Consultation and correspondence of a committee of, with the Commander-in-chief, 153, 158, 167. Empowers him to negotiate a cartel of exchange for all prisoners, and renews the same, 195, 436. Authorizes him to conduct the military operations as shall appear to him most expedient, 241. Projects and parties in, 271, 341, 551. Discordant spirit in, diminished, 364. Invests the Commander-in-chief with an unqualified power to coöperate with Count d'Estaing, 382. Jay leaves the chair of, 397. Samuel Huntington, president of, 89. Proceedings of, in the election of Adams and Jay as ministers plenipotentiary, 395, 396. Faction in, respecting the Commander-in-chief, 421, 492. On Greene's request for an inquiry into his conduct, VII. 5. On a committee to visit head-quarters, 14. Jealous of the power of the Commander-in-chief, 15. A committee of, sent to the army, 33, 34, 47, 50. Incompetent powers of, 55, 67–69, 391, 442. Parties in, 92, 93. Confers powers on the Commander-in-chief for exchanging prisoners, 104. Proceedings in, relative to Greene's resignation as quartermaster, 150. Enlarges the powers of the Commander-in-chief, 155, 157, 189. Party-spirit in, 226. Appoints Colonel Laurens to go as special minister to solicit succours of France, 340, 341, 379. Measures adopted by, in regard to the revolt in the Pennsylvania line, 359. Disposition of, towards Franklin, 379, 380. Establishes departments of war, finance, and foreign affairs, 399, 400. Should be vested with legislative or controlling powers, 401, 442, 463. Resolve of, respecting Washington's public letters and documents, 468. Orders the recall of Burgoyne, and countermands the order, VIII. 15. The resolutions of, to establish separate departments, and the not filling of them, 39. Thomas McKean chosen to succeed Huntington as president of, 112, 114. Resolves of, after Lord Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, 184. Appoints a day of public prayer and thanksgiving, 207. Proceedings and resolves of, in relation to Lafayette, upon his second return to France, 207. John Hanson chosen president of, 209. Reception of the Commander-in-chief by, 211. Orders an inquiry respecting the Board of Directors of the Associated Loyalists, 218, 252. Gives the Commander-in-chief powers for exchanging prisoners, with a secret instruction as to Cornwallis, 243. Committee of, reports on Bieniewsky's plan of raising troops in Germany, 270. Their treatment of Sir Guy Carleton's advances

in regard to peace, 296. Approves and orders retaliation in the case of Huddy, 310, 351. Repeals the resolution for an inquiry into Gates's conduct at Camden, 331. On the release of Cornwallis and exchange of prisoners; state of opinions in, 334, 547. Delay of, in the case of Huddy and Asgill, 350. Elias Boudinot chosen President of, 376. Resolves of, about the operations of 1783, 379. A committee of, recommended for the arrangements in the army after the intelligence of peace, 420, 422. Orders the cessation of hostilities, 421, 425. Resolves of, respecting the times of service, furloughs, and gratuities of arms and accoutrements to soldiers, 424. Instructs the Commander-in-chief to make arrangements with Sir Guy Carleton, 428. Sends to Washington about the mutinous temper of the troops in Philadelphia; adjourns and re-assembles at Princeton, 457. Attendance on, by the Commander-in-chief, and his reception, 468, 469, 473, 474. Resolves of, respecting a statue of him, 472. Delays to act on the peace establishment, and on a seat of government, 485. Thomas Mifflin chosen President of; adjourns, to meet at Annapolis, 500. Washington resigns his commission to, 504, 569. On the enlargement of the powers of, for commercial and other purposes, IX. 5, 11, 36, 122, 125, 140, 145, 161, 183, 187, 243, 246, 501. Suggestions respecting delegates to, 12. Opposes knighthood, 14. Non-attendance of members, and frequent adjournments of, 33, 177. Annual, preferable to constant sessions of, 34. Richard Henry Lee chosen President of, 79. Different opinions in, about the navigation of the Mississippi, 173, 180, 205. On the *Connecticut Reserve*, 178. On a general convention for revising the federal constitution, 236, 237, 242, 243, 246. Approves the proceedings of the general convention of 1787, and takes measures for putting the new system of government into operation, 267, 428, 542, 551, 554. List of its Presidents and Members, XII. 420.

Congress under the Federal Constitution, meeting, and the election of members of, IX. 406, 418, 440, 452, 459, 462, 467, 555. The place for the meeting of, 407, 418, 427, 428, 433, 550. Early proceedings of, 486, 487, 488, 491, X. 1, 459. Proceedings of, in regard to slavery, 82, 85, 94, 98. Shortness of their daily sittings, 95. Adjourns, 107, 109. Assembles at Philadelphia, 121; 139. The question of an immediate convocation of, in August, 1793, 362. Opinions about the Executive's changing the place of meeting, 373, 374, 375, 378, 379, 384, 549. Assembles, 387. Proceedings of, respecting neutral vessels, 409. Authorizes the raising of a *Provisional Army*, 242. Speeches to, by the President, XII. 1–77. Passes an act for the relief of seamen, 67. Messages to, on Indian hostilities, 79; on establishing a permanent seat of government, 89; relative to Great Britain, 90; on the acceptance of the Constitution by the King of France, 94; on Genet and the relations with France, 96; relative to transactions with Spain, 99; to Morocco and Algiers, 101; on the execution of the law imposing an embargo, 102; relative to hostile proceedings against the territories of Spain, 103; concerning British and Indian encroachments, 104; intercourse with foreign nations, 105; on the presentation of the colors of the French Republic, 110; public buildings at the seat of government, 111; the territory south of the Ohio River, 116; on the injury sustained by commerce from French cruisers, 117. Makes a grant to the daughters of Count de Grasse, 319. Measures for obtaining a loan from, for the city of Washington, 334. List of the members of, during Washington's administration, 427.

Congress's Own, a regiment so called; its history, IV. 267. To consist of two thousand men, 318. See Hazen.

Connanicut Island. Descent on, III. 197.

Connecticut, votes reinforcements to the army, III. 33. Sends troops under Colonel Hinman to Ticonderoga, 63; 198. Summary of acts of, 228. Light-horse sent from, to New York, and discharged, 453, 459, 465, IV. 3. Sends commissioners to the American camp; mistaken policy of, in voting advanced pay for enlistments, 170, 173. Called on for militia to coöperate with D'Estaing, VI. 368. Proceedings of, in relation to Governor Trumbull's address, declining a re-election, IX. 5. Address to the legislature of, XII. 169. Names of governors of, 417. Members of the Continental Congress from, 421; of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 428.

Connecticut line, in the army, III. 33,

176. Reprehensible conduct of the, 183, 247. Misunderstanding about the payment of the, called to the defence of New York, 200. Two regiments of, mutiny, VII. 55. See Worcester.

Connecticut troops, two thousand ordered to New York, III. 313. Return home unpaid, 367. Solicited for New York, 374, 416. Fourteen regiments of, raised there, IV. 35. Arrival there of nine regiments, 66. Two thousand wanted and ordered out, 352, 405. One third of the western, to be sent to Saratoga to oppose the junction of the British armies, 500. Putnam to be reinforced by, at the Highlands, V. 11. Four thousand called for, to cooperate with D'Estaing, VI. 388.

Connecticut State regiments, VII. 181.

Connecticut Reserve, near Lake Erie, compromise in Congress respecting the, IX. 178.

CONNOLLY, JOHN, II. 532. With his associates, taken, III. 197. Instructions to, concealed in his saddle, 211, 212, 269, 271. Facts respecting, 212. Measures for effecting the exchange of, VII. 211; VIII. 25. In Kentucky, IX. 474, 485.

Conococheague, magazine at, II. 137, 163. Murders in the neighbourhood of, by the Indians, 169. Inhabitants flee from, 183.

Constitution, Federal, IX. 265, 267, 269, 301, 543. Reception of the, by the people, 267, 272, 275, 277, 283, 290, 292, 295, 298, 401, 411. Its reception and adoption in Virginia, 272, 273, 274, 275, 287, 293, 303, 309, 311, 339, 367, 370, 372, 377, 388, 389, 392, 396, 397, 420; in Maryland, 275, 333, 345, 363, 369, 375, 376, 382, 407. Letters in favor of the, 277, 283, 316, 349, 362. Referred to conventions, 286, 4. Its reception and adoption in Pennsylvania, 286, 290, 292, 296, 312, 314, 341, 342, 348; in Delaware, 286, 290, 292, 319, 348; in South Carolina, 286, 333, 345, 348, 372, 376, 389; in Georgia, 286, 312, 348; in New Jersey, 290, 292, 319, 348; in New York, 293, 312, 340, 372, 379, 391, 392, 393, 406, 408, 420, 549. On a proposition for a second convention in reference to the, 286, 319, 420. Its reception and adoption in Massachusetts, 310, 312, 323, 329, 331, 332, 357; in Connecticut, 319, 397; in New Hampshire, 333, 334, 339, 340, 345, 372, 382, 390, 395. On a concerted and organized combination against the, 405. New York circular requesting a general convention for amendments to the, 418, 420, 429, 549. George Mason's objections to the, 544. Secures religious toleration, XII. 155. To be maintained, 217. Gouverneur Morris's agency in forming the, 388. See *Convention*, *North Carolina*, and *Rhode Island*.

Constitution, Fort, opposite West Point, III. 409. Demolished by the British, V. 104.

CONTRECOEUR, a French officer, summons and captures Captain Trent's men at the Fork of the Ohio, II. 6. Succeeded by Dumas in the command at Fort Duquesne, 137. Letter of, respecting Jumonville, 449. Commanded at Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat, 472.

Convention, at Annapolis, IX. 162, 223, 226, 513. Forwards papers to Congress, 246.

Convention for revising the Federal Constitution, proposed, IX. 162, 167, 226. Circumstances and opinions connected with Washington's attendance on it, 208, 212, 215, 219, 220, 222, 226, 230–239, 243, 251, 253, 254, 349, 514. Evils of an abortive attempt for a, 224. On the legality of the, 230, 512, 513, 542. Approved and recommended by Congress, 236, 237, 242, 243, 246, 542. Washington's election to the presidency of the, 237, 540. Delegates appointed to attend the, 242. Ends its session, 265, 267. Diary cited respecting the, 539. List of the members, XII. 420.

Convention Troops, exchange of, not to be hastened, V. 138, 143, 171. Their supplies to be paid for before embarkation, 187, 536, 537. Not to embark till the ratification of the convention in Great Britain, 213, 221; 358. Concerns of, referred to Congress by the Commander-in-chief, 234. Deserters from, and prisoners, not to be employed or enlisted in the American service, 287, 288, 297, 346, 375, 376. Marched to Charlottesville, VI. 94, 96, 105, 122, 124. Negotiations for exchanging, 130, 194, 508. Troubles in their barracks, 178. The source of great perplexity and trouble, 256. Measures for exchanging the officers of the, VII. 103, 104, 211, 245, 288. Treatment of, at Charlottesville, 123, 124. Partial exchange of, 287, 288. General exchange of, proposed, 288. Good policy to remove the, 291. Flag-vessel permitted to proceed to, with supplies, 291. Proposition for a general exchange of, and for the adjustment of their accounts, 301, 302. Suggestions respecting a removal and

conditional exchange of, VIII. 69. Exchange of the, proposed, 125.
CONWAY, THOMAS, Colonel, his arrival from France, and recommendation to Congress, IV. 411. Appointed brigadier-general, 412. In the battle of Germantown, V. 78, 464-466. His importunity, 98. Appointed inspector-general, with the rank of major-general, 100, 203, 483. Letter to, containing an extract from his letter to General Gates, 139, 492. Sends his commission to Congress; writes letters about his application for the rank of major-general, 150, 203, 483. His correspondence with the Commander-in-chief upon being appointed major-general, 203, 204, 205, 207. His remonstrance against Baron de Kalb's appointment, 204; 265, 531, 533. Left with the command at Albany; ordered to join McDougall, 292, 372. Resigns; his vexation, and visit to Congress, 372, 373, 516. Dangerously wounded in a duel, 516. Confesses his injury to Washington, 517. Goes to France, 517.
CONWAY, General, his motion that Lord Howe's powers be laid before Parliament, rejected, IV. 40.
Conway's Cabal, particulars and papers relating to, V. 483.
COOKE, NICHOLAS, Governor of Rhode Island, III. 47. Cited in regard to the enlistment of the slaves of Rhode Island, V. 245.
COOPER, MYLES, president of King's College, II. 374, 381.
COOPER, SAMUEL, of Boston, III. 20.
Cops Hill, III. 17.
Coram, destruction of forage at, VII. 294, 315.
CORBIN, RICHARD, a member of the Governor's Council, II. 3. Remark of, respecting the mutiny bill, 118.
Cork Fleet, V. 440; VI. 2.
Corn, particulars about the planting of, IX. 323, XII. 295, 342, 366, 368. Time of gathering, 314.
Cornstalks, how to be used, XII. 365.
CORNWALLIS, Earl, arrives at New York, IV. 27. Forwards an objectionable paper to Washington, 380. Attempts to surprise General Lincoln at Boundbrook, 391. His movements at the battle of the Brandywine, V. 57, 460. His expedition against Red Bank, 156, 162, 166. Occupies the heights near Madison's Ford, 185. Embarks for England, 238. Arrives in America, VI. 313. Recommended for the chief command by Clinton, 345, 346. Sails for Jamaica and is ordered back to New York, 358, 361, 380, 384. Goes to the Southern States, 486. His transactions in the Carolinas, VII. 197, 552. Retreats precipitately from Charlotte, 283. Retrograde movements of, 337. His junction with Leslie, 348. Makes a push against Morgan, and is near recovering prisoners; advances against Greene, 438, 445. Retreat of, 452. Cited on the importance of making the Chesapeake the seat of war and of reducing Virginia, 458. His engagement with Greene at Guilford Court-House, 466. His letter to Nesbitt Balfour, 555. Summary of his movements and actions, VIII. 5. Retreats before Lafayette, 100, 108. Has conditional instructions to reinforce New York; sends no troops from Virginia, 116, 117. His action at Green Spring, 118. His movements at Portsmouth, 128. Takes possession of York and Gloucester, 129. Deceived by spies, 141, 153. Measures taken to prevent his escape, 141, 152, 156. Capitulation of, 181, 195, 207, 209, 210, 212, 220, 226, 530. Parole to be signed by his officers, 195. Restriction upon the exchange of, and the reason for it, 240, 243-246, 265. Particulars connected with the proposed exchange of, for President Laurens, 244, 247, 251, 265, 325, 333, 338, 540. Discharged from parole, and takes his seat in the House of Peers, 334.
CORTLANDT, PHILIP, Colonel, V. 24, 37; VI. 113.
Cotton, the raising of, urged, IX. 470. Inquiry about giving encouragement to, X. 197.
Courts-martial, defect in the Virginia laws respecting, II. 126, 159; and in the commission for calling, 132; 246. The power of appointing, too limited, V. 236.
Cows, price of, XII. 294. Hints respecting, 364.
COX, SAMUEL H., on Washington's partaking of the Lord's Supper, XII. 410.
Cox's Fort, at Patterson's Creek, II. 163, 171.
CRAIG, Major, with a party from Charleston, lands at Cape Fear, VII. 433.
CRAIK, JAMES, Dr., II. 114, 270. At Braddock's defeat; his anecdote about an Indian chief, 475. Accompanies Washington to the Ohio in 1770, 516. Facts respecting; chosen assistant director-general of the Middle Department, IV. 400, 401. His letter

concerning Conway's cabal, V. 493; VII. 192. Applies to Washington for papers to aid Bowie, IX. 22. Invited to go to the Western country, 52; X. 13, 29; XI. 257, 265; XII. 339.

CRAMAHÉ, lieutenant-governor of Canada, superintends the burial of Montgomery. III. 264.

CRANE, Major, convoys a ship in Turtle Bay, IV. 74. Colonel, V. 4; VII 356, 328.

CRAWFORD, WILLIAM, Colonel, facts respecting, II. 346 Recommended to accompany Dunmore in the west, 373; 375. Goes to Congress to receive commands, V. 169.

CRÈVECŒUR, HECTOR ST. JOHN DE, facts respecting, IX. 259, 386. Letter to, 498.

Crisis, The, by Thomas Paine, VIII. 345.

CROGHAN, GEORGE, Colonel, an Indian trader, II. 42. Contracts to supply flour, 43, 59. Brings Indians, 318. Comes to General Braddock with one hundred Indians, but is coolly received, 475. Visits Fort Pitt, 518.

Crops, general method with, in Virginia, XII. 293. First statement of the Mount Vernon, in 1789, 347. Second statement, 348. Third statement, 350. Lambert's remarks on, 356. Directions respecting, for the year 1800, 361, 368. Rotation of, 362, 374. Instructions in regard to, for 1801 and 1802, 366, 373, 374.

Croton Bridge, IV. 169.

Croton River, Colonel Greene surprised and defeated near, VIII. 48.

Crown Point, III. 41. Schuyler leaves, 85. Northern army retreats to, 450. Sullivan fortifies, 472. Opinions on the propriety of the retreat from, IV. 3, 5, 11, 25, 47. Decision of a council of officers respecting the retreat, 6. Number of prisoners taken at, 548. Visited by the Commander-in-chief, in 1783, VIII. 467, 469, 488.

CRUGER, NICHOLAS, XII. 205.

Culper, a fictitious name given to spies in New York; measures recommended for their forwarding information, VI. 354, 355, 460, 461; VIII. 30.

Cumberland, Fort, at Will's Creek, II. 63; 75. Left in command of Colonel Innes, 86; 101; 109. Dagworthy assumes the command of, 112; 115; 119. See DAGWORTHY. Bad situation and inconveniences of, 126, 186. Orders for a new road to, from Winchester, 131. Is barely manned, 142. Of no use, 151. Stores there, ordered to New York, 163. A council held at, respecting the chain of forts, 166. Indefensible, and stores should be moved from, 171, 186. Opinions and reasons for and against the maintenance of, 172, 200. Excluded from the scheme of the chain of forts, 198. Two spies taken at, 201. Washington ordered to, with one hundred men, 202, 205, 214. Compared with Fort Loudoun, as to importance, 205. Dinwiddie's confused and inconsistent orders respecting, and their bad effects, 210, 214, 215. The Maryland forces garrison, 233, 313. Two Catawba Indians killed near, 234. Threatened, and troops called to the aid of, 240, 241. Sickness at, 309, 311. Magazine at, blown up, 316.

CUNINGHAM, JAMES, aid-de-camp to Lord Loudoun, II. 230.

Currency, uniformity in the, recommended, XII. 9. Disorders in the, 25.

CUSHING, WILLIAM, administers the oath to the President upon his induction into office in 1793, X. 322, 323.

CUSTINE, Count de, a French officer, visits head-quarters, VII. 316, 319.

CUSTIS, G. W. P., author of the "Indian Prophecy," a drama, II. 476.

CUSTIS, JOHN PARKE, son of Mrs. Washington by her first marriage, II. 361, 370. Enters King's College, in New York, 374. Leaves College and marries Miss Calvert, 381. Accompanies Mrs. Washington to Cambridge, III. 168, 196. Washington's directions about settling the affairs of his estate, 383, 384. Cited respecting General Greene, VIII. 18. Death of, 204, 210, IX. 39, 95.

CUSTIS, MARTHA, widow of Daniel Parke Custis, marries George Washington, II. 327; XII. 251.

CUSTIS, Miss, daughter of Mrs. Washington, death of, II. 378. Letters about the settlement of her estate, III. 383, 384.

CUSTIS, Mrs., VIII. 486.

CUYLER, Colonel, commands Refugees at Bull's Ferry, VII. 116.

D.

DAGWORTHY, JOHN, Captain, assumes the command of Fort Cumberland, and refuses to obey the orders of provincial officers, II. 112. Washington refuses to serve under, 117, 128. Claims provisions from the Virginia supplies, 127. General Shirley decides against his claim to command,

133. Ordered to Fort Cumberland, 233. Joins Forbes's expedition, 311.
Dagworthy, Mary, cited on transmitting a contribution from ladies for the army, VII. 90.
Dalby, his case with the Quakers about a slave, IX. 158.
Dalling, Governor at Jamaica, requests succour from Clinton, VI. 358.
Damas, Count de, a French officer, his visit to head-quarters, VII. 319, 341.
Dana, Francis, III. 356. Visits the camp on a committee from Congress, V. 213; 344. Secretary to John Adams, VI. 385. Declines an appointment as minister to France, XI. 203.
Danbury, British expedition against, IV. 404.
Dandridge, Francis, of London, II. 342.
Dandridge, John, father of Mrs. Washington, II. 327.
Dane, Nathan, IX. 542.
Darke, John, Colonel, X. 153, 183, 244–248.
Dartmouth, Lord, suggests to Gage the taking possession of Rhode Island and occupying New York, III. 113. Advises Gage to abandon Boston and go to New York, 114. His correspondence with Gage at the commencement of the revolutionary war, largely cited, 506–514. Advises the arrest of members of the Provincial Congress, 507, 509.
Dartmouth College, Eleazer Wheelock, president of, III. 207. Address to the Board of Trustees of, XII. 164.
Davie, William Richardson, appointed brigadier-general in the Provisional army, XI. 323. Written to, about the selection of officers, 334. Appointed envoy to France, 405.
Davies, Samuel, II. 40. His notice of Washington in a sermon after Braddock's defeat, 89.
Davies, William, Colonel, American commissioner to effect an exchange of prisoners; instructions to, VI. 213, 508.
Davis, John, attorney for the district of Massachusetts, XI. 135, 158.
Davis, Captain, pursues and harasses the British from Springfield to Elizabethtown, VII. 506.
Davison, Joseph, Lieutenant, takes four prizes; gives information of the sailing of the British fleet from Halifax for Sandy Hook, III. 441.
Dayton, Elias, Colonel, ordered to Canada, III. 372. Despatched against Sir John Johnson, 410. Represents the condition of the New Jersey regiment at Ticonderoga, IV. 278, 279; V. 219; VII. 335. Aids in suppressing the revolt in the Jersey line, 381, 561. Opposes the enemy at Springfield, 506. To put his brigade under marching orders, VIII. 58. Directions to, respecting the treatment of Captain Asgill, 304; IX. 171, 196.
Dayton, Jonathan, recommended for the Provisional army, XI. 265, 299, 327, 330, 548.
Deane, James, Indian interpreter and missionary, VI. 122. Visits Newport with Indians, VII. 183, 184.
Deane, Silas, his negotiations injured by commissioners meeting Lord Howe at Staten Island, IV. 343. Recommends Conway, 412. Treaty of, with Ducoudray, not ratified by Congress, 491. Sends engineers from France, 491; V. 353. His interview with Lafayette, 446.
Deane, Simeon, bearer of the despatches of the treaty between France and the United States to Congress, V. 353. Transmits the news to Washington, 353, 355.
Dearborn, Henry, Captain, his exchange proposed, IV. 52.
Deborre, Chevalier, IV. 411. Appointed brigadier-general, 412. Executes a Tory, V. 12. His conduct at the battle of the Brandywine disapproved, and he resigns, 60, 61, 463.
Dechambault, prisoner, released at the interposition of D'Emery, governor-general of St. Domingo, IV. 145.
Deer, procured for Mount Vernon, IX. 176.
Dehaas, John Philip, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 329.
Dehart, William, Lieutenant-Colonel, written to, about an expedition to Staten Island, VI. 445.
Delancey, James, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, II. 5, XII. 417.
Delancey, Oliver, appointed brigadier-general; to raise loyalists on Long Island, IV. 129, 520, 522. Expedition against his corps, at Morrisania, VII. 356, 357, 385, 392 His expedition to Croton River against Colonel Greene, VIII. 48. Proposed attack on, 92–99. Expedition against, 109.
Delaware, address to a society in, for promoting domestic manufactures, XII. 141. Address to the legislature of, 240. Chief magistrates of, during Washington's public life, 418. Members of the Continental Congress from, 423; of Congress during Washington's administration, 430.

Delaware, a frigate, taken by the British, V. 77.
Delaware River, obstructed, III. 427. Situation and condition of the American and British armies near, IV. 213, 15, 218, 224, 230. Boats and vessels on, secured or destroyed for seventy miles, 230, 239. Crossed before the battle of Trenton, 246. Precipitate retreat of the British from, 251. Lookouts to be stationed at the Capes of, 502. Military works on, V. 59. Importance of obstructing, 71. Enemy's attempts to remove the obstructions of, 92, 104, 115, 116. American vessels in, disposed of, 116, 139, 140. Transports arrive there, 142. British ships arrive, 302, 310. Continental frigates in, destroyed, 362, 364. See *Miflin* and *Red Bank*.
Delaware Regiment, the march of, to the southward, VII. 7.
Deligneby, a French officer, commands at Fort Duquesne, II. 239.
Democratic Societies, X. 426, 454. The Pennsylvania insurrection, the first formidable fruit of, 429, 437. Institution of, 429, 438, 440. The name of "Madisonian" given to one of the, 443; 444; XI. 337.
Derby, John, Captain, carries the news of the Lexington battle to England; examined before the Privy Council, III. 35.
Derby, Richard, fits out a vessel to carry intelligence of the Lexington battle to England, III. 35.
Deserters, American, laws should be passed against persons who favor, IV. 305. Proclamation respecting, 379. Bounty offered to, by General Howe, 409. Frequently leaving the American vessels on the Delaware, V. 84. Proclamation respecting, 133. From the army, 240, 245. Coming with flags from the enemy, to be seized and punished, 294, 341. Inefficacy of proclamations of pardon to, VII. 439.
Deserters, British, bounty paid to, V. 42. Not to be enlisted, 270, 298, 346. To go at large, 279. Not to be enlisted, VI. 85, 490.
Deserters in the French war, numerous; punishment of, by death, advised, II. 60, 61, 126, 179, 250. Assembly pass an act respecting, 113, 119. Should be made examples of, 126; 160. Difficulty of securing them, 172, 219, 225. From the *Virginia Regiment* invited by proclamation to join the *Royal American Regiment*, 226. Two, executed, 245.
Destouches, Chevalier, succeeds Ternay in the command of the French fleet, VII. 330, 374. Sends ships to blockade Arnold in the Chesapeake, 404, 410, 418, 435, 461. Sets on foot another expedition, with his whole naval force, 425, 426, 439, 440, 444, 447, 449, 464. His interview with the Commander-in-chief at Newport, 446. His action with Arbuthnot and return to Newport, 463, 468. Resolve of Congress respecting, 465. Recapitulation of his exertions against Arnold, VIII. 6. Ready for an expedition to Penobscot, 8, 10.
Detroit, expedition to, proposed VI. 120, 156, 225. Importance of the reduction of, and measures for effecting it, VII. 341–345. Measures in regard to the fortifications at, VIII. 463, 470; 482; IX. 59. Taken possession of, XII. 66.
Deuxponts, a French officer, visits the American camp and Philadelphia, VII. 319.
Dewitt, Simeon, appointed geographer to the army, VII. 309. Declines the appointment of surveyor-general, XI. 168.
Diary, Washington's, extracts from, while on a tour of discovery on the Youghiogany in 1754, II. 21; respecting Jumonville, 34; while on a surveying tour among the Allegany mountains in 1748, 416; at Barbadoes in 1751, 424; on his agency for Governor Dinwiddie to the French on the Ohio, in the winter of 1753–4, 432; while attending the House of Burgesses in 1774, 486; during his attendance at the first Congress in Philadelphia, in 1774, 503; about his affairs in 1760, 509. Of a tour to the Ohio in 1770, for viewing lands, 516. Commenced May 1st, 1781, and continued, VIII. 31, 48, 54, 98, 109, 114, 134, 162. Extracts from, about his reception at Fredericktown, IX. 118. Of proceedings at the Federal Convention, 538. His journey to New York to take upon himself the Presidency, X. 461. Agricultural, in 1785, XII. 379; in December, 1799, 381.
Dick, Charles, commissary in the army, II. 100, 109, 163.
Dickinson, John, author of the "Farmer's Letters," opposed the declaration of independence; extract from his letter after being superseded in Congress, IV. 281. President of Delaware, VIII. 310. Author of letters signed "Fabius," IX. 354. Author of the address to the King by the first Continental Congress, XII. 398.

DICKINSON, PHILEMON, General, defeats a foraging party of the British, IV. 289, 290. Congress requests that he may command the New Jersey militia, V. 54. Stations militia at Elizabethtown and Amboy, 64; 70. Proposes a simultaneous attack on Long Island, New York, and Staten Island, 134, 135. His descent upon Staten Island, 174, 175, 211; 362. To harass the enemy in crossing New Jersey, 387, 395, 396, 397, 424. To procure guides; informed of the disposition of the detachments, 416, 417; 425. Opposes the British in their expedition against Springfield, VII. 85; 133; 507.

DICKINSON, Major, killed at Monmouth, V. 428, 429.

Dickinson College, IX. 353.

Dickinson's Fort, surprised by the Indians, II. 196. Men to be posted at, 249.

Dictatorial powers conferred on Washington, IV. 232, 254, 257, 550. See *Powers*.

DIGBY, ROBERT, Admiral, VIII. 162, 192. His proposal to exchange land prisoners for seamen, inadmissible, 253; 261. With Sir Guy Carleton charged with a commission of peace, VIII. 299, 536.

DINWIDDIE, ROBERT, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, his instructions, commission, and passport to Washington in 1753; communicates his proceedings, and sends Washington's journal to the Board of Trade; resolves to enlist two companies to construct a fort on the Ohio, in 1754; gives instructions for the expedition, II. 1, 428. Commissions Joshua Fry as colonel, and George Washington as lieutenant-colonel, 4. Obliged to rely on volunteer enlistments; issues a proclamation to encourage enlistments; his orders from the King, 5, 358, 359. Writes to several of the governors, pressing for assistance, without much success, 10. Severely tried about the ten thousand pounds' grant of the legislature; laments their republican way of thinking, 12. Goes to Winchester to meet Indian chiefs; communicates to Lord Halifax a scheme for colonial government, 18; 29. Prisoners sent to him, 37, 38. Appoints Innes commander of the Ohio expedition, and Washington of the Virginia regiment, 41. Orders Indian goods; refuses to ratify one of the articles of the capitulation at Fort Necessity, 42, 467. Orders the forces to cross the Alleganies, 52. Has a misunderstanding with the House of Burgesses, 58. Proposes an act of Parliament to compel obedience, 59. His plans for taxing the colonists, 63, 153. Makes a change in the military arrangement, which causes Washington to resign, 64, 67. In a new arrangement appoints him commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, and expresses his opinion of him, 97, 161. Dissolves the Assembly, 113; 120. Permits Washington to visit General Shirley respecting his command; discourages gaming, 130. Orders out militia, 145. Projects an extensive chain of forts, 153. Is advised to stop militia, 157. Gives instructions about enlisting servants, 169. Proposes an expedition to the Ohio, 170. Generally gives ambiguous instructions; insists on maintaining Fort Cumberland, 172, 210, 215, 216. Describes the mode of declaring war, 181. Censures Washington, 201. Orders him to go to Fort Cumberland, and send out parties to watch the enemy, 202. Confusion and inconsistency in his orders, 210, 215. Reluctantly consents to Washington's meeting Lord Loudoun and the southern governors at Philadelphia, 230, 262. Orders the evacuation of Fort Cumberland by the Virginia troops, 233. Rebukes the Maryland Assembly for denying Lord Loudoun's power, 234. Concerts a new arrangement for the troops, 235. His disposition towards Washington, 238, 244, 248, 256, 261, 262, 266, 268. Sails for Europe in January, 1758; brief sketch of his character and five years' administration, 270.

Dinwiddie, Fort, on Jackson's River, II. 101, 109, 125, 178.

Discipline, regular system of, contemplated and recommended, IV. 430. Necessity of, in an army, XI. 414.

Dismal Swamp, company chartered and measures taken for draining, and making fit for cultivation, XII. 267, 277. Examined, 268, 277. Meeting held, 270.

D'IVERNOIS proposes the transplanting of the College of Geneva to the United States, XI. 21, 473.

Dogue-Run Farm, XII. 312, 316. Directions respecting, 341. Weekly report of the, 353.

DOILLIAMSON, Count, sends hounds to Mount Vernon, IX. 124, 129.

Domestic Manufactures. See *Manufactures*.

DONALDSON's Hippopotamus for raising mud, XII. 274.
DONOP, Count, retreats from Trenton, IV. 249. Sends a verbal message by O'Riley, 418. His capture and death at Red Bank, V. 110 – 115.
DONVILLE, a French officer, killed in a skirmish, and his instructions found upon him, II. 136, 137.
DORCHESTER, Lord, (Sir Guy Carleton,) questions proposed in view of his expected expedition from Detroit against the Spaniards in Louisiana, X. 113; 494. Information to be forwarded to, about supplies furnished to the Indians by the British, 152. Facts concerning the spurious speech of, to the Indians, 394. His reception of Lewis, on his mission in relation to the western posts, XI. 132. See CARLETON.
Dorchester Heights, council of war decide, on taking possession of, III. 292. Preparations, 295, 302. Taken possession of, 303. Intention of the enemy to attack, 304, 311, 315.
Dorchester Neck, houses burnt there by the British, III. 290.
DOUGLASS, ASA, III. 539.
DOUGLASS, Major, aid to General Lincoln, in captivity, V. 116.
DOUW, VOLKERT P., commissioner of Indian affairs, V. 273.
DRAYTON, WILLIAM, cited, IX. 155. Appointed district judge, X. 49, 52.
DRAYTON, WILLIAM HENRY, a member of Congress, V. 344. Biographical facts respecting, 439.
Dress, directions respecting, IX. 482; X. 124.
Drill-plough, value and use of the, XII. 290.
DROUILLON, Major, made prisoner, II. 33. Sent to Governor Dinwiddie, 37, 38. Conveyed to Europe, 467.
DRUMMOND, Lord, makes attempts at a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, III. 288, 525. Put on parole; violates it by going on board the Asia; goes to Bermuda; sends articles for a reconciliation to Lord Howe, 527. Censured for violating his parole, 528, IV. 51.
Drummond's Pond, remarks on, XII. 268.
DUANE, JAMES, commissioner of Indian affairs, V. 273. His letter about Lafayette and the Canada expedition of 1778, 533. Cited, VI. 378; on parties in Congress in 1780, VII. 93; on a new arrangement of the army, 228.
DUBUYSSON, Lieutenant-Colonel, a Frenchman, VII. 239. Reply to, 393.
DUCHÉ, JACOB, an Episcopal clergyman, writes an extraordinary letter to the Commander-in-chief; biographical facts, and letters respecting, V. 94, 476.
DUCOUDRAY, a French officer of artillery, perplexities about putting him and his officers into command, IV. 444 – 446, 450, 490. Decisions of Congress respecting, 452, 491. Superintends the works on the Delaware, V. 59.
Duelling, condemned, VI. 78, 99.
DUER, WILLIAM, IV 10. On a committee in relation to Heath's movements towards New York city, 308. Sketches the plan of a descent on Long Island, 354.
DUMAS, a French officer, succeeds Contrecœur in the command at Fort Duquesne; his orders to Donville, II. 137. Commands after Beaujeu's death, at Braddock's defeat, 138, 473.
DUMAS, a French general, sends a military pamphlet to Washington, XI. 206, 207. Cited respecting Rochambeau, 208.
DUNBAR, Colonel, his movements before Braddock's defeat, II. 75, 80, 82, 468. Distressed for horses, 83. His position at Braddock's defeat, and his retreat, 85, 471, 476.
DUNDAS, a British commissioner in the capitulation at Yorktown, VIII. 532.
DUNMORE, Lord, governor of Virginia, favors the claims of the Virginia troops to lands, II. 359. Certifies Washington's claim to land in Florida, 369. Visits the western country, 373, 375. The power of, to make grants on the Ohio, 378. Dissolves the House of Burgesses, 486. Removes the powder from Williamsburg, which rouses the people, 507. Promises satisfaction, 508; III. 197, 204. Vessel despatched to Boston with provisions and letters by, taken, 203. Endeavours to transfer the war to the south; expedition against, 216. His mode of secreting Connolly's papers, 271. Arrives at New York, IV. 55. A signer of patents of lands to George Washington, XII. 264.
DUPLESSIS, Chevalier de Mauduit, a French officer, appointed captain of artillery, sent to Fort Mifflin, V. 87. Attends Donop in his last illness, 112. In a skirmish near Gloucester, 171. Appointed lieutenant-colonel, 214, 215.
DUPORTAIL, Chevalier, from France, appointed colonel of engineers, IV. 491. Chief engineer, V. 141, 448.

Opposes an attack on Philadelphia, 165. Is on the council at Valley Forge, 360. Sent to plan the security of Philadelphia, 421. His memorial for the defence of the North River at Fort Clinton approved, VI. 67. His various situations, 97; 173; 324. Despatched to wait on Count d'Estaing, 378, 379, 380. Receives directions, 398. Returns to camp, 409. Ordered to survey and report on the grounds in the environs of the encampment, 419. Usefulness of, 430. Congress votes to retain him in the service, 431. Despatched to Charleston, 494. Goes to the southward, VII. 26. Captured, 141. Measures for effecting the release of, 210. Exchanged, 288, 290. His arrival at camp, 433; VIII. 57; 98. Despatched to Count de Grasse, 133. His interview with him, 162. His furlough to go to France, and promotion, 194, 202. Letter to, upon his leaving the country, 489; IX. 36; XI. 431.

Duquesne, Fort, completed, II. 45. French reinforcements expected there, 79, 82; 125. Commanded by Contrecœur and by Dumas, 137; 157; 181. Commanded by Delignery; strength of the garrison at, 239. Reinforcements expected at, 241. Expedition against, by Forbes in 1758, 276. New road to, 301, 307, 316. Table of the distances of, from Carlisle, 304; 312. Major Grant's unfortunate attack upon, 313. Taken possession of by his Majesty's troops, it having been burnt, 320. See Forbes.

Dwight, Timothy, chaplain to Parsons's brigade, dedicates a poem to Washington, V. 288, 289. Cited respecting Nathan Hale, VII. 551.

Dyer, Eliphalet, delegate in Congress, V. 14.

Dyson, John, forwards a letter from Madame de Lafayette, X. 315.

E.

Early Papers of Washington, account of the, II. 411.

Eastern boundary, measures and proceedings for settling the, XII. 66, 83.

Eastern lands, purchases of, X. 151.

East Indies, trade to the, X. 91.

Easton, James, Colonel, III. 207.

East River, British ships pass up the, IV. 92, 93.

Economy, IX. 482, XII. 339. In agriculture, 360.

Eddy, Jonathan, brings a petition for troops from Nova Scotia, III. 334.

Eden, Robert, governor of Maryland, II. 387. Writes to Washington by his brother, V. 401.

Eden, William, British commissioner, V. 397, 398, 401.

Education, Foreign, disadvantageous to American institutions, XI. 3, 22.

Edward, Fort, IV. 491. Army removes from, to Moses Creek, 503. Express sent to, fired upon, VII. 269. Saved by a stratagem of Colonel Livingston, 270.

Edwards, William, Governor of West Florida, II. 369.

Edwards's Fort, Captain Mercer skirmishes near, II. 142. A company posted at, 293.

Election to the Virginia House of Burgesses, how conducted, II. 297.

Elizabethtown, British attempt to surprise, VI. 173, 191. Attempt to capture Governor Livingston at, 182. British expedition against, from Staten Island, VI. 452.

Elk, Head of, enemy land six miles below; stores at, V. 45, 49. Washington visits; stores removed from; Delaware militia stationed at, 46. Buildings burnt there by the British, 81. Provisions and stores moved from, in June, 1778, 406. Troops embark at, on their expedition against Cornwallis, VIII. 158, 160.

Elliot, Andrew, lieutenant-governor of New York, unsuccessful mission of, to procure André's release, VII. 539. British commissioner in relation to prisoners, VIII. 278, 342; 428.

Ellsworth, Oliver, on the Senate's agency in sending ministers abroad, X. 479–482. Denies the constitutionality of the demand for papers by the House of Representatives, XI. 115. Appointed minister to France, 404.

Elmore, Samuel, Colonel, ordered to New York, IV. 27. Countermanded to the northern army, 42.

Ely, Colonel, comes out of New York on parole, VI. 435.

Embargo, on the execution of the law imposing an, XII. 102. At Bordeaux, 105.

Emerson, William, his description of the American camp a few days after the arrival of the Commander-in-chief at Cambridge, III. 491.

Emery, Count d', Governor of St. Domingo, IV. 144.

Emigrant servants, the enlistment of, and particulars respecting, II. 168, 169, 189, 199, 201. See *Palatines*.

Emigration to America, particulars and

books respecting, IX. 384. On the encouragement of, XI. 2, XII. 304, 315.
Engineers in the army, imperfect qualifications and paucity of, III. 18, 22, 138, 427. Four French, engaged by Congress, IV. 491. The chief of the, appointed to be officially a member of the council of war, at Valley Forge, V. 339. Lafayette cited respecting, XII. 282.
Enlistments, small progress in, III. 165, 175, 176, 178, 186, 201, 205, 215, 220, 238. Disadvantages of, for a limited term, 278. Compensation for obtaining, 380. Directions concerning, IV. 177. Ruinous policy of short, 184, 231, 386, 388, 545. Success in, 304. To fill the army, impossible, V. 202. Of prisoners, prohibited, 375. Bounties offered for, during the war, VI. 196, 491. Fatal effects of short, 330, 471. To be only of able-bodied and effective men, 490. Ill consequences of short and temporary, VII. 103, 162, 223, 226, 238, 253, 441. Of men in one State not to be made by officers belonging to another, 389. Voluntary, will not complete the quotas of the army, VIII. 255.
ENOS, ROGER, Colonel, with his troops leaves Arnold; is acquitted by a court-martial; resigns his commission; removes to Vermont, III. 164, 175, 196.
Episcopal Church, address to the, in general convention, XII. 162. Washington's attendance on the, 411.
Erie, Lake, on a communication of, with the Ohio, IX. 291, 303, 326, 471. See *Western Inland Navigation*.
ERSKINE, ROBERT, geographer to the army, death of, VII. 309.
ERSKINE, THOMAS, I. 495. XI. 209.
ERSKINE, WILLIAM, wounded at the battle of Germantown, V. 82.
ESTAING, Count d', commander of the French fleet, V. 440. His arrival on the coast, VI. 1-5. His unsuccessful exertions to pass Sandy Hook, 9, 11, 12. Expedition to Rhode Island, VI. 11, 23, 24, 29. Disappointments of; measures for supplying with water, 26, 27, 29, 35. Sails from Rhode Island, 29. Re-appears off Newport, and goes to Boston for repairs, 40, 69. Evils from his leaving Rhode Island, 42, 52, 53. Protest to, by the American officers, 45, 46, 52, 54, 58, 59. Provisions sent to, 51. Council held for providing for; his offer to serve under Sullivan, 58, 59. A view of affairs communicated to, 60. Presented with a copy of Washington's portrait, 71. His opinion of Hamilton, 105. Issues a declaration to the Canadians, 113. Goes to the West Indies, 179. A correspondence and conference between Washington and Gerard, and letters cited, in regard to operations for, in 1779, 237. His proposed expedition against Halifax, 239. Captures Grenada; engages with Admiral Byron, 320, 349, 366. Leaves the West Indies, and arrives on the coast of Georgia, 359, 361, 366, 368. Measures for coöperating with, and their abandonment, 368, 371, 378, 383, 398, 409. Despatches the *Triumph* to America with the intelligence of peace, VIII. 408. Favors the Society of the Cincinnati, IX. 43. Commends Ternant, X. 187.
ETTWEIN, JOHN, a Moravian clergyman, IX. 364.
Eutaw Springs, VIII. 173, 174.
EVANS, ISRAEL, his Thanksgiving Discourse before General Poor's brigade, V. 275. Delivers a discourse upon occasion of the death of General Poor, VII. 208.
EVERETT, EDWARD, on Lafayette's efforts to raise an army in France, VII. 478. Cited respecting Lafayette in Virginia, VIII. 515.
EWING, General, prevented by the ice from crossing the Delaware, IV. 247. Crosses afterwards, 249.
Excise Law, X. 250. Opposition to, in Pennsylvania, 291, 426, 428. Proceedings of the Executive in consequence of the violation of the, 526. Further particulars in relation to it, XII. 20, 21. Proclamation, 30. Measures for prosecuting offenders against the, 31. Insurrection, 44. See *Ardent Spirits*.
Expenses of the Commander-in-chief, during the war, III. 2, VIII. 571, IX. 3. Of the President, XII. 5.
EYRE, a British lieutenant, his treatment while prisoner, V. 218.

F.

Fabius, writings of, commended, IX. 354.
FAIRFAX, BRYAN, II. 53. Declines being candidate for the House of Burgesses, 388. Disapproves the Fairfax County Resolves, 391. Comments on the resolve denying the authority of Parliament, 392; on the resolve for petitioning the King, 394; 396. His correspondence with the Commander-in-chief, V. 246.
FAIRFAX, GEORGE WILLIAM, III. 37.

In England, V. 267, IX. 107, 175. Death of, 299. Owner of Belvoir seat, XII. 327; 400.

FAIRFAX, JOHN, manager of farms, instructions to, XII. 300.

FAIRFAX, Lord, II. 103, 134. Orders out militia, 143, 144, 154. Particulars respecting; successors to his titel, 182, V. 268.

FAIRFAX, THOMAS, an officer in the navy, II. 53.

FAIRFAX, WILLIAM, Colonel, II. 18, 28. On the pay of officers, 30. Life, character, and descendants of, 51. On public prayers in the camp, 54. Washington takes leave of, 74; 77. On a captain's selfishness at the time of an alarm, 107. Writes an encouraging letter to Washington, 145. On the militia, 160. Respecting Washington's entering the navy, in 1746, 415.

FAIRFAX, WILLIAM, Jun., killed at Quebec; Wolfe's remark to, II. 53.

Fairfax County Resolves, in 1774, II. 390, 488. Cited respecting independence, 497.

Fairfax family, in America, II. 51, 182. Connected with Washington, X. 339.

Fairfax parish, list of vestrymen for, XII. 400.

Fairfield, burnt by the British, VI. 292, 293, 350, 367.

Falmouth, destroyed, III. 129, 134, 520. Letters to the committee of, 130, 144. Menaced by the *Cerberus*, 144, 149. The destruction of, not approved by the British government, 520.

FANEUIL, attempts to raise and officer a corps of Frenchmen, IV. 327.

Farewell Address of the President, XI. 173, 175, 176, XII. 214. Words endorsed on it, 235. History of the; letter to Madison, 383. Madison's reply, 385. His draft for it, 387, 391. Hamilton's note respecting, in 1796, 391. Jay's letter to Peters, 395. Particulars pertaining to the manuscript copy of the, 396.

Farmer's Letters. See CRÈVECŒUR, and DICKINSON.

Farming, importance of attending to minutiæ in, XII. 360; to instructions pertaining to, 367. See *Agriculture*.

Farm-yards, information requested in relation to, XII. 287.

Fast, appointed in Virginia, in 1774, II. 486. Appointed by Congress in 1776, III. 392; by the President of the United States, XI. 239; XII. 400. See *Orderly Book*.

FAUCHET, minister from France, X. 400. Condemns his predecessor's conduct, 401. Several particulars respecting, 474–478. His intercepted letter implicating Randolph, XI. 52, 54, 55, 75. Returns to France, 68. Defends Randolph, 90.

FAUQUIER, FRANCIS, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, II. 289. Replies to a congratulatory letter, 290.

FEBIGER, CHRISTIAN, Colonel, his bravery at the storming of Stony Point, VI. 538.

Federal City, surveyed, X. 147, 172. On the laying out of the, 206. Sale of lots, 290. On the superintendence of the affairs of the, 311, 423. Plan forwarded to the Earl of Buchan, 338. Hints about the commissioners of the, 423. On the establishment of a university at; Washington's will cited, XI. 1, 3, 14–23, 476. Its growth, 233. Importance of expediting the works there; on the importation of laborers therefor, XII. 305. Growth and prospects of the, 310, 327. University; marine hospital there, 322.

Federal Gazette, a newspaper published by Fenno, X. 23.

Federalist, The, a work on the Constitution, by James Madison, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, IX. 284, 285. Republication of, 285, 314.

Federalist, The, a miniature ship built for a celebration at Baltimore and sent to Mount Vernon, IX. 375.

FELLOWS, JOHN, General, to dismiss the Massachusetts militia, VI. 409. To detach militia to Fort Schuyler, VII. 131.

Fences, style of, in Virginia, condemned, XII. 332, 356. Directions about, 365, 371.

FENNER, ARTHUR, Governor, congratulated on the adoption of the Constitution by Rhode Island, X. 93.

FENNO, JOHN, publisher of the *Federal Gazette*, X. 23.

FERGUSON, ADAM, secretary of the commissioners for carrying into effect Lord North's bills, V. 397, 401, 402. Approbation of the conduct of the Commander-in-chief towards, 411.

FERGUSON, Colonel, defeat of, VII. 283, 285, 347, 415. To pursue Sumpter, 555.

FERMOY, General, IV. 411.

FERSEN, aid to Rochambeau, VIII. 95. Despatched to hasten on troops against Cornwallis, 159, 160.

Finances, American, in 1779, VI. 251, 410; in 1780, 466, 482, VII. 32, 42, 171, 197, 288. Derangement of, owing to short enlistments, 163. Loan to meet, 289, 300, 337, 370, 371, 379,

380. Establishment of a department, and election of a minister of, 399, 400, VIII. 39, 60, 67. Money solicited to relieve the, 294. Embarrassments in the state of the, 378, 369.

Fire Ships, IV. 19.

Fish, Nicholas, Major, his appointment as adjutant-general, and non-acceptance, X. 275, 299, 301.

Fishbourn, aid to Wayne, bravery of, at Stony Point, VI. 297, 539. Communicates information of the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, VII. 346.

Fitzgerald, John, aid to the Commander-in-chief, his letter respecting Conway's Cabal, V. 510.

Fitzhugh, William, Colonel, urges Washington's return to the service, in 1754, II. 65. Denies Dagworthy's right to the command, 120.

Flag, detention of a, VI. 335. Rules for granting a, VII. 149.

Flagg, Major, killed in an action near Croton River, VIII. 48.

Flassan, cited respecting Jumonville, II. 447.

Flat-boats, importance and utility of, V. 93, VII. 289, 292.

Flax, XII. 263, 345, 347.

Fleet. See *Navy*.

Fleming, Adjutant under Montgomery, III. 413.

Fleury, Lewis, an engineer, ordered to Fort Mifflin, V. 136. His journal of events antecedent to the evacuation of Fort Mifflin; is wounded, 154. Made lieutenant-colonel; a horse given to, for his merit at the battle of the Brandywine, 155. Appointed inspector, 349. Accompanies Hamilton on his first visit to Count d'Estaing, VI. 5. His bravery at Stony Point, 302, 538. His proposed return to France; commendation of, 304, 307. Suspends his voyage, 383. His visit to the American camp, after joining the French army, VII. 320.

Florida, proposed British expedition to, V. 550. Spanish expeditions against, VI. 475, 542, VII. 323, 324, 327. A negotiation in consequence of foreigners being invited to settle there, X. 162. Slaves pass into, from Georgia, XII. 181. See *Spain*.

Flour, price of, VI. 80.

Flying-Camp, established in the middle colonies, III. 416. Troops raising for the, 451. Militia in motion to form the, 458.

Folsom, Nathaniel, member of Congress, V. 14. Visits the camp on a committee, 213.

Forage, commissary of, to be appointed, IV. 300. Destruction of, 314. Price of, VI. 80. Want of, in the army, VII. 25, 158. Expedition to Bergen for, 173. Burnt at Coram, 292. Destroyed at West Chester, 393.

Forbes, Joseph, Brigadier-General, II. 275. His expedition to the Ohio, in 1758, 276. Joined by Indians, 279. Number of troops employed under; slow progress, 289. Reasons against dividing the army of, into two routes, 305. Plan of the advance of, by deposits, 306. Proceeds by a new road from Raystown, which dissatisfies the Virginia Assembly, 307, 308. Discouragements of; advances money to Dagworthy's troops, 311. Arrives at Raystown; plan for the march of, 313. Takes Fort Duquesne, 320. Death of, 322.

Foreign Affairs, the delay to appoint a minister of, and its effects, VIII. 39. Livingston, secretary of, 277. The department of, takes the name of *Department of State*, X. 11.

Foreign influence, to be particularly guarded against, XII. 230, 392.

Foreign nations, the President's policy in regard to, XII. 52, 231, 232, 302. Message to Congress relative to the intercourse with, 105. On the importation of people from, to labor in the Federal District, 305.

Foreign officers, perplexities about employing, IV. 423, 446. Should be discouraged from coming to America, V. 32. Embarrassments from, 33, 36, VI. 14, 18. Complain of non-payment, IX. 426. Appropriations for the payment of, XII. 33. See *French officers*.

Fork of the Ohio, an important place for a fort, II. 6, 432, 433.

Forman, David, General, joins the army with New Jersey troops, V. 75. At the battle of Germantown, 78. His brigade of militia leaves the army, 84; 136. Discourages the pursuit of the enemy from Monmouth, 430. Stationed at Monmouth and intrusted with a letter for Count de Grasse, VIII. 111. Examines into the case of the murder of Captain Huddy, X. 63, 263.

Forrest, Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, at the action of Springfield, VII. 506.

Forts, Chain of, upon the Virginia frontiers, II. 135. Washington's idea and plan of, 149. Dinwiddie's plan for erecting, 153. Commenced, 164, 166. Council held concerning, and the direction of, fixed, 166. The building

of, neglected, 179. Should be few and strong, 186, 187, 220.
Fouche, de la, Captain, VII. 47.
Fox, Henry, one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, directs the Virginia colony to pay masters for enlisted servants, II. 168.
France, IV. 396, V. 22, 169. Treaty of, with the United States, 324, 325, 330, 365; communicated to the British ministry, 330, 342, 549. News thereof, and consequent rejoicings in America, 353. Proclamation of it, to the army, 355. Anticipated consequences thereof, 357, 359, 387. War with Great Britain inevitable, 365, 366, 376, 400. Change in the ministry of, VII. 324, 339, 429. Colonel Laurens sent to solicit succours from, 340. Furnishes a loan, 379, 380. Money and despatches arrive from, in the frigate *Astrée*, 429. Grants six millions of livres to the United States, VIII. 150, 525. Money solicited from, 224. Six millions of livres loaned by, to the United States, 230, 273. Annunciation of the birth of the Dauphin of, 299. Celebration of the anniversary of the treaty with, 381. On the trade with, IX. 192, 338, 413, 415. Birth of the Dauphin of, noticed in America, 337. Change in the administration of, 466. Death of the Dauphin of, X. 36. The Revolution in; apprehensions for the consequences of it, 38, 39, 46, 89. On the proceedings and government of, 71. Assumes a favorable aspect, in 1790, 90, 106. Excesses in, 118. Part of the American debt to, paid, 194. War with Great Britain; measures taken in the United States to effect neutrality, 336, 337, 342, 533. Conduct of, toward the United States, XI. 186, 196, 213, 232, 234, 275, 330, 442. The prospect of a war with, 235, 242, 325. Willing to receive a minister from the United States to put an end to difficulties, 403. Mission to, 572. Acceptance of the constitution of, by the King; message to Congress respecting Genet, and the relations with; trade suffers from the cruisers and agents of, XII. 73, 94, 96, 117. Desire of a good understanding with the Republic of, 73, 118. Urged to make compensation, 105. Republic of, presents colors to the United States, 110. Ministers to, during Washington's administration, 433. See Lafayette, Louis the Sixteenth, and Vergennes.
Franklin, Benjamin, draws up the celebrated *Plan of Union*, adopted by the Albany convention, II. 18. Aids Braddock, 78, 469. Vote of thanks to, by the Pennsylvania Assembly, 79; 109. On the Proprietaries' conduct, 122. Drafts a bill for a voluntary militia, and superintends the building of forts on the Pennsylvania frontiers, 123. Originates the idea of a General Congress, 396. A proprietor of Walpole's Grant; replies to Lord Hillsborough's Report, 485. On total emancipation or independence, 496; III. 35. Visits the army on a committee, 123, 133. Letters of, found by Howe and sent to England, 186. Commissioner to Canada, 390. His ingenious mode of distributing papers among the Hessian troops, IV. 67. On a committee to confer with Howe on Staten Island, 88. Commissioner in France; his recommendation of Cenis, V. 32, 447. Cited respecting Count Pulaski, 49. His letter recommending Baron Steuben, 528; VI. 107; 385. Presents Lafayette with the sword voted by Congress, 506, 507. Purchases a fifty-gun ship, 543; 551, 552. On the opinions as to Washington's operations, VII. 377. Party against, in Congress; Vergennes's opinion of; solicits and obtains a loan, 379. Letter to, and his reply, after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, VIII. 188. Directs a medal to be struck in relation to Burgoyne and Cornwallis, 189. Cited respecting French officers on their return to France, 277. Commended by Count de Vergennes for his conduct in relation to the proposed treaty, 298. Discharges Lord Cornwallis from parole, 334. His laconic description of the temper of the British nation, 349. Cited respecting Broglie, 358; 372. His return to America, IX. 131, 149. Reëngages in public business, 144, 149, 539. A speech of, published with alterations, 289. His "Information for those who would wish to remove to America," 386. On the candidate for the presidency, 556. His letter to the President, X. 33. His death, 133, 497; letter from the National Assembly of France thereupon, 497.
Franklin, William, Governor of New Jersey, and others, propose the settlement of a colony on the Ohio, II. 483. Written to, by Brook Watson, III. 142. Guarded as a prisoner to Connecticut, 446. Designs to escape, 447. Decision of Congress respecting, 448. Requested to give

publicity to a declaration by Howe, IV. 3. Confined in Litchfield jail, V. 6. His request to see his wife, denied, 7. President of the Board of Directors of the Associated Loyalists, VIII. 218, 337.

FRANKS, DAVID S., Colonel, aid to Arnold, ignorant of Arnold's treasonable designs, VII. 217, 220, 533. His trial and acquittal, 267.

FRAUNCIS, SAMUEL, XII. 273.

FRAZIER, GEORGE, Lieutenant, absent at the time of Ensign Ward's capitulation, II. 7. Court-martial ordered respecting, 46. His conduct excusable, 47. Recommended for promotion, 62.

Frederic, Fort, built, II. 166. Commanded by Captain Beale, 243. Unadvisable place of rendezvous in Forbes's expedition, 277. British prisoners at, VI. 205.

Frederic County, Virginia, address to the citizens of, XII. 213.

Fredericktown, Washington's reception at, IX. 118.

FREEMAN, THOMAS, superintendent of Washington's affairs on the Western waters, directions to, XII. 275.

Free-masonry, XI. 314, 337.

Free-masons, address to King David's Lodge, at Newport, XII. 190; to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 200.

FRELINGHUYSEN, FREDERIC, Colonel, VII. 381; 561.

FRENCH, CHRISTOPHER, a British officer on parole, III. 105–108, 131, IV. 33. Exchange of, proposed for Major Meigs, 52.

French army, arrives at Newport; numbers of the, VII. 113. Disposition of, for the winter, 319. Detachment from, against Arnold, 426. Its junction with the American army, with a view to an attack on New York, VIII. 48, 50, 63–74, 81–86. Reinforced by an arrival at Boston, 74, 82. Movements of, towards the south, 130, 134, 139, 140. Reception of, at Philadelphia, 154. Progress of, to Virginia, 155, 161. It arrives before Yorktown, 168, 516. Remains in Virginia through the winter of 1781–2, 198. Its junction with the American army on the North River, 332, 340, 345. Ordered to Boston, and sails to the West Indies, 365, 367.

French fleet under Count d'Estaing, arrival of, from Toulon, with Gerard, V. 437, 439, 440, VI. 1–6. Brings French troops, 7. Various circumstances injuring the operation of the, 35. Under Ternay; equipment of, at Brest, VII. 32, 33, 493, 500. Measures and plans preparatory to its arrival on the coast, 32–51, 59, 71, 73, 80, 105–108. Compared with the English, 59, 113, 127. Its arrival at Newport, 107–113, 137, 500, 505. Plans and proceedings for coöperating with, and with the French army, 107–109, 113, 114, 120, 135, 136. Blockaded at Newport, 131, 196, 220, 290. Continental frigates to join the, 145. Sails for the Chesapeake, 447, 449, 457. To remain at Newport after Rochambeau's departure, VIII. 64, 65. Sails from Boston for the West Indies, 367. See BARRAS, ESTAING, GRASSE, *Orderly Book*, ROCHAMBEAU, and TERNAY.

French fleet, second division, expected, VII. 131, 135, 136, 143, 146, 148, 154. Blockaded at Brest, 176, 178, 182, 196, 319. Never comes to America, 319, 520.

French officers, how to be provided for, IV. 146. Difficulty of employing, in the service, 328, 446, 450. Decisions of Congress respecting, 329, 452. Embarrassments from, VI. 33. Their differences with the American officers, 37, 47, 58. See DUCOUDRAY, *Foreign officers*, and MALMEDY.

Frenchmen, an attempt to raise a corps of, IV. 327. See ARMAND.

FRESTEL, FELIX, tutor to George Washington Lafayette, arrives with him in America, XI. 64, 96. Invited to Philadelphia, 118. Goes to Mount Vernon, 197, 208. His care of his *protégé*; sails for France, 215, 223.

Frigates, Continental, employment of, in 1780, VII. 145, 154. See *Vessels*.

Frog's Point, the enemy land at, IV. 151, 154. British troops embark at, VII. 131, 137.

FRY, JOSHUA, appointed to command the expedition to the Ohio, in 1754, II. 4. Death of; facts respecting, 27. Virginia commissioner at the Logstown treaty, in 1752, 480.

FRYE, JOSEPH, appointed brigadier-general, III. 73, 310, 319. His resignation, 329, 389.

Fuel, scarcity of, in the American camp; a committee appointed by the Massachusetts General Court respecting, III. 164, 165. Want of, in Boston, 186. Howe's order respecting, 187.

Fur trade, queries concerning, IX. 302, 327. Two vessels fitted out to the Northwest Coast for the, X. 91.

Furloughs, suggestions respecting defects in, VII. 396, 397.

G.

GACHRADODOW, an Indian sachem, extracts from his speech to the Virginia commissioners at Lancaster, II. 14.

GAGE, THOMAS, Lieutenant-Colonel in Braddock's expedition, commands the advanced party at his defeat, and is wounded, II. 82, 470, 471. His letter to Washington, in 1755, 116. His conduct and proclamation at Boston, in 1774, 393. Disconcerted at the quiet and steady conduct of the colonists, 399. His official return of the loss at Bunker's Hill; extracts from his correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, III. 25, 113, 506, 511. His official report of the affair at Concord and Lexington reaches England, and is replied to, 35, 512. Dismisses Hancock from the command of the Boston Cadets; further remarks in connexion with his proclamations, 37, 507, 509, 510. Correspondence with the American Commander-in-chief about the treatment of prisoners; his reason for not penetrating the country, 59, 65, 67, 127, 500. Writes to Lord Dartmouth about taking possession of New York and Rhode Island, 113, 513. Is recalled, 113, 118, 511.

GALLOWAY, JOSEPH, IV. 205, 522.

Galphinston, treaty at, in 1785, XII. 86.

GALVAN, Major, VI. 457. Despatched to Cape Henry in anticipation of the arrival of the French fleet, VII. 35, 36, 41. Sent to Virginia; consequences thereof, 454, 471, VIII. 23, 26.

GALVEZ, DON BERNARDO DE, General, governor of Louisiana, captures the British forts at Natchez and Baton Rouge, VI. 476, 478. His offer to concert operations against the common enemy, VIII. 176.

GAMBLE, Captain, letters of, intercepted, III. 113. Captured, 245. Statement of, respecting the ill usage of American prisoners, IV. 274; Lord Howe's reply thereupon, 552.

Gaming in the camp condemned, II. 130, 132, 141, III. 296, IV. 436, VIII. 374.

GANNO, JOHN, officiates on occasion of the proclamation of the cessation of hostilities, VIII. 425.

GANSEVOORT, PETER, VII. 284.

Gardiner's Bay, British fleet blockading Newport, sustains damage there, VII. 403.

GARDOQUI, DON DIEGO, *Chargé d'affaires* from Spain, IX. 215; X. 73. His return to Spain, 74.

GARTH, a British general, his expedition to New Haven, VI. 291.

GATES, HORATIO, a captain in Braddock's expedition, II. 469. Appointed adjutant-general; arrives in Cambridge; facts respecting, III. 6, 7, 481. Sent to Congress on affairs pertaining to Canada; appointed major-general, 394, 395. Ordered to Canada; instructions to, 433, 435. Popularity of, in Congress, 436. His misunderstanding with Schuyler about command, 462. Supersedes Sullivan, IV. 4. Cited respecting the evacuation of Crown Point, sickness in the army, fitting out the fleet on the Lake; animadverts on officers, 12. Mistake of, corrected, 47. Joins the main army, on the Delaware, 241. Urged to become adjutant-general, 355. Ordered to Ticonderoga, 356. Returns to Philadelphia, V. 7. Recommended by the New England delegates in Congress; takes command of the Northern Department, 14, 16, 23, 37. His conduct about sending Morgan to the main army, 74. Favorable prospects of, in relation to Burgoyne, 74–76. Despatches Wilkinson to Congress, 114. To aid the main army, 121–125, 127. His communication to Washington of the capture of Burgoyne, 125. To secure the North River, 178. Chosen member of the new Board of War, 194, 213. Projects an expedition into Canada under Lafayette, 228, 530. Ordered to resume the command of the Northern Department; is invested with extensive powers, 333, 334, 338; to call at camp for consultation in regard to the campaign, 338, 345, 360; to retain all the eastern recruits on the North River, 374, 381. Wants reinforcements, 385, 386. See *Conway's Cabal*. Transmits letters about suspected persons in Vermont, VI. 7, 8. Marches to Danbury, 61; 87. Goes to Boston, 95, 106. Declines the command of the western expedition against the Indians, 189. Takes command at Providence, 189, 190, 274. Cited in regard to the Canada expedition and his unfriendly feelings towards Washington; remarks thereon and treatment of, by Congress, 214–224. His proposition to attack New York, 273. Directions to, upon Estaing's return from the West Indies, 300. Cited respecting the evacuation of Newport, 388. To march

to Peekskill or King's Ferry, 395, 400. Ordered to halt at Danbury, 401. Declines the command at West Point and goes to Virginia, 409. Appointed to the command in the Southern Department, VII. 72. Defeated near Camden, 185, 186, 189, 191, 197, 201, 205, 237, 555. Court of inquiry ordered respecting, 258, 259, 271. Retires to Berkeley County in Virginia, 275. Delay and final omission of a decision respecting, VIII. 69, 331. On his rejoining the army, 330. Presides at a meeting occasioned by the Newburg Addresses, 560, 565. Visits the Maryland Assembly respecting the western internal navigation, IX. 82.

Genealogy of the Washington family, I. 552.

General Orders. See *Orderly Book.*

GENET, minister of the French Republic, his proceedings in regard to the *Little Sarah*, X. 355, 536. Proceedings in relation to, 360, 368, 387. His recall, 400, 548. Conduct of, condemned by Fauchet, 401. The first mover of the Democratic Societies, 430, 438, 440. Message to Congress respecting, XII. 96.

Geneva, on the transplanting of the university of, to the United States, XI. 1, 19, 473.

George, Fort, III. 43. Threatened, IV. 492. Propriety of its evacuation considered, and approved, 494, 504. Capitulation of, VII. 269.

George, Lake, fort at, finished, II. 117.

GEORGE THE THIRD, his proclamation; proceedings of Congress thereupon, III. 204. His speech sent out from Boston; its consequences, 223–225. His address to Parliament respecting the French treaty, V. 363, 400. Extracts from his letters to Lord North in relation to the American war, VI. 531. Warlike character of his speech at the opening of Parliament, VIII. 243, 254, 294. Character of his proroguing speech, 344. Effects of the order of, respecting neutral vessels, X. 406, 408. See *British Ministry*, and *Great Britain*.

Georgetown, surprised by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, VII. 439. British treaty disapproved at, XII. 213.

Georgia, accedes to the measures of Congress, III. 55. Project of Congress for recovering, VI. 179. Its defenceless condition; measures for its security, 411. Land relinquished to, by the Creek Indians, XII. 86. Address to the General Assembly of, 179. Extract from their address; exposed and embarrassed situation of, 180. Slaves of, cross the Spanish line, 181. Address to Edward Telfair, governor of, 199. Soil and climate of, 325. Chief magistrates of, 416. Members of the Continental Congress from, 425; and during Washington's administration, 432.

GÉRARD, Minister Plenipotentiary from France to the United States, V. 440, VI. 9, 16. Discourages the applications of French officers, 33 Made acquainted with the protest to Estaing, 46. Interprets the French treaty as to the proposed expedition against Georgia, 179–181; 228. His visit to head-quarters, 220, 239, 249, 259. His opinion of Washington, 241, 259. On the effects of Spain's declaration of war, 341. His visit to the camp before his departure, 347, 378, 383. His return to France, 347, 348, 383, 469. His agency in forming the French treaty, 348. Cited respecting the election of Adams and Jay as ministers to Europe, 385. His opinion of Lafayette, 506.

GERMAIN, GEORGE, Lord, cited respecting trying General Lee as a deserter, and expected assistance from the Provincials, IV. 276, 277; respecting the loyalists, 520. Justifies in Parliament the employment of Indians, V. 275. On the conciliatory propositions, 341, 551. His instructions to General Clinton, 548. Cited, about harassing the seacoast, VI. 207; on the ingratitude of the Americans, 258; on Tryon's expedition into Connecticut, 293; on bringing the American war to a conclusion, 327; on the meeting of the commissioners at Amboy for exchange of prisoners, 513; on the condition of affairs in America in May, 1780, VII. 30. Writes about the destination of the French armament at Brest, 33. Extracts from his intercepted letters to Sir Henry Clinton, VIII. 112, 519.

German Flats, treaty with the Six Nations and other Indians at, IV. 62. Stores removed to, from Fort Schuyler, VIII. 56. See *Herkimer*.

German Lutheran Congregation in and near Philadelphia, address to the ministers, church-wardens, and vestrymen of the, XII. 147.

German Reformed Congregations, address to the ministers and elders of the, XII. 156.

German troops, III. 389. Resolve of Congress for raising, in Pennsylvania and Maryland, III. 444. See *Hessians*.
Germanic Confederacy, abstract of the, IX. 533.
Germantown, battle at, V. 78, 82, 102, 118, 463. Loss at, 82, 83, 90, 103. Letter of approbation and thanks from Congress thereupon, 83, 470.
Germany, the Emperor of, written to about Lafayette, XI. 125, 128. Measures for procuring laborers from, for the Federal District, XII. 305.
GERRY, ELBRIDGE, III. 20, 463. Cited respecting the choice of a commander-in-chief, 479. Deciphers Church's letter and sends it to Congress, 504. Cited, IV. 117; VI. 455; VIII. 569. Declines signing the Constitution, IX. 270, 541. Appointed minister to the French Republic, XI. 203, 208; 325.
GETCHELL, NEHEMIAH, reconnoitres on the Kennebec and Dead Rivers, and reports, III. 112.
GIBBONS, Lieutenant, commands a *forlorn hope*, at Stony Point, VI. 303, 539.
GIBBS, CALEB, Major, the case of, in connexion with the Provisional army, XI. 410, 420.
GIBSON, Colonel, VI. 205, X. 184.
GILL, MOSES, on a committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress for the reception of the Commander-in-chief, III. 484.
GIMAT, Chevalier, V. 171. Detached to the south, VII. 454, 471, VIII. 23, 26. Leads the van in the attack on a redoubt at Yorktown, 179. His return to France, 224.
GINNINGS, Sergeant, to be promoted for his bravery in Meigs's expedition, IV. 441.
GIST, CHRISTOPHER, cited about a request of an Indian to know where the Indians' land lay, II. 15; respecting the Twigtwee Indians, 37. Council of war at the house of, decides upon a retreat, 51, 456. Goes agent to Philadelphia, 108. His remarks on the estimation of Washington in Pennsylvania, 109. His qualifications, and appointment to manage Indian affairs, and his embarrassments, 236, 251, 260, 282–284. Attends Washington to the Ohio, in 1753, 432. The remnant of Braddock's army reaches the plantation of, 476. His agency for the Ohio Company, 479, 482. At the Logstown Treaty, 480. His settlement beyond the Alleganies, 482.
GIST, NATHANIEL, Colonel, receives instructions, IV. 271. Is directed to raise a body of five hundred Indians, 272. Bringing forward Maryland militia, V. 52, 61, 66. Skirmishes with the enemy near Chesnut Hill, 181. Sent to enlist Indians, 274. Informs the Commander-in-chief of the arrival of Count de Grasse, VIII. 154. Detached against the British at Combahee River, 357.
Gloucester, troops stationed near, VIII. 168. Surrender of, 182. See *Yorktown*.
GLOVER, JOHN, Colonel, commands a regiment at Boston, III. 456. Appointed brigadier-general, IV. 329. Declines the appointment, 399. Accepts it, 400. To reinforce Schuyler, 503; V. 163, 167. Detached to join Sullivan in Rhode Island, VI. 8, 11, 190, 286. To coöperate with the militia, 286; 305. To superintend the forwarding of the Massachusetts drafts, VII. 83; 336.
GODDARD, WILLIAM, publishes "Queries," by General Lee, and afterwards a recantation, VI. 309. Proposes to publish the manuscript papers of Lee, IX. 108.
GOODWIN, SAMUEL, a surveyor, assists Arnold by plans and a journal, III. 90.
GORDON, JAMES, a British major, an attendant on Captain Asgill, VIII. 303, IX. 170, 196.
GORDON, WILLIAM, the historian, his account of a conversation between Franklin and Pratt respecting independence, II. 496. In error respecting advance pay for riflemen, III. 101. On the Commander-in-chief's conduct at the flight of the troops from New York, IV. 95. Mistake of, respecting Lafayette's orders at Yorktown, VIII. 180. His application for papers for a history of the revolution, IX. 29. Information sent to, respecting Fort Washington, 100. Memoir of Lafayette transmitted to, 121. His publication of his "History of the Revolution," 295, 467.
GORDON, a British brigadier-general, wantonly shot by an American scout, IV. 56, 59.
GORE, CHRISTOPHER, XI. 130.
GORHAM, NATHANIEL, president of Congress, XII. 420.
GOUVION, from France, appointed major of engineers, IV. 491. Commended; measures for retaining, in the service, VI. 430. To repair to the main army, VII. 26; 204. Accompanies the Commander-in-chief to Hartford, 208. Despatched to arrest Joshua H. Smith, 214. To join Greene at West Point, 233. Required at head-quar-

tem, 296. To examine the positions and numbers of the enemy on the North River, 302; 445. His desire of a furlough to go to France, and of promotion, VIII. 194, 202.
Government, military, should be subservient to the civil authorities, III. 44. Jealousy and acts of Congress respecting a military, 51. Washington's regard for civil, 336. On putting into operation the acts of, XII. 21. To be respected and obeyed, 222. On opposition to, and innovations, 223. Baneful effects of party spirit in, 224. Effects of, on property in lands, 326.
Government, Seat of, statue of Washington to be erected at the, VIII. 472. Difficulty about fixing upon a, 485. On fixing it near the Falls of the Delaware, 488, IX. 95. New York objectionable for a, 549; X. 82. Fixed upon, surveyed, announced by proclamations and a message, 147, 148, 172, XII. 22, 89, 121. Progress of the public buildings there, 111. See *Federal City*.
Governors, Provincial, have no command of the troops, II. 310.
Graham, Catharine Macaulay, visits Mount Vernon, IX. 111, 282. Corresponds with Washington, X. 68–72. Death of, 169.
Grain, orders sent to Europe for, XII. 286, 292. Rollers used upon, 333. Hints about harvesting and sowing, 397.
Grant, Major, attacks Fort Duquesne, is made prisoner and sent to Montreal, II. 313. Colonel, repulses the Cherokees, 335.
Grape vines, forwarded from France to Mount Vernon, IX. 70.
Grasse, Count de, VIII. 50. Would detach a convoy with troops to unite with the French army at Newport, 64, 74. His destination and short stay on the coast of North America, 76, 78, 134, 162, 523. Communications to, 111, 130. His movements from the West Indies to the Chesapeake, 127, 134, 152–154. Count de Barras at liberty to join him or not, 134, 135. His arrival in the Chesapeake, 154–156, 158, 160. Joined by Count de Barras, 158–160, 516. Captures Lord Rawdon, 158. Captures two English frigates, 159, 160. Sends transports to carry troops, 161. His interview with land officers, 162, 163. His plans after Digby's arrival at New York, 163, 167, 528. Detaches marines to Gloucester, 168. Position of, 169, 170. Requested to send vessels up York River, and hesitates, 170–173. Requested to participate in the treaty at Yorktown, 181. Thanks and two pieces of field ordnance voted to, by Congress, 184. Requested to proceed against Charleston or Wilmington, 185–188, 192, 206. Visited by the Commander-in-chief, 187. Despatches a frigate to France with intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis, 188. Plan of coöperation for the ensuing campaign proposed to, 196. Sails from the Chesapeake, 197, 205. Presented with two horses, 198. Misfortunes and death of, IX. 359. Particulars of the coöperation with, in 1781, 402. Grant made by Congress to his daughters, XII. 319.
Grass-seeds, ordered from Europe, XII. 284, 292. Rolled, 333.
Graves, Admiral, III. 522, VII. 113. Arrives at New York and joins Arbuthnot, 127.
Gray, Ebenezer, Lieutenant-Colonel, directions to, after Arnold escapes from West Point, VII. 213.
Gray's Hill, near Elk, British advance to, V. 49.
Grayson, William, Colonel, commissioner respecting prisoners, V. 272. In Congress, IX. 124. On the thin representation in Congress, 177. On the *Connecticut Reserve*, 178. In Congress, 446, 459, XII. 270.
Great Britain, policy and conduct of, in regard to commerce, IX. 123, 150, 185, 191. Trade with, compared with France, 192, 338, 416. Private mission of Gouverneur Morris to, X. 43–45. Expectation of a minister from, 168. Appointment of an envoy extraordinary to, 399, 403, 404, 557. Suspected of intriguing with Algiers and Portugal, 401. Conduct of the agents of, in regard to the western posts and the Indians, 444. Summary of complaints against, XI. 100. Might have liberated Lafayette from confinement at Olmutz, 490. Gouverneur Morris's informal conferences with the ministers of; disposition of, about sending a minister to the United States; treaty with, XII. 58, 66, 91. Puts restraints on American commerce; minister from, 98. Message to Congress upon encroachments of, 104. Approbation of the National Board of Agriculture in, 330. Ministers to, during Washington's administration, 433. See *British*, and George the Third.
Great Kenhawa River, lands on the,

reserved for the first Virginia regiment, X. 220. Washington's lands there, XII. 264, 301, 318.
Great Meadows, encampment at, in 1754, II. 25. Skirmish near there with Jumonville's party, 26, 32, 447. Situation of the, 457. Washington the owner of land there, XII. 276, 319. See JUMONVILLE, *Necessity*, and *Ohio Expedition*.
GREATON, JOHN, Colonel, despatched to Canada, III. 365. Brigadier-general, VIII. 457, XII. 415.
GREEN, JOHN, Major, leads the advance at Mamaronec; dangerously wounded, IV. 524, 526. Lieutenant-Colonel, sent with a reinforcement to Fort Mifflin, V. 120.
GREENE, CHRISTOPHER, Colonel, in the expedition to Quebec, III. 164, 165, 250, 261. To take command at Red Bank; his instructions, V. 86, 91, 120. To coöperate with Baron d'Arendt, 101. His success against Donop; receives directions about prisoners and arms, 110–114. Sword voted to, by Congress, 155. Regiment and levies under, to join the army, VII. 138. Killed in action near Croton River, VIII. 48.
GREENE, EBENEZER, Captain, one of the hostages given at the Cedars, VI. 481, 482.
GREENE, GEORGE WASHINGTON, son of Nathanael Greene, VIII. 381. Facts respecting, IX. 202.
GREENE, NATHANAEL, brigadier-general, III. 23. Stationed at Winter Hill, 54. His humorous account of the examination of four suspected persons, IV. 9. Appointed major-general, 32. To assist a committee sent to King's County, 42, 43. Sick at the time of the battle on Long Island, 60, 62, 80, 513. Commends the retreat from Long Island, 80. Advocates the evacuation of New York, 85, 91. On Washington's vexation at the flight of the soldiers near New York, 92. Commands on the Jersey side of the North River, 124. On garrisoning Forts Lee and Washington, 158, 165. On the temper of the militia, 162. On the surrender of Fort Washington, 182. Despatched to Congress; instructions to, 367, 368. To put the North River and the passes of the Highlands in a condition for defence, 414, 434. On a mode for obstructing the North River, 416, 434. Harasses the British on their retreat to Amboy, 471. His letter declining to serve under Ducoudray; resolve of Congress thereon, 490, 491. Cited, before the battle of Trenton, 542. Extract from Hamilton's Eulogy on, 544. His opinion of short enlistments, 545; V. 44. At the battle of Germantown, 78–80, 464. To command a reinforcement for the support of Red Bank, 163. Does not approve attacking Philadelphia, 168. Cited respecting Lafayette, 170. Returns from New Jersey, 174. On a council of war at Valley Forge, 360. Commands the right wing at the battle of Monmouth, 426. Despatched to Rhode Island to take a command under Sullivan, VI. 22, 28. His efforts to induce Count d'Estaing to unite again in an attack on Newport, 40, 41, 45. On the conduct of officers in the action on Rhode Island, 51. Goes to Boston to facilitate the supply of the French fleet, 73. His efficiency and perplexities as quartermaster-general, and his resignation, 229, 230, 339. Questions to, upon violations of parole by officers, 277. The connexion of his services as quartermaster-general with actual military command, 337. Joined with Duportail in examining the grounds about Morristown, 419. On unfriendly feelings in Congress towards the Commander-in-chief, 422, 492. Consults Luzerne in relation to an expedition to Canada, 423. His difficulties about quartering officers, 428, 449–451. Visits Congress about the affairs of his department, 492. Proceedings in Congress about an inquiry into his conduct, VII. 5. On the perplexities of the quartermaster's department, 53; 65. Takes command of the troops at Springfield and its vicinity, 83, 85. Opposes the British in their expedition to Springfield, 85, 506. Directions to, on the proposed reduction of New York, 112; 139. His resignation as quartermaster, 145, 150, 512. Commended, 153. To command a foraging party, 173. Takes command of the army while Washington goes to Hartford, 207–209. Directions to, and his proceedings after the discovery of Arnold's treason, 215, 216, 221, 236, 539, 541–543. Solicits and obtains the command on the North River; directions to, 231, 232, 237. His appointment to the command of the southern army, 257–260, 263, 271–276, 286, 288. Directions to, about incursions on the frontiers of New York, 261. Invested with the power of negotiating an exchange of prisoners, 273,

288, 289. Plans the army, 289. His perplexing situation, 320, 321, 360. Great apprehensions for, 420. Retreats before Cornwallis, 438, 445, 456, 457. His engagement with Cornwallis at Guilford Court-House, 466, VIII. 5, 16. Approbation of the movements of, 116. Gains a victory at Eutaw Springs, 173, 188. Asks respecting retaliation in the case of Hayne, 217. Compels the enemy to abandon their outposts, 241. Reinforcements to, 242, 259, 267. Letter to, on the campaign of 1782, 317; on the prospects of peace, 326; respecting the southern army, 347. Congratulated on having put an end to the hostilities in the southern States, 380; 410. Urged to attend the meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati; his opinions respecting a change in it, IX. 22, 27, 495, 500. Death of, 180, 226, 243. Monument voted to, by Congress, 181, 182, 186; 201.

GREENE, WILLIAM, governor of Rhode Island, VII. 138. Desired the destruction of the fortifications at Newport, VIII. 270, 289.

Grenada, captured by Estaing, VI. 320.

GRENVILLE, Lord, VIII. 327, 540. Sends Fauchet's intercepted letter to the British minister in America, XI. 52, 55, 76. Representations to be made to, 99. Gives a special permit for shipments for the President, 129.

GREY, a British general, destroys Bedford, VI. 63, 66.

GRIDLEY, RICHARD, Colonel, facts respecting, III. 50, 148, 219.

GRIFFIN, CYRUS, appointed a commissioner to make a treaty with the southern Indians, X. 29, 57. Appointed district judge, 58, 59. President of Congress, XII. 420.

GRIFFIN, SAMUEL, Colonel, advances towards the British head-quarters in New Jersey, IV. 542; IX. 328, 361.

Griswold, Fort, carnage at, VIII. 179, 180.

Guard of the Commander-in-chief, circular respecting the formation of the, IV. 407.

GUICHEN, Count de, VII. 42, 154; 481. Requested to furnish assistance, 195, 199. Goes to France, 199, 239, 330. Proceedings upon the expectation that he is on the coast, 203, 208.

Guilford Court-House, action there, VII. 466.

Gullies, hints on, XII. 361, 366.

H.

Hackinsac River, position of the American forces at, 188, 189.

Haerlem, troops at, III. 75, 77. Head-quarters; position of the army at, IV. 93, 95. Skirmish at, 98, 104, 136. Removal from, 151–155. Decision of a council of war at, 155.

HALDIMAND, FREDERIC, a British lieutenant-general, III. 29. Requests troops, VI. 307, 367; VII. 179. Correspondence with, VIII. 428, 459, 461–465, 472.

HALE, NATHAN, Captain, biographical facts respecting; executed by the British as a spy; comparison of, with André, VII. 549–552.

HALF-KING, a sachem, whose Indian name was Tanacharison, a speech in reply to a friendly message from; is consulted by Ensign Ward, before his surrender at the Fork of the Ohio, in 1754, II. 7, 16. A short speech to, 20. His message about the approach of the French army, 25, 451. Present in the skirmish with Jumonville's party, 32, 452; his opinion of their intent; sends a message to the governor, 35. Sends to the Indians for warriors, 44. Receives the name of *Dinwiddie*, 47. Washington ordered to visit, in 1753, 428. His speech, 434. The French general's haughty reply, 435. His speech favoring the mission in 1753, 437. Accompanies the agent, 439. Offers the speech belt to Joncaire, 441. Is cautioned against Joncaire, 444.

Half-pay for officers after the termination of the war, V. 312, 313, 322, 351, 352. Morris cited respecting the prospects of, in Congress, 340. Finally settled, 370, 381. Again recommended, VI. 169. Established in Pennsylvania, VII. 166, 247. Agreed to, by Congress, 247, 255, 256, 297. Lincoln cited respecting the, VIII. 356. Remarks on the, in connexion with the "Newburg Addresses," 398, 403. Not to be viewed in the light of a pension, 448. Opposed in Connecticut, IX. 6.

Halifax, proclamations respecting strangers coming to, III. 169. Irish regiments arrive at, 282. British fleet sails from, for Sandy Hook, 441. Proposed destruction of, by the French, VII. 33, 36. Successful measures taken to procure information respecting, 36–38.

HALKET, FRANCIS, Major, II. 277. Wounded at Braddock's defeat, 471.

HALKET, SIR PETER, II. 79. Acts as

brigadier under Braddock, 82, 468. Killed, 88, 471.
HALL, JOSIAS C., Colonel, his disobedience of orders, V. 304. Cited, 305; X. 150, 154.
HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, Captain of a New York artillery company, III. 368. Extract from his Eulogy on Greene, IV. 544. Despatched to Congress with the result of a council of war, V. 40. Sent to Philadelphia to procure blankets and clothing, 67. Sent to Gates and Putnam, 122, 123, 125, 127. Meets with obstacles, 156. Orders Putnam to send troops to the main army, and is sustained by the Commander-in-chief, 160 – 163. A commissioner respecting prisoners, 272. On the conduct of Congress in regard to prisoners, 306; 502. His letter respecting Conway's Cabal, 508; 525. Sent to Count d'Estaing, upon his arrival on the coast, VI. 5, 9, 11. Estaing's opinion of, 105. Meets British commissioners respecting the Convention troops, 139. Despatched to Count d'Estaing, 378 – 380. Receives directions, 398; 409. Commissioner to exchange prisoners, 483. Despatched to Verplanck's Point, to intercept and seize Arnold, VII. 215. Recommended by Lafayette and Greene for the office of adjutant-general, 315, 321, 322. His qualifications to go as special minister to France, 341. Commended, 399; VIII. 22. Applies for employment in a light corps in the army, 26. Takes command of a battalion and joins the advanced corps under Scammel, 117, 118. His bravery at the storming of the redoubts at Yorktown, 179. In Congress, 179, 379, 388, 410, 418. Chairman of a committee for a Peace Establishment, 417; IX. 260; 541. Disagrees with Clinton, 272. A writer in *The Federalist*, 284. Cited about Washington's being President, 421, 434, 437. Appointed Secretary of the Treasury, X. 11. To make investigations of the accounts against the British prisoners, 63. His interview with Major Beckwith, and preparations for the opening of Congress, 116, 494. On the powers of the national government, 156; 161. On the reëlection of the President, 258, 510. His disagreement with Jefferson, 280, 283, 306, 515. On an act making provision for the debt of the United States, 288. On the insurrection in Pennsylvania, 291, 297, 526. His opinion as to the place and mode of administering the inaugural oath to the President, 321, 323. On a loan in Holland, and about the Indians, 349, 352. Gives notice of his resolution to resign, 351. Sick with the malignant fever, 368. Inquiry into his management of the Treasury Department, 370, 396, 554. His opinion as to the power of the Executive to change the place of convening Congress, 378, 550. Remarks on his nomination to the court of Great Britain, 399, 557. His continuance in office, 413, 414. On compensation for captured vessels, 421. Goes with the army against the Pennsylvania insurgents, 448. Letters from, 450. His resignation, XI. 16; 95. Opposes the call of the House of Representatives for papers in relation to the British treaty, 116. Cited respecting Rufus King's qualifications for minister to London, 128. On the conduct of France, 187; on Washington's taking command of the Provisional army, 236, 532. His appointment in the Provisional army, 258, 264, 265, 268, 278, 282, 283, 297, 304, 307, 312, 530, 537. His commission given to, 330. Queries to, about the Provisional army, 341, 344. Drafts the arrangements for raising and organizing it, 346; 375. On the disposition of military forces and posts, 422. Instructions to, 417, 563. Cited respecting a letter from Mr. King, 436. Recommends Wilkinson's promotion, 439; 452. His note to the President respecting his Farewell Address, XII. 391. His agency in it, 394.
HAMILTON, HENRY, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, capitulates, and is made in a degree a subject for retaliation, VI. 315. Released from imprisonment, 407; VII. 240. Permitted to go to New York, 291.
HAMILTON, JAMES, governor of Pennsylvania, II. 11, XII. 417.
HAMILTON, a British brigadier-general, proposition for exchanging, V. 358.
HAMMOND, SIR ANDREW, arrives, with British reinforcements, at New York, VI. 380.
HAMMOND, GEORGE, British minister, complains of indignities; is recalled, XI. 42. His conduct in regard to Fauchet's intercepted letter, 52, 55.
HANBURY, a merchant of London, prominent in the Ohio Company, II. 479; 481.
HANCOCK, JOHN, proposes joining the army, III. 36. His election to the presidency of Congress, 37. Letters of, cited, respecting an attack on Bos-

ton, 221; on the inactivity of the fleet and conduct of the officers, 353; on the visit of the Commander-in-chief to Philadelphia, 395, 466; ordering Wooster's recall from Canada, 411; respecting reinforcements for the Northern Department, 443; on the loss of Canada, 445; on communicating the Declaration of Independence to the Commander-in-chief, 457; respecting General Lee's situation as prisoner, IV. 273; respecting the resolve of Congress pertaining to Lee, 337. Retires from Congress; furnished with an escort, V. 106, 107, 133. Presents a copy of Washington's portrait to Count d'Estaing, VI. 71. Requested to favor a proposed expedition against Penobscot, VIII. 329; to aid Vaudreuil, 350; IX. 557. His reception of the President at Boston, X. 47, 48, 489.

Hand, Edward, Lieutenant-Colonel, recommended for a colonelcy, III. 315. Promoted, 319. Retreats before the British on Long Island, IV. 60. Appointed brigadier-general, 373; V. 362. Ordered to succeed Stark, VI. 93; 111; to repair to Minisink, 122, 194; 264. Commands a brigade of light infantry, VII. 135. Recommended for the office of adjutant-general, 314, 321; 336; VIII. 564. His faithful discharge of his duties, IX. 9. Recommended for brigadier-general in the Provisional army, XI. 265, 299.

Handbills, dispersed among the troops in New York, in July, 1775, III. 30.

Hanoverian troops, III. 382.

Hanson, John, chosen president of Congress, VIII. 209, 214. His address to the Commander-in-chief upon his visiting Congress, and the reply, 212. Will not serve as district judge, X. 56.

Hanson, Samuel, Colonel, 366, 409, 460.

Harmar, Josiah, Brigadier-General, his expedition against the Wabash Indians, X. 119.

Harper's Ferry, advantages of, for a public arsenal, XI. 69, 231. Measures for stationing troops at, 457–467.

Harris, engaged in getting powder from Bermuda, III. 47.

Harrisburg, address to the citizens of, XII. 209.

Harrison, Benjamin, member of the Williamsburg Convention and of the first General Congress, II. 396; III. 123. Member of the first Board of War, 426; V. 35. Speaker of the House of Delegates in Virginia, VI. 142. Letter to, respecting the Convention troops and General Phillips, 257. Written to, for militia, VIII. 290, 381. His visit to Mount Vernon, IX. 13, 19, 26, 30. Approves a plan for Western internal navigation, 68. On shares in the Potomac and James River Companies given to Washington, 83. On the Federal Constitution, 266; 475.

Harrison, Charles, appointed colonel of a regiment of artillery, IV. 191.

Harrison, Henry, Captain, receives orders, II. 144.

Harrison, Robert Hanson, appointed aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief; acts as secretary; confidential and serviceable, III. 136, 166, 257. His account of the battle of Long Island, IV. 68, 513. Cited respecting the removal of the troops from Haerlem, 154. Instructions to, investing him with powers relative to prisoners, 348. Has interviews with Colonel Walcott, the British commissioner, and declines accepting a paper for the Commander-in-chief, 360, 557. On the operations of the army near White Plains before the battle, 524. His account of the action on Chatterton's Hill, 526. His letter, written at the battle of the Brandywine, V. 57; 99, 100. Chosen member of the new Board of War, but declines, 194. Commissioner about prisoners, 272. Meets British commissioners at Perth Amboy respecting an exchange of the Convention troops, VI. 139. A commissioner at Amboy, 213, 506. Accepts an appointment in Maryland, VIII. 14. Does not accept the appointment of associate justice, X. 53. Death of, 92.

Harrows, XII. 295.

Hart, Captain, attacks boats on Long Island, V. 212.

Hartley, Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, stationed at Crown Point with the sixth battalion of the Pennsylvanians, IV. 12; V. 422.

Hartshorne, William, wishes for the interference of the President elect at Philadelphia, IX. 489.

Harvard College, occupied by the troops, III. 20. Manuscript papers deposited in the library of, by R. H. Lee, 35. Savage takes a portrait of Washington for, X. 64. Address to the President and Fellows of, XII. 173.

Harvesting, hints about, XII. 337.

Harvey, Reuben, a merchant in Ire-

land who befriended American prisoners, VIII. 453.
Haskell, E., Major, IX. 459.
Haslet, John, Colonel, killed at Princeton, IV. 259. His account of the battle of Long Island, 516. His attack on a British party at Mamaronec, 526. His account of the battle at Chatterton's Hill, 527.
Hatfield, John Smith, complaint made of his being detained by the Americans, and inquired into, VIII. 282, 291, 313, 537.
Hawkins, Benjamin, procures a specimen of the language of the southern Indians, IX. 306; X. 479.
Hawley, Joseph, Major, first uses the words, "We must fight," II. 405. Spirited letters of, cited, III. 437, 438, 489.
Hay, Udney, Colonel, to detain shipcarpenters in his employ, VII. 75; 147. Provides wood for the garrison, 148. His exertions to obtain flour, 205.
Hayes, a British major, permitted to go to New York, VII. 291.
Hayne, Isaac, Colonel, proposition to retaliate for the treatment of, VIII. 217, 218.
Haynie, Elizabeth, to have a tenement, rent-free, XII. 263.
Hazard, Ebenezer, postmaster-general, IX. 393.
Hazelwood, John, Commodore, his unsuccessful enterprise against the British batteries in Philadelphia, V. 77. Commands the shipping in the Delaware, 87. Silences a redoubt at the mouth of the Schuylkill, 90; 101. His account of the naval part of the action in the attack on Red Bank, 113. Misunderstood by Smith, 121; 132. Sword voted to, by Congress, 155.
Hazen, Moses, appointed colonel of a second Canadian regiment, III. 250. Commands at Montreal; cited about the Canadians, 361. His account of the Indians, 364. Colonel of the regiment called *Congress's Own*, IV. 267. Ordered from Wilmington towards Albany, V. 228, 292. In the battle of Germantown, 469. Despatched to Congress respecting the proposed Canada expedition of, 1778, VI. 64, 66. Marches to join Irvine, 443, 444, 453, 454; VIII. 68. Receives orders and designates by lot an officer for retaliation in the case of Huddy, 280, 297, 301. His success in intercepting illicit intercourse between New York and New Jersey, 386. Memorial from his officers, sent to Congress, 466; IX. 197.
Heard, Sir Isaac, Garter King of Arms, his researches to ascertain the pedigree of the Washington family, I. 539, 546.
Heard, Nathaniel, General, III. 446. Ordered to apprehend Tories, 452. Moves towards Aquackanoc, IV. 432.
Heath, William, appointed brigadier-general, III. 23. Stationed at Cambridge, 54. Detached to New York, 333. Appointed major-general, IV. 32. Opposes the evacuation of New York, 92. Commands at the posts in the Highlands, 172. To move toward New York after the battle of Princeton, 263, 265, 270. Summons Fort Independence to surrender, and retreats, 280, 310. His conduct censured, 307, 308. Justifies himself, 308. To countermand troops from Ticonderoga to Peekskill, 361; V. 221. To hasten forward troops to the North River, 358, 359. To send the Convention troops to Charlottesville, VI. 94. Resumes the command at Boston, 274. Ordered to head-quarters, 276. Moves toward the enemy in Connecticut, 292, 293. Commands the left wing of the army on the North River, 304. Takes command at West Point, 409, 425. Directed to concert signals with Governor Clinton, 426; to superintend the recruiting service, VII. 16; to procure information about Halifax, 36; to repair to Providence in anticipation of the arrival of the French fleet, in 1780, 71. Cited upon its arrival at Newport, 108, 113. Endeavours to secure the French there against the British, 127. Wishes to join the army, but desired to continue with Rochambeau, 155. Ordered to dismiss militia, 174; to join the main army, 216, 218; to take the command at West Point, 258, 259. Directions to, 268. To detach regiments to the north, 283. To command a foraging party which was to operate as a feint, 293. Selects and arranges troops to quell the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, 363. Directions to, 365, 426. To march to Morristown, 410, 417. Commands the army while Washington is gone to Newport, 446. His dissatisfaction about the detachment of field-officers to the south, 453–456. Despatched to the Eastern States to represent the distresses of the army, VIII. 36, 39. Takes command of the troops that remain after the army marches to Virginia, 136. Appointed to meet an officer to receive papers

relating to Lippencot's trial, 324. A commissioner at the meeting at Tappan in regard to a general cartel, 342. Describes the ceremony of the proclamation for the cessation of hostilities, 425. Letter to, upon his departure from the army, 454, 457. Publishes his *Memoirs*, XI. 200.

Hebrew Congregation of Savannah, address to the, XII. 185.

Hedges, the raising of, XII. 332, 356.

HEINAKEN, a Dutch consul, XI. 26–29.

HEINTZ, JEAN DE, IX. 14, 16.

HEISTER, commander-in-chief of the Hessian troops, IV. 418.

Helvetic Confederacy, abstract of the, IX. 524.

Hemp, on the encouragement of the growth of, X. 197. Inquiries respecting; bounty received on, XII. 263.

HENDRICKS, JOHN and BAKER, V. 219, 231.

HENLY, THOMAS, Major, aid-de-camp to General Heath, killed in the attack on Montresor's Island; his character, IV. 136.

HENRY, PATRICK, member of the Williamsburg Convention, and of the first General Congress, II. 396. Proposes a state of defence, 405. One of the first to speak of independence, 497. His opinion of Rutledge and Washington in Congress, 506. Appointed colonel, III. 152; 309 Governor of Virginia, IV. 135. Sends Walker to head-quarters on secret business, 329. His letters respecting Conway's Cabal, V. 495, 512, 513. Chairman of a committee of the Virginia legislature to receive Washington, IX. 72; 85, 142. Favors Lady Huntington's Plan, 92, 111. On the Federal Constitution, 266, 273, 356, 370, 373, 378, 382. His influence in the Virginia Assembly, 433, 446. Will not accept a senatorship, X. 96. Opposed to the constitution, 430, 562. Reasons for not appointing, to office, 431. The offering of the secretaryship of State to, XI. 78–81, 83. His election to the Virginia Assembly, 390, 391. His letter to Mr. Blair, 391, 557. Declines the appointment of minister to France, 404. His decease, 437. His political opinions, 556; XII. 277.

Heraldry, observations on, XII. 297.

HERIOT, GEORGE, written to, about the British treaty, XII. 212.

Herkimer, Fort, new fortifications to be erected at, VIII. 57. Magazine to be formed at, 471. See *German Flats*.

Herringtown, skirmish at, VI. 75, 76.

HERTBURN, WILLIAM DE, proprietor of the Washington manor in the county of Durham, I. 540.

Hessian prisoners, to be cantoned in the German counties, IV. 257. Safe conduct granted to their stores and medicines, 268. Necessaries sent to, 418.

Hessians, III. 382. Measures adopted to entice, from the enemy, IV. 66. Their humanity to prisoners, 309. Reinforce the British at New York, in 1781, 127, 133. See *German troops*.

HETH, WILLIAM, Colonel, XI. 299.

HICKEY, THOMAS, execution of, III. 441.

Highlanders. See *Scotch Highlanders*.

Highlands, importance of the passes of, IV. 154, 178, 426, 441; V. 4, 7. Importance of keeping the enemy from getting possession of, 11, 89. Measures for securing, 73. Posts there, threatened, 89. See *Montgomery* and *North River*.

HILLEGAS, Mrs., VII. 408.

HILLSBOROUGH, Lord, his conduct in relation to Walpole's Grant, II. 484, 485.

HINMAN, Colonel, III. 43. Commands the Connecticut troops at Ticonderoga, 63.

Hippopotamus, a machine for raising mud, XII. 274.

Hispaniola, insurrection there, and supplies sent to, X. 194, 195. Money voted by Congress for the relief of, XII. 105.

HOAKESLEY, ROBERT, cited respecting the treatment of the Convention troops, VII. 124.

HOGG, PETER, Captain, II. 98, 116, 164. Ordered to the Upper Tract, 179. Builds a fort at Vass's place, 190, 191. Is deserted by Captain Daniel, 192; 193. Joins Lewis and Woodward, 251; 260.

Hogs at Mount Vernon, XII. 314. Hints in regard to, 364.

HOLKER, agent of the French marine, and consul from France, VI. 104, VII. 47.

HOLLAND, Lord, furnishes to the Editor curious extracts from the letters of George the Third to Lord North, respecting the American war, VI. 531.

Holland, loans in, XII 13, 22, 33, 107. Ministers to, during Washington's administration, 434.

Holland emigrants. See *Palatines*.

HOLMAN, Colonel, arrives at New York, IV. 27.

Honey-locusts, directions about, XII. 338.

Hopewell, Fort, on the South Branch; engagement at, II. 148.
Hopkins, Esek, Commodore, Howe gets knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet of, III. 226; 275. Is warned of the intentions of the British fleet to blockade him; makes a descent on Providence Island; ordered to appear before Congress, and censured, 353. His engagement with the *Glasgow*, 354. Aided by troops from Washington, 367.
Hopkinson, Francis, of the Navy Board, V. 116. His letter to Duché, 478.
Hopkinson, Joseph, IX. 106.
Horses, III. 16. Price of, IV. 270. Removed from the neighbourhood of the enemy's lines, 311. Price of, VI. 80. At Mount Vernon, XII. 314. Directions in regard to, 364.
Horse-hoe invented by Poellnitz, X. 68.
Hospital, complaints against the, on Hudson's River, IV. 299. Wants, V. 207. On the location of a marine, at the seat of government, XII. 322.
Hospitality, directions respecting, at Mount Vernon, III. 171.
Hostilities, cessation of, ordered, VIII. 416, 421, 425, 542, 567.
Houdon, M., employed to execute a statue of Washington, IX. 51, 131–133, 138, 144, 185.
Hounds sent from Europe to Mount Vernon, IX. 124, 129, 164.
Household steward, inquiries, qualifications, and compensation for a, XII. 273.
Howard, John Eager, Colonel, his account of the battle of Germantown, V. 468. Declines being Secretary of War, XI. 94, 97, 106. Recommended for brigadier-general in the Provisional Army, 265.
Howe, George, Lord, killed at Ticonderoga, in 1758, II. 298, III. 202. His popularity; monument erected to, in Westminster Abbey, by the Province of Massachusetts, 202.
Howe, Richard, Lord, Admiral, III. 449, 453, 463. Sends the *Phœnix* and *Rose* up the North River, 468. His letter directed "To George Washington, Esq.," 473. His intercourse with Lord Drummond, 527. Declares himself and his brother commissioners for granting pardons, IV. 2. Letters to, respecting the exchange and treatment of prisoners, 50, 273. Orderly Book cited respecting, 52. Sends General Sullivan with a message to Congress, 71. His conference with a committee respecting peace, 88. With General Howe, issues a proclamation, offering pardon, 205. On the treatment of prisoners, 550. Joined with Lord North's commissioners, V. 397. Sails from the Hook with his fleet, VI. 26. Is seen off Point Judith and pursued by Estaing, 29. Comes round again to Newport, 63.
Howe, Robert, appointed brigadier-general, and ordered to the Southern Department, III. 294, 319. Commands in Georgia; consulted respecting an expedition to St. Augustine, IV. 366. At Charleston, V. 451. Ordered against Verplanck's Point, and retreats, VI. 299, 300. Ordered to Ridgefield, 305; to make West Point the capital object of his attention, VII. 74, 78, 84, 88; to divert the enemy, 77; to dismiss all the militia at his garrison, 92. His qualifications to command at West Point, 94. To forward the New Hampshire and Massachusetts militia, 121. Commands troops to quell a mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, 363, 366. Ordered to march against the Jersey line, 380, 382. Subsequent directions to, 389, 563. Thanks to, and to the officers and men under his command, 565; VIII. 109. Marches to Philadelphia to suppress a mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops, 457–459.
Howe, Sir William, British lieutenant-general, commands the British troops on Bunker's Hill, III. 17. Complains of firing on officers sent for parley, 67. Succeeds General Gage at Boston, 113, 118, 511. Answers Lord Dartmouth's letter to Gage respecting abandoning Boston; discourages the dividing of the forces; approves repairing to Rhode Island, 114. His proclamations and association, 140, 159. Obtains intelligence of the state of the American army, 157, 176. Organizes the *Loyal American Associators* in Boston, 162. On the state of affairs December 3d, 1775, 186. His order respecting the destruction of houses and fences for fuel, 187. His letter respecting Ethan Allen; writes to Lord Dartmouth respecting retaliation, and exchange of prisoners, 203. Withholds aid from Governor Tryon, and gives him advice how to proceed, 224. Obtains full knowledge of the proceedings of Congress, 226. His orders respecting the habits and appearance of the army, 236. His opinion of the American army, 248; 268, 281; 290. Writes

[illegible] Refugees from Boston, 185. Letters from the proclamations before evacuating Boston, 206–208. His measures on receiving the evacuation to Charleston, 485. Leaves Halifax, 488. Head-quarters of, on Staten Island, his prospect of reinforcements from the Tories, 452. On the destruction of Falmouth, 380–382. His letter to "George Washington, Esq. &c. &c. &c." and his account of the affair, IV. 4, 320. Writes concerning prisoners, I. 142, 232, 289, 355–360. Letters to, respecting exchanges and treatment of prisoners, 23, 32, 105, 107, 163, 208, 210, 224, 225, 227, 230, 454, 496, 537. His return of American prisoners and the British lines on Long Island, 71. On the burning of New York, 240. On a mill cut and fitted to the end of a mast: his letter to Lord Germain cited, preparing ships and troops for the campaign of 1777. His expectations of recruits from the Americans, and disappointment, 107, 108, 519. Complains that the treaty between Foster and Arnold was not ratified, 105, 140, 142; 143. Is made a knight of the Bath: festivities thereupon in New York, 143. His plan for the campaign of 1777, 195. Returns an intercepted letter unopened, 198, 329. His proclamation offering pardon, 205. Corresponds with Lord Germain about trying General Lee as a deserter, 276, 277. Lands in New Jersey in February, 1777, 325. Probabilities weighed, that he will march to Philadelphia, 339. Changes his plan for the campaign of 1777, 392. Offers a bounty to deserters, 409. His advance to Somerset Court-House, 402. Retreats without loss to Brunswick, 467, 479. His expected junction with Burgoyne, 475, 476, 481. Embarrasses Washington by his movements, 501, 502, 505. Disapproves the ill treatment of prisoners, 510, 512. Writes about the exchange of Skene and Lovell, and regrets the want of a personal communication, 512. Cited respecting the raising of loyalists, 522. His intercepted letter to Burgoyne, V. 4, 5. Issues his "Declaration" near the Head of Elk, 51. Writes concerning prisoners, 54, 51[illegible]–521, 535–539. Written to, about prisoners, 54, 136, 147, 163, 175, 218, 220, 214, 263, 272. His humanity to the Americans wounded at the battle of the Brandywine, 62, 63. His letter on the destruction of mills, 80. Courtesy to, in returning a dog, 82. Dissatisfied at not being reinforced, and asks a resignation, 108, 163. Wishes his leave, 179. His expression to Clinton, 183, 189, 192. Declines granting passports to vessels for supplying the Convention Troops with food and provisions, 208, 209, 261. On the American army at Valley Forge, 291. Writes to, concerning Ethan Allen's rank and the seizure of a deserter with a flag of truce, 293. His resignation accepted, 337, 345. Joined to British commissioners; returns to England, 395, 397. See *British Army* and BURGOYNE.

HAWKINS, DAVID. IX. 47. Commissioner to ascertain the eastern boundary. XI. 120.

HAYNE, JOHN A. Captain, particulars of his apprehension and execution, VIII. 262, 263. Retaliation demanded for the treatment of, 283, 286. The selection of a subject for retaliation for, 289–293, 294, 297, 301–303. See ASGILL.

Hudson's River. See *North River.*

HUGER, FRANCES K., his attempt to effect Lafayette's escape from prison at Olmutz. XI. 111, 492.

HUGER, Major, his house the first entered by Lafayette in America, V. 451, 452.

HULL, WILLIAM, Major, his rank restored to. VI 467. At the storming of Stony Point, 539. Colonel, in the expedition against Delancey's corps at Morrisania. VII 256, 357, 385, 392. Endeavoured to dissuade Hale from going as a spy to Long Island. VII. 550. Sent to Rochambeau, VIII. 94.

Humane Society of Massachusetts, IX. 389.

HUMPHREYS, DAVID, Lieutenant-Colonel, his enterprise against York Island. VII. 305. His unsuccessful attempt to surprise Knyphausen or Clinton, 338. Aid to the Commander-in-chief, VIII. 193. Despatched to Sir Guy Carleton, with a proclamation and resolves of Congress, 427. Recommended, IX. 6–8, 46, 48. Chosen secretary to the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign powers, 8, 45, 46. Goes to France, 46. His qualifications for a work connected with the Revolution, 113; 135. His return to the United States, 196. His publication respecting Asgill, 196, 221. On Washington's attending the Convention, 228, 238. Accompanies the President elect to New York, 487. Appointed a commissioner to make a treaty with the

southern Indians, X. 29. Goes to Europe, 105, 108. His appointment to the court of Lisbon; citation from, 138. Takes charge of the public property at Gibraltar, 333. Sent to Spain with instructions, XII. 92; to Portugal, 93.
HUNT, Captain, at Vass's, II. 191.
HUNTER's genealogy of the Washington family of Adwick-le Street, I. 554.
Hunting shirts. See *Indian dress.*
HUNTINGTON, JEDEDIAH, Colonel, at Danbury, IV. 405. Cited respecting General Wooster's bravery, 406. Detached to join Varnum and Greene, V. 163, 167. Cited respecting the destitution of provisions among the troops, 193. Appointed on a court of inquiry, 280; 392. Ordered to take post at Suffern's, VII. 88; 336; VIII. 457.
HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL, President of Congress, VI. 380. His resignation, VIII. 112, 114. Governor of Connecticut; death of, XI. 107.
HUNTINGTON, Countess of, her project in relation to the Indians, IX. 86, 91, 96, 111.
HUNTINGTON, a letter respecting the appointment of, to a lieutenancy, III. 108.
HUSBAND, HERMAN, apprehended as a fomenter of the insurrection in Pennsylvania, X. 449.
HUTCHINS, THOMAS, IX. 195.
Hutting troops, directions respecting, V. 525, XI. 460.
HYDE, WEST, Colonel, British commissioner to effect an exchange of prisoners, VI. 213, 509.

I.

Illuminati, Society of the, XI. 314, 337.
IMLAY, J. H., speaker of the House of Assembly of New Jersey, XII. 236.
Importations, Washington's practice respecting, II. 331, XII. 253.
Impost, opposition to, and prospects of an, IX. 36, 157. Acceded to, 162, 183.
Independence, American, Horace Walpole's remark concerning, II. 41. Said to be aimed at by the people of Massachusetts, and denied, 399, 401. When first designed by the principal persons in America, 402, 496. Parties in Congress respecting, III. 347, 357. Declared by Congress, 455. Declaration of, proclaimed to the army, 457; not signed by Clinton and Livingston, 469. Gage's letters to Lord Dartmouth cited, respecting, 513. Favored by a small party in Parliament, V. 324; 327, 350. Expectations of, from the French treaty, 357, 366; VIII. 298, 371. Means necessary for the support of, 443.
Independence, Fort, taken possession of by the British, IV. 158. Summoned to surrender by General Heath, 281. His explanation of the affair, 308.
Independence, Mount, opposite Ticonderoga, IV. 6. Evacuated, 493.
Independent companies, in Virginia, II. 4, 506. To act separately from the colonial, 65; 405. Their spirited conduct, and letters, upon Lord Dunmore's removing the powder from Williamsburg, in 1775, 507. Address to, by the Commander-in-chief, III. 4.
Indian affairs, badly managed, II. 235. French policy, and a special agent recommended for, 235, 236. Vicissitudes in the, 237. Managed by Gist, 251, 269. Sole management of, left to Atkin and Gist, 284. Commissioners of, V. 273, 414.
Indian dress and *shirts*, recommended, II. 292, 293. Adopted in part, 294. Recommended, III. 21, 46, IV. 462.
Indian language, a vocabulary of, requested, IX. 165, 195, 213, 249, 301, 306. Remarks on, by Zeisberger, 364.
Indian Prophecy, a drama, the foundation of, II. 476.
Indian war-dance, described, II. 417.
Indians, treaty with the, at Lancaster, in 1744, II. 14, 480. Expect presents and pay, 21, 23, 59. Their custom of giving names, 47. Should be kept in favor, 110. A good agent should be sent to the, 111. Their great power of annoyance, 134. Should be engaged, 135, 147; 235. Enraged with Atkin for imprisoning ten of their number, 245. Must be furnished with provisions, 253. Cannot be guarded against by troops, 267. Their importance, 276, 318. Are mercenary, 276. Seven hundred join Forbes's expedition, 279. Accompanied in their excursions by whites; small parties of, more effectual than whites, 294. Neglected by Braddock, 475; 480. In the western parts of New York begin to be restless, III. 41. Favorably inclined to the colonies, 54, 55, 60, 119. Intention of Congress in regard to employing them, 63, 407. Instructions to Arnold respecting them, 90. British ministry's intention to engage, 210. Effect of the taking of Montreal upon them; should be engaged, 368,

384. Present at the review of Sullivan's brigade, 391. Treaty with them at German Flats, 408. Bounty offered to, for prisoners, 430. Employed by British and Americans, 494. First movements of Congress towards employing, 496. Of no essential service during the Revolutionary war, 497. Colonel Gist authorized to procure, IV. 272. Their favorable disposition to be cultivated, V. 3. Employment of them, 273. Disposition of, towards the Americans, 354, 387, 414. Western expedition against them, VI. 184–189, 205, 235, 247, 356, 384. Some of them desire peace, 240, 384. General rules upon attacking, 265. Incursions of, at Shenesborough and Tryon County, 495. Vaudreuil's token to them; their visit to Rochambeau, and his speech, VII. 183, 184. Their incursions stopped by authority, VIII. 360. Measures proposed in regard to them after the war, 477. Justice to be the basis of proceedings with, X. 107. On the mode of civilizing and educating, 132, 248. Difficulty with, from land-jobbing, and the proceedings of the New York legislature, 156, 172. Measures taken for their protection, 195. Causes of the difficulties with them, 240, 261, 288, 434. Major Trueman murdered, 260, 282. Attack the station at Nashville, 262, 279. Hints about treaties with, 263, 265, 267. Spanish interference, 267, 278. Movements for a treaty with them at the Lower Sandusky, 328, 335, 343. Remarks for and against annuities to, and respecting treaties, XI. 10, 12. The constitutionality of a negotiation with, by an individual State, questioned, 30. How to be treated, XII. 29, 30. Measures should be taken for restraining the commission of outrages upon them, 30. Measures recommended for conciliating their attachment, 40, 52, 62, 65. Commerce with, and trading-houses recommended, 40, 53. Inadequacy of the measures to protect them from violence, 61. Message to Congress respecting hostilities with them, 79. Message respecting treaties with them, 81. See *United Brethren*.

Indians, Caghnawaga, near Montreal, a chief of, visits the American camp; communicates information, III. 54. A party of, visit Schuyler, 245. Visit Washington, 260. Embarrassments about employing them, 262. Visit Rochambeau at Newport, VII. 183.

Indians, Catawba, II. 10, 111. Visited by commissioners, 114. Must be engaged, 147, 155. Hindered from rendering assistance, 199. Fifty of them return home, 202. Are on a scout, 208. Their misbehaviour, 293. Visit the President at Mount Vernon, XI. 153.

Indians, Cayuga, desire peace, VI. 240.

Indians, Cherokee, II. 10, 111. Visited by commissioners, 114. Must be engaged, 147. Few, join the Virginia forces, 189. Are hindered from rendering assistance, 199. Aid of, necessary, 244. Troubles with them, 260. Disposed to aid the British, but discouraged, 269. Wander toward the Maryland and Pennsylvania Indian settlements, 283. Perfidy and repulse of, 335. Sue for peace, 336; IV. 272; X. 107. Disapprove a settlement by the whites at Muscle Shoals, 196. A deputation from them visits the President, 219, 225, 240; 261. Murders among them, 316. On running the boundary line between, and the United States, XI. 152. Treaty with them, XII. 23, 28, 57, 87. Commit depredations, 28. Outrages and intrusions upon them; proclamations, 40, 57, 88, 194.

Indians, Chickamaga, their situation; commit depredations, XII. 28. Measures taken in regard to them, 29.

Indians, Chickasaw, II. 10. Plan proposed for bringing them in, 237; X. 196, 220, 261.

Indians, Chippewa, II. 10, 13.

Indians, Choctaw, X. 196, 220, 261, 348.

Indians, Creek, plan proposed for bringing them in, II. 237. Treaty with them, X. 75. Disapprove offers for a settlement at Muscle Shoals, 196; 220, 349, 367, XII. 40. Treaty with them, and embarrassments, 57, 84–87, 108, 181. Meeting of their deputies at Colerain; measures for perpetuating peace with them, 65. Relinquish land to Georgia, 86.

Indians, Delaware, sue for peace, II. 322. Attack the Virginia frontiers, 340; 433. Claim compensation for lands, 531.

Indians, Fire Nations, X. 223.

Indians, Iroquois. See *Six Nations*.

Indians, Miami, commit murders, X. 213.

Indians, Micmac, treaty with, IV. 32.

Indians, Mingoes, claim compensation for lands, II. 531; VI. 384.

Indians, Muncey, expedition against, VI. 384, 387.

Indians, Norridgewock, Natanis, the last of the, III. 112.
Indians, Nottoway, II. 170.
Indians, Nova Scotia, aid solicited of, III. 460, 497.
Indians, Ohio, attack the frontiers in 1763, II. 340.
Indians, Oneida, visit head-quarters and profess friendship, IV. 370. Attached to the Americans, V. 274; 414. Deputation from them visits Rochambeau, VII. 183.
Indians, Ottowa, II. 10, 13.
Indians, Passamaquoddy, III. 272.
Indians, Penobscot, aid of the, solicited, III. 460, 496, 497.
Indians, St. Francis, visit head-quarters, III. 60, 63. Referred to General Schuyler, 63.
Indians, St. John's, III. 272. Aid of the, solicited, 460, 497. Treaty of, with Massachusetts, IV. 38.
Indians, Seneca, with others, visit the army, and Philadelphia, V. 414; VI. 387. Two murdered, and measures taken to prevent hostilities, X. 113. Their chiefs; an address to them by the President, 128 – 131. Reply to the speech of the chiefs, and presents made to them, 210 – 214; 240.
Indians, Shawanee, II. 135, 340. Their residence; claim compensation for lands, 531, X. 107.
Indians, Six Nations, various names given to the, II. 36; 433; 531. Address to, by Congress, III. 496. Expedition against, VI. 206, 224, 225, 264, 356, 384. Impolicy of expelling from the country they inhabited before the war, VIII. 479. Treaty with them, IX. 76, 79; X. 156. Treaty with, laid before the Senate, XII. 23. Message to Congress concerning encroachments by the, 104.
Indians, Southern, measures taken for a treaty with the, X 28, 73, 75. Opinions of the Cabinet respecting the affairs with, 348. Commit depredations, XII. 8. Measures suggested in regard to them, 79. Representations made to the Spanish government respecting them, 100.
Indians, Stockbridge, III 439. Early enlisted by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 495. Join the camp at Cambridge, 496. Several of them engaged at different times, VII. 203, 204.
Indians, Tuscarora, II. 170; V. 414 A deputation of, visits Rochambeau, VII. 183.
Indians, Twigtwee, visited by Gist, in 1751, and described, II. 37.
Indians, Wabash, X. 119. On a treaty with the, 263. Depredations by them, XII. 13. Expedition against them, 14.
Indians, Western, the dissatisfaction of the, IX. 58, 76, 81, 114. Treaty with them, 105, 114. Their depredations, X. 140, 154, 213, 222, 225. Propose a conference at Auglaise; commissioners appointed and receive instructions, 313, 317. Their hostilities and depredations, 343, XII. 8, 13. Expedition against them, 14. Further measures adopted, and recommended, 19. Unsuccessful attempts to conciliate, 27, 39. Wayne's provisional treaty with them, 56. See WAYNE.
Indians, Wyandot, XII. 82.
Inland Navigation, XII. 281. See *Western Inland Navigation*.
INNES, HARRY, on secret propositions made to the Kentuckians, IX. 473. His report to the governor of Kentucky, XI. 99.
INNES, JAMES, Colonel, commander of the Ohio expedition in 1754, II. 41. Ordered to construct a fort at Will's Creek, 63. Left with the command there by Braddock, 86. Goes to North Carolina, 112. Consulted after the skirmish at Edwards's Fort, 142. Goes to Fort Cumberland, 161.
INNES, Colonel, declines the office of attorney-general, XI. 79.
Inspectorship, in the army, temporary institution of the, V. 347. Importance and good management of the, VIII. 315, XI. 251. See STEUBEN.
Intemperance, in the camp, discountenanced, II. 141. The penalty for, 149. Prevalence of, 188.
Inventions, encouragement of, recommended, XII. 9.
Invoices of goods to be sent from Europe, XII. 253.
IREDELL, JAMES, appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court, X. 53.
Iron-works, persons employed in, should not be exempted from military duty, IV. 397.
IRVINE, WILLIAM, Brigadier-General, V. 168. Wounded and made prisoner, 181. In want of provisions, and receives directions, VI. 432. His expedition under Stirling to Staten Island, 441 – 444. In the expedition to Bull's Ferry, VII. 116. Exertions of, in quelling a ferment in the Pennsylvania line, 188; 336; 436; VIII. 80. To take the command at Fort Pitt, 248. Queries proposed to, in regard to the fur trade, IX. 303, 326, 445.
IRVINE, Captain, escapes from Boston, III. 306.

IRVINE, a British major, killed at Georgetown, VII. 439.
IRWIN, MATTHEW and THOMAS, a vessel belonging to, captured by an Algerine cruiser, X. 15.
Isle-aux-Noix, III. 85. Americans retire to, 110. Sullivan stops at, for orders, 442.
IZARD, RALPH, VII. 175; 380; X. 443. On sending ministers abroad, 479.

J.

JACKSON, HENRY, Lieutenant-Colonel, makes an unsuccessful descent on Montresor's Island, IV. 136. Is to attend Arnold, V. 412. Joins the army, 422. Detached to join Sullivan in Rhode Island, VI. 8, 11; 52. Efficiency of his regiment in the action at Springfield, VII. 507.
JACKSON, WILLIAM, accompanies the President in his tour through the eastern States in 1789, X. 46.
JACKSON, Major, exchanged, VII. 290.
Jackson's River, II. 190, 194.
James River, a project for connecting the navigation of, with the western rivers, IX. 31, 64, 80, 91, 115, 147, 172, 291.
James River Company, on the appropriation of one hundred shares in the, IX. 83, 108, 116, 133, 142, XI. 3, 19, 20, 25, 172, 473.
JAMESON, JOHN, Lieutenant-Colonel, his conduct and agency in the capture of André, VII. 214, 219, 256, 524, 529.
JAY, SIR JAMES, IX. 86.
JAY, JOHN, on the early intention of the colonists to become independent, II. 500. Opposed to the Canada expedition, VI. 113. Chosen president of Congress, 141, 378. His letter to Lafayette respecting the Canada expedition, 149. On communicating important events to the people in an official manner, 179. Sends to Washington an extract from Gates's letter, 214. Cited, 223, 241, 343. His commendation of Gérard, 348. Appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty between the United States and Spain, 377, 378, 385. His voyage, 469. Despatches sent to, after the capitulation of Cornwallis, VIII. 188. Appointed a commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace, 372. Appointed secretary of foreign affairs, IX. 135. His difficulty with Littlepage, 157, 166. On the principles and features of a new form of government, 230, 510. A writer in *The Federalist*, 264. On the Constitution, 286, 287, 289, 357, 393, 408; 495. Queries to, by the President, X. 3, 464. Discharges the duties of secretary of state, 11, 41. Appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 35. Favors Gardoqui's proposals for a treaty with Spain, 73; 113. A letter from, 186, 499. His appointment as envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, 405, 406, 409, 413, 418. His success in his negotiation, 445. Signs the British treaty, XI. 39. Resigns the office of chief justice, 33, 34. Chosen governor of New York, 34. Cited respecting the British treaty, 64, 104, 123, 481; respecting the *Farewell Address*, XII. 395.
Jay's Treaty. See *British Treaty* and *Great Britain*.
JEFFERSON, THOMAS, chosen to the second general Congress, II. 405. On the early purpose of the colonists to become independent, 501; VI. 152. Directs James Monroe's studies, 264. Chosen governor of Virginia; writes to Washington in regard to the treatment of the British governor Hamilton, 315–317, 407. Requested to provide against the arrival of the French fleet, VII. 35. Permits Hamilton and Hays to go to New York, 291. Desires Washington to take the command in Virginia, VIII. 73. A commissioner for a treaty of peace, 372. On a committee of arrangements for the last audience of the Commander-in-chief, 569. Favors a project for western inland navigation, IX. 30. On a committee that reports a plan of government for the Western Territory; appointed a commissioner for forming commercial treaties in Europe, 47. Employs Houdon to execute a statue of Washington, 51, 131. His plan of a coinage, 125. His appointment as secretary of state, X. 11, 40, 54, 77. His arrival in America, 42. Written to about the proclamation for a permanent seat of government, 147. Cited respecting difficulties on the north-western boundary, 151. His agency in the republication of Paine's "Rights of Man," 159. On the invitation from Florida for foreigners to settle there, 163. His letter, urging the President to be a candidate for a second election, 254, 504. His disagreement with Hamilton, 280, 283, 306, 515, 517. His opinion as to the place of administering the inaugural oath to the President, 321. His conversation with

M. Genet, 356, 536. His resolution to resign, 364. On the power of the Executive to change the place of convening Congress, 375, 549. On making public the negotiations with Great Britain, 388. His resignation, 390. Remarks attributed to, respecting the President's sentiments, 430, 432. On the proclamation against the Pennsylvania insurgents, 531. On transplanting the College of Geneva to the United States, XI. 19, 473. Last letter to, from Washington, 137. Elected Vice-President of the United States, 194. His friendship for Washington, 223. Declaration attributed to, respecting Monroe, 229; XII. 319.

Jeskakake, an Indian chief, II. 438, 439.

Johnson, Guy, Colonel, an Indian agent, III. 12. Strongly suspected of exciting the Indians, 41, 496. Arrives at New York, IV. 39.

Johnson, Sir John, Indians attached to, III. 400. Violates his parole, 409. Escapes to the Lakes; finds his way to New York, 410. Reports respecting, 418, 419, 496. Penetrates New York with a body of the enemy from Canada, VII. 63. Commits ravages on the Mohawk River, 231; VIII. 25, 276.

Johnson, M., wife of Sir John, at Albany, III. 410, 431.

Johnson, Samuel, declines the Presidency of Congress, VIII. 112.

Johnson, Thomas, in Congress, nominates Washington for Commander-in-chief of the American army, III. 480. Governor of Maryland, IV. 386. Favors inland navigation, IX. 32. On the election of the first president, 438. Declines being district judge, X. 55, 66. Appointed associate justice, 182. Resignation of, 318. Declines the offer of the secretaryship of state, XI. 59, 76.

Johnson, Sir William, finishes his fort at Lake George, II. 117. Indian agent; proposes a colony on the Ohio, 484.

Johnstone, Sir George, a commissioner for carrying into effect Lord North's bills, V. 397, 398. Facts respecting, 402. Writes to members of Congress; the proceedings of Congress thereon, VI. 31, 32, 79.

Joncaire, a French officer, II. 438–440.

Jones, Joseph, his letter respecting Conway's Cabal, V. 499. Cited respecting the powers of Congress, VII. 68; on Greene's resignation, and Pickering's appointment as quartermaster-general, 150. Letters to, respecting the affair of the Newburg Addresses, VIII. 393, 400. Cited in regard to reports in Philadelphia of dangerous combinations in the army, 394.

Jones, Paul, concerts with Lafayette the plan of an attack on the west coast of England, VI. 546, 547. Answers questions of the Board of Admiralty, VIII. 45; IX. 259. Returns to France, 262, 305. Employed by Russia against the Turks, 424. Death of, X. 357.

Jones, a clergyman of Morristown, anecdote of, XII. 410.

Josiah, lieutenant in the Continental navy, IV. 41. Capture and ill-treatment of; exchange of, proposed by order of Congress, 50; acceded to by Lord Howe, 512, 555.

Journal. See *Diary*.

Judiciary, proposed nominations for the, and its importance, X. 26, 34, 35, 36, 49, 55, 66, 86. On alterations in the system of the, 182, XII. 31, 37. Incompetent to enforce the laws in Pennsylvania, 46. See *Supreme Court*.

Jumonville, and his party, skirmish with, II. 26, 32, 451. Killed, 32, 447. Number and intentions of the party, 33, 39, 47. Prisoners taken, how disposed of, 458, 467.

Jumonville, a poem, by M. Thomas, II. 450.

Justice, public national, urged, VIII. 443, 449. Want of, IX. 168. To be the basis of proceedings with the Indians, X. 107. Enjoined, XII. 228, 392.

K.

Kalb, Baron de, arrives in America with Lafayette; appointed major-general, V. 62; 97; 154, 157, 163; 449, 450; 531. Disapproves an attack on Philadelphia, 168. Conway's remonstrance against his appointment as major-general, 204; 531. Ordered to return to camp, 291. In the council of war at Valley Forge, 360; VI. 347. Commands at Elizabethtown and Amboy, 487. Commands the Maryland troops, VII. 8, 19. Directions to, 15. Mortally wounded at the battle of Camden; commended for his bravery by General Gates, 185, 239. Buried at Camden, XII. 200.

Kean, John, X. 256.

Kelly, Lieutenant, wounded and murdered, IV. 310.

Kentucky, IX. 134, 180, 510. Secret propositions made to the inhabitants

of, by the British, 473, 485; X. 137. Admission of, into the Union, 139, XII. 13, 32. Governors of, 419. Members of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 432.

KEPPEL, Admiral, arrives in the Chesapeake with Braddock's forces, and furnishes thirty sailors for his expedition, II. 68, 469. Declines taking French prisoners on board his ships, 467.

KIASHUTA, an Indian sachem, II. 525, 529.

KIERSE, Quartermaster, VII. 262.

KING, RUFUS, on the value and settlement of the western lands, and the war with the Wabash Indians, X. 156. Appointed minister to London, XI. 193.

King, the proposition to make Washington, VIII. 302.

Kingsbridge, fortifications near to, and their importance, III. 430, IV. 10. Encampment at, 41. Favorable condition and situation of, 83. Plan to surprise the enemy at, 435; V. 211. Post evacuated by the British, 381.

King's County, resolves not to oppose the enemy; a committee of the Convention sent thither, IV. 42.

King's Ferry, American troops ordered to, VII. 125.

Kingston, burnt by the British, V. 129, 130.

KIRKLAND, JOHN THORNTON, cited respecting Fisher Ames's speech on the British treaty, XI. 127.

KIRKLAND, SAMUEL, missionary to the Oneida Indians; his influence with them; visits head-quarters, III. 110, IV. 370, V. 274, X. 228.

KIRKLAND, Colonel, secured, III. 204. Sent to Congress for examination, 213.

KIRKPATRICK, JOHN, secretary to Washington, II 110.

Kittaning, III 72. Troops detached to, VI. 205.

KNIGHT, JOHN, Captain, a British prisoner, III. 501.

Knighthood, a proposition for, disapproved by Congress, IX. 14.

Knowledge, essential to a free government, XII. 9, 227.

KNOWLTON, Major, attacks the enemy near Bunker's Hill, III. 241. Stationed at Bergen, IV. 20. Mortally wounded near Haerlem, 98, 104. His connexion with Nathan Hale's going as a spy to Long Island, VII. 550.

KNOX, HENRY, assists in planning the encampments around Boston, III. 138. Supersedes Gridley in the command of the artillery, 148, 197. Instructions to, on going to Ticonderoga, 160. His departure, 174. Overcomes great difficulties and effects his purpose, 211. Goes to Newport to give suggestions for its defence, 368. His plan for the artillery, IV. 14. Recommended for promotion, 237. Presents a memorial to the Massachusetts government respecting bounties, 316. Associated with Greene in planning the defence of the North River, 416, 434. His efficiency in the artillery department; must not be superseded by Ducoudray; commendation of, 444–446. His laconic letter to Congress, declining to serve under Ducoudray, and the resolve of Congress, 490, 491; V. 154, 157, 163. Disapproves an attack on Philadelphia, 168. His great success in his department, 339. In the council at Valley Forge, 340, 360. His return of the artillery, in April, 1779, VI. 197. Despatched to the New Jersey legislature, VII. 79; 108. To forward artillery to the south, 289. Directions to, on the proposed attack upon York Island, 306; 308. Despatched with a circular to the eastern States, 353–356. Instructions to, respecting the siege of New York, 407, 415. Directions to, about the proposed attack on the north end of York Island, VIII. 94. His exertions for the army's supplies in Virginia, 151. His interview with Count de Grasse, 162. Difficulty about the promotion of; appointed major-general, 202–204, 214. His appointment to meet commissioners in relation to prisoners, 215, 249, 260, 264, 267, 334. To command at West Point, 339. A commissioner at the meeting for a general cartel, at Tappan, 342. To forward ordnance and stores to Albany for the frontier posts, 472. Commands the army during the Commander-in-chief's attendance on Congress at Princeton, 474; 497; 500. Ordered to reduce the army, 502. Returns to West Point from New York, 503. His connexion with the Newburg Addresses, 552, 564. Suggests the idea of the Society of the Cincinnati, IX. 22. On powers to raise troops in time of peace, 36. Secretary at war, 106. On donations to Washington by Virginia, 108. Cited respecting Greene's son, 202. Correspondence with, respecting the conduct and sentiments of the eastern States, 207, 225, 228, 233. On the convention of 1787, 228, 236, 251, 513; on a form of government, 230,

513; on parties in Massachusetts, and the adoption of the Constitution, 310, 332; 458. His opinion as to the place and mode of administering the inaugural oath to the President, 322. His expected resignation, 392. Proposes to join the army against the Pennsylvania insurgents, 441. His resignation, XI. 8. Establishes himself at St. George's, 70, 189. His nomination as commissioner to ascertain the eastern boundary, 119. Appointed to a command in the Provisional army, 264, 266, 280, 288, 296, 297, 307, 312, 326, 330, 331, 534. Declines, 334, 537, 539, 550.

KNOX, Lieutenant, commands a *forlorn hope* at Stony Point, VI. 303, 539.

KNYPHAUSEN, Hessian general, crosses Chad's Ford, V. 58, 462. His excursion towards Springfield, and retreat to Elizabethtown Point, VII. 74–77, 87. Supports General Mathew in a second excursion against Springfield, 87.

KOLKOWSKI, Count, VI. 123, 124.

KOSCIUSZKO, THADDEUS, IV. 503. Appointed engineer; employed in the Northern Department; at Behmus's Heights and West Point, V. 142, 282, 311. Does not agree with Radière, 334. Directs the works at Fort Clinton, VI. 67. Goes to the southern army, VII. 141. Commendation of, 148. Commissioned brigadier-general, VIII. 487. Goes to Europe, IX. 46. Returns to America, XI. 213.

L.

LACEY, JOHN, General, succeeds General Potter, V. 223.

LACOLOMBE, L., XI. 68, 222.

LACRETELLE, cited respecting Jumonville, II. 447.

Ladies, exertions of, in Philadelphia, for the relief of the army, VII. 89, 90, 376, 408; in New Jersey, 90; in Maryland, 243, VIII. 514. Their reception of Washington at Trenton, in 1789, XII. 149.

LAFAYETTE, General, incidents connected with his coming to America, and his reception there, V. 10, 11, 445. Wishes for active command, 35, 128, 170. Wounded at the battle of the Brandywine, 59, 455. Commendation of, 129. His skirmish near Gloucester, 170. Succeeds General Stephen in active command, 172. His disappointments and perplexities in the proposed Canada expedition, 264, 530–535. Ordered to return to camp, 291, 314, 535. On the consequences of Lord North's Conciliatory Bills, 325. At a council of war at Valley Forge, 360. Forwards to the Commander-in-chief officers' reasons for not taking the oath of allegiance, 366. Instructions to, 368. His march towards the enemy's lines, 374. His retreat from Barren Hill, 377, 545. Detached against the enemy in New Jersey; instructions to, 417, 423, 553. Letter to, respecting Lee's regret at having relinquished to him the command at Monmouth, 419; 424. His letter respecting Conway's Cabal, 488. His opinion of Washington, 529. Detached to join Sullivan in Rhode Island, VI. 8, 11, 24. His honorable conduct, 23, 27. Visits Count d'Estaing, 24. Accessible to the French officers, 33. His exertions to induce Estaing to unite again in an attack on the enemy, 40, 41, 50. His connexion with the action on Rhode Island; his subsequent stations, 50, 58, 59, 73, 501, 502. Holds a conference with the Massachusetts Council and Count d'Estaing, 58. His return to France; circumstances, letters, and correspondence with the President of Congress, connected therewith, 71, 83, 137, 148, 150, 190, 193, 362, 368, 501, 545. Encourages the proposed Canada expedition for the year 1779, 72, 106, 110, 149, 190, 216, 548. His challenge to Lord Carlisle, 78, 79, 98, 105. Dangerous sickness of, at Fishkill, 137. His parting letter to Washington, 190. Receives an appointment in France under Count de Vaux, 362, 554. Presented with a sword by vote of Congress, 505–507. His correspondence on American affairs, after his first return from America, 545. Concerts with Paul Jones a plan of an attack on the west coast of England, 546. His arrival in America in 1780, and various particulars respecting, VII. 29, 195, 247, 477. His visit to Congress, 31, 33, 38, 43, 44, 47. His correspondence with Rochambeau, 33, 501. His proclamation to the Canadians, 44, 45, 72. Despatched to Newport and has an interview with the French commanders, 109, 111, 125, 127, 509, 515. Returns and takes command of the light infantry, 134, 135, 171, 281, 518. On Hamilton's qualifications for an adjutant-general, 315. Proposes joining General Greene at the south, 316, 317, 323, 339, 340, 341. His proposition to coöperate

with the Spanish generals, 322. His remark on De Castries, 394. Takes command of a detachment to Virginia against Arnold; instructions to, 417–423, 430, 435, 444, 469. His advance to Annapolis, 452, 469. Ordered to reinforce Greene, and receives directions, 469–471. Further particulars in regard to his expedition to Virginia, VIII. 2, 6, 8, 10, 16, 24, 509, 513. Drives the British ships from Annapolis, 11. The temper of his detachment, and desertions from it, 22, 34, 35, 513. Refuses to hold intercourse with Arnold, 60. His perplexities and disappointments, 86. Changes his retreat into a pursuit of Cornwallis, 100. The action at Green Spring, 118. Forwards information to the Commander-in-chief, 128. Sends spies to the enemy, 141, 159. His vigilance in preventing the escape of Cornwallis, 152, 156. His interview with Count de Grasse, 166. Cited respecting the storming of the redoubts at Yorktown, 179. His proposed expedition to the southward, 187, 190, 193. His second return to France, 204, 206. Resolves and proceedings of Congress in regard to, 207. Resolves of Virginia, 225. Receives the rank of field-marshal in France, 226. His arrival in France, 260. Communicates the intelligence of the treaty of peace, 407, 411. His successful exertions at Madrid, 413. His visit to America in 1784, IX. 37, 44, 55, 59, 71, 73, 74. Busts of, voted by the legislature of Virginia, 51. His departure for Europe, 74, 77, 82. Naturalized by Virginia and Maryland, 82. The Memoir of, by James McHenry, 121. Renders services to the commercial interests of the United States, 130, 193. His journey through Prussia and Austria, 144, 160. His project in regard to slavery on his plantation at Cayenne, 163. His exertions for toleration, 242, 262. The Federal Constitution and an Indian vocabulary forwarded to, 305, 309. Political letters to, 354, 379, X. 45; 71. His perplexing situation at the head of the French revolution, 88. Sends to Washington the key of the Bastille, 105. Cited about his situation and the affairs in France, 141, 177, 189, 234, 502. His captivity, 315, 316, 324. Instructions to foreign ministers respecting, 322, 326. McHenry's proposition concerning, 397. Joined by his family in prison, XI. 30, 496. Unofficial measures taken by the President for the release of, 111, 125, 128, 162, 173; 206, 298. Papers relating to his imprisonment and liberation, 163, 214, 469. His answer to the proposal for his release from prison, 223, 502. His proposed voyage to America, 305, 377, 459. Citation from, about engineers, XII. 282. See BOLLMANN and HUGER.

LAFAYETTE, Marchioness de, intercedes with the French ministry for President Laurens, V. 456. Particulars concerning, VI. 363, 368, 386, 552, IX. 20; 38, 165; 449. Money remitted to her, X. 314, 393, 394. Money advanced to; joins her husband in prison, XI. 30, 111, 496. Her treatment there, 490, 496.

LAFAYETTE, GEORGE WASHINGTON, IX. 39, 165, XI. 31. His arrival in America, 64, 71, 161, 214. The proposition that he should enter Harvard University, 66, 67, 72. Requested to repair to Colonel Hamilton, 95. Invited to Philadelphia; proceedings in Congress respecting, 118, 119. Goes to Mount Vernon, 197; 208, 214. Sails for France, 215, 223, 225; 395.

Lafayette, Fort, at Verplanck's Point, VI. 269.

LA FORCE, seen at Gist's, in 1754, reconnoitring, II. 16. There with a detachment, 25. Made prisoner, 33. Sent to Dinwiddie, 37, 38. Facts respecting; his imprisonment, escape, and recapture, 178, 467. Accompanies Washington in a part of his tour in 1753, 441.

LAMB, JOHN, major of artillery, III. 349. Colonel, V. 4. Ordered to take command at Verplanck's and Stony Points, VII. 212, 213. A witness at Smith's trial, 261. Artillery of, relieves Captain Brown's, 262.

LAMBERT, an Englishman, furnishes the President with sundries for his plantations, XII. 355.

Lamb's Dam, in Roxbury, III. 302.

LAMONT, ÆNEAS, in error as to the application of the title of *marshal*, IX. 89.

Lancaster, removal of stores from, V. 41, 43. Congress adjourns to, V. 69.

Lance-men, proposition to raise, V. 277.

Land, the King's proclamation respecting, II. 348, 369, 375. Promised to the Virginia troops; difficulties in regard to, 355–361, 365. Apportionments of, 367, 369. Provision for the sale of vacant, urged, XII. 25. Pledged for the reimbursement of the public debt, 26. Description of Washington's, west of the Allegany Mountains, 264. Proclamations concerning;

rents, 265. On the settlement of, 266, 275. On the sale of public, 270. Washington's determination to sell his western, 317. Errors of foreigners in purchasing, 329. Too much, cultivated by farmers, 330.

LANE, Captain, his mission to the Penobscot Indians, III. 496.

LANGDON, JOHN, chosen president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and officially notifies the President of the United States of his election, IX. 491, X. 1, 459, 481.

Langhorne, John, a letter with the fictitious signature of, XI. 218, 220, 289, 293, 387, 501.

LANSDOWN, Marquis of, his introductory letter for his son, X. 203. His introductory letter for Talleyrand-Périgord, 412, 436.

LAPÉROUSE, commands a ship despatched from Newport to France, VII. 319. Brings money and despatches from France, 429.

LA SALLE, the French claim the Ohio, from its being discovered by, II. 440.

LAUMOY, Lieutenant-Colonel of engineers, IV. 491, V. 171. Vote of Congress to retain in the service, VI. 430, 431. Sent to the Delaware, VI. 98. Ordered to South Carolina, 173.

LAURENS, HENRY, President of Congress, V. 139. Opposed to the half-pay establishment, 384. Replies to Lord North's commissioners, 397. Cited respecting a motion in Congress calling for private letters, 401. His congratulatory letter after the battle of Monmouth, 436. His kindness to Lafayette long remembered, 456. Cited in regard to Conway's Cabal, 487, 497, 503, 504, 510, 511. His letter concerning prisoners, 539. On the second message of the British Commissioners, VI. 17. On the Canada expedition and money borrowed from France, 110. Resigns the presidency of Congress, 140. Cited as to arming the blacks, 204. Appointment of, as minister to Holland, 396. His correspondence with Lafayette, 501. Confined in the Tower of London, VIII. 15, 246. Propositions to exchange, for Burgoyne and Cornwallis, 125, 240, 251, 265. Set at liberty, 325, 327, 333, 540. Appointed a commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace, 372.

LAURENS, JOHN, Lieutenant-Colonel, aid to the Commander-in-chief, despatched to Count d'Estaing, upon his arrival on the coast, VI. 2, 4. His return, 9, 10. Sent to Rhode Island, 11, 13, 23. Cited respecting the Protest and Estaing's departure from Newport, 46. Commendation of, by Greene, 52. Recommendation of, to Governor Rutledge, 201. Declines a secretaryship to Franklin, 385; 398. Comes to head-quarters with a letter from General Lincoln, 411, 415; VII. 22. Taken prisoner at Charleston, 256. Cited respecting André's fate, and Arnold's mental torment, 257. Exchange of, 257, 288, 289. Appointed to go to France and solicit succours for the campaign of 1781, 340, 341. On the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, 363. His conferences with the Commander-in-chief before going to France, 365, 368. Recommendation of, to Franklin, 378. Sails from Boston for France, 438; VIII. 5. His conduct there, and return with money, 150, 526, 527. Turns the redoubt at Yorktown, 179. A commissioner for settling the treaty of capitulation at Yorktown, 184, 247, 532. Joins the southern army, 241. Interests himself to effect the exchange of his father, 247, 265. His project of raising a regiment of black levies, 322, 323. His action and death at Chehaw Neck, 356, 357; IX. 100.

LAUZUN, Duke de, number of the corps under, VII. 113; 289. Legion of, cantoned at Lebanon, 319. Communicates with the Commander-in-chief about the disposition of the French fleet, VIII. 64. His advance towards the American army, 84, 87, 96–98. His rapid march and proposed attack on Delancey's corps at Morrisania, 92–99 His march to White Plains and his position, 95, 99, 109. Stationed near Gloucester, 168. The legion of, is despatched to join General Greene, 237, 242, 258, 267. His return to Europe, 259. His legion embarks subsequently, 367, 433. Letter to, upon his departure from the country, 432.

LAVAL, Marquis de, a French officer under Rochambeau, visits the American camp, VII. 319.

LAWRENCE, JONATHAN, Captain, commands levies at Dobbs's Ferry, VIII. 46. Joins Scammell in an expedition to Fort Lee, 47.

Laws should be established in the affections rather than fears, XII. 211. Should be complied with, 222. Evils of obstructions to their execution, 223. See *Government*.

LEAR, TOBIAS, his narrative of the last illness and death of Washington, I. 555. Facts respecting; secretary

to Washington, IX. 154, 158; 196; 214; accompanies him to New York, 487; and on his tour through the eastern States, in 1789, X. 46. Cited about the republication of the "Rights of Man," 160; concerning the reception and inauguration of the President, 463; XI. 6. Invited to become Washington's secretary in the Provisional army, 290, 300, 333; XII. 288, 309.

Learned, Ebenezer, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 373.

Leases. See *Rents*.

Leaves, use made of, XII. 364.

Le Bœuf, fort at, taken by the Indians, II. 340. Visited by the governor's agent in 1753; commanded by Legardeur de St. Pierre, 441. Its situation, 442.

Lechmere's Point, British land on, and are routed; bomb-battery commenced there, III. 157. Fired upon, 205. Progress of the works at, 213, 227. Strongly fortified, 233, 236.

Lee, Arthur, succeeds Franklin as Massachusetts agent in England, III. 35; IV. 395. Commissioner to France; his unsuccessful embassy to the court of Berlin, V. 169, 447. Efforts in Congress for renewing the commission of, VI. 395, 398; VII. 391; X. 11.

Lee, Charles, appointed major-general, repairs to head-quarters at Cambridge; facts respecting, III. 6, 480, 481, 484, 515. Stationed at Winter Hill; corresponds with Burgoyne, 43, 498. Sent to Newport to point out a plan of defence, 213, 214, 220. Engages in a plan for the security of New York; instructions to, 230, 234, 292. His conduct approved; his suggestions in regard to Tories, 274. Ordered to the command in Canada, afterwards to the Southern Department, 294. Cited about Sears, 295. His congratulation upon the evacuation of Boston, 345. His indemnification for the loss of half-pay, 499. Success of, in South Carolina, IV. 15, 26. Arrives at Charleston, 27. Proposes the employment of cavalry in the Southern Department, 43. His opinion of Congress and the army, 132. Instructions to, at the time the troops pass from New York into New Jersey, 168. Appointed to command the division on the east side of Hudson's River, 168. Ordered to cross the Hudson, 186, 530. Cautioned to take the western route, and delays, 192, 530. Ordered to join the main army, 199, 200. Messengers despatched to, 201, 207. Proposes to [illegible] on the rear of the enemy, 209, 532. Made prisoner, 221, 231, 524. His division joins the army, 239. Threatened to be tried as a deserter, 272, 273, 276. Resolves of Congress respecting the treatment of, 273, 331, 334, 337. Exchange or parole of, demanded, 275. Requests Congress to receive a communication from him while a prisoner; his subsequent letter, 334. Washington and Morris favor the meeting solicited by, 342, 343. A particular reason why this meeting was not granted, 343. Sends for his aid-de-camp and renews his request for a meeting, 340. Cited respecting his kind treatment by Howe, 461. Proposition to exchange him for Prescott, 465, 496, V. 54, 229, 253, 269, 272, 309, 310, 539. Letters of, immediately before his capture, discovering his intentions, IV. 530. Describes his condition as a prisoner, V. 228. His return on parole, 310, 335, 345. Approves the decision of the council of war at Valley Forge, 360. Directions to, at the evacuating of Philadelphia, 392, 411. Free communication of his sentiments requested, 404, 406. His opinion as to the views of the British upon evacuating Philadelphia, 407. Disapproves an attack on the enemy; crosses the Delaware, 414, 415, 552. Regrets having yielded the command to Lafayette, and is despatched with another detachment, 418, 419, 424, 554. Ordered to attack the enemy at Monmouth, and retreats, 425, 431, 555. Put under arrest, 428, 432. Trial of, 432, 434, 555–558. Proceedings of the court-martial sent to Congress, VI. 68. Publishes an article concerning the affair at Monmouth and his trial: letter thereupon, 132. His "Queries Political and Military," and their effects, 309, 330. Death of, IX. 40. The publication of the papers of, 107.

Lee, Charles, (of Virginia,) IX. 275, 343. Attorney-general of the United States, XI. 92. Advises the recall of Mr. Monroe, 140, 485.

Lee, Francis Lightfoot, favors the new constitution, IX. 304.

Lee, George, Colonel, marries the widow of Lawrence Washington, II. 53, 181, 427.

Lee, Henry, captain of the light-horse, takes twenty-four British prisoners near Elk, V. 50. His successful opposition to an attack from the enemy,

220. Commendation and promotion of, 303, 304, 393. Enlargement of his troop, 304, 393. Procures information in regard to Stony Point, VI. 280, 296. His expedition against Paulus Hook, 317, 326, 332, 333, 336, 376. Stationed at Monmouth with a letter for Count d'Estaing, 369. Gold medal presented to, 376. To hold himself in readiness to go to South Carolina, 497. Under marching orders for the southward, VII. 8. Stopped, 48. Takes post in the rear of the army, and engages in the action at Springfield; commendation of the corps of, 77, 506 Ordered to Monmouth, to provide for the arrival of the French fleet; his subsequent correspondence with the Commander-in-chief, and his exertions to get Arnold from New York, 105, 544. A continuance of his partisan corps recommended, 252. His marching to the south, 272, 277, 285. Surprises Georgetown, 439; VIII. 62; 348. A delegate in Congress, IX. 156. On the navigation of the Mississippi River, 173, 205. On the death of General Greene, 180. On the new government and the election of a President, 428, 551. Declines the command of a regiment against the western Indians, X. 150, 154. On a commander of the western expedition, 244. On the proclamation of neutrality, 343, 357, 540. His proposition to enter the French service, 344. On Democratic Societies, the Pennsylvania rebellion, and Jefferson's and Henry's remarks, 433, 560. Commander of the forces to oppose the Pennsylvania insurrection, 439, 446. In the list of officers for the Provisional army, XI. 264, 265. Assistance of, requested in regard to officers for the twenty-four additional regiments, 429, 432; XII. 49.

Lee, Richard Henry, chosen by the Williamsburg Convention to the first General Congress, II. 396; III. 26. Recommends Randolph, 68. Cited respecting Peyton Randolph's death, 139. Commends General Gates, 436. His letter on Conway's promotion, and a new Board of War, V. 99. Cited respecting the "Spurious Letters," 237. Favors Gates, 373; 484; 493; VI. 55. Wishes Washington may be sent to Virginia with dictatorial powers, VIII. 106. His aid solicited in behalf of Thomas Paine, IX. 49. President of Congress, 79. Opposed to the issuing of paper money, 120. Objects to the Constitution, 288, 542. Senator in Congress, 446, 459; X. 21. His motion for opening the doors of the Senate, 95. Cited, 400.

Lee, Richard Henry, deposits manuscript papers in Harvard College Library, III. 35.

Lee, Miss Sidney, her request for a copy of the will of her brother, General Charles Lee, IX. 40.

Lee, Thomas, of his Majesty's Council in Virginia, projects the Ohio Company, II. 479.

Lee, Thomas Sim, governor of Maryland, VII. 186; X. 376; 423.

Lee, William, Colonel, invited to become adjutant-general, IV. 372, 433. His qualifications for the office of adjutant-general, V. 158.

Lee, Fort, IV 158, 162, 163, 165. Taken by the British, 185, 187. Loss at, 547. A party of refugees attempts to repair, VIII. 46, 47.

Legionary corps, recommended as a substitute for cavalry, VII. 252.

Leitch, Major, wounded near Haerlem, IV. 98, 104. Death of, 109.

L'Enfant, Major, IX. 44. Surveys a city for the permanent seat of government, X. 147, 172, 204, XII. 322.

Leonard, Abiel, a chaplain in the army, III. 198.

Leslie, A., British General at the skirmish near Haerlem, IV. 99. Sails from New York to Virginia to create a diversion in favor of Lord Cornwallis, VII. 264, 268, 269, 283, 285. His movement from the Chesapeake, arrival at Charleston, and junction with Cornwallis, 347, 348, 435, VIII 521.

Letters, Intercepted, at Bristol, IV. 198; one to Mrs. Washington, returned unopened, by General Howe, 198, 529; one to Lund Washington, published, and creates difficulty, VIII. 20, 21, 27; to Sullivan and Lafayette, published, 60, 61, 69, 108. Of Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, VIII. 112, 519.

Letters, Spurious, ascribed to Washington, II. 405, V. 237, 378, 379, 391, IX. 444. Inquiries and facts respecting, XI. 183, 184, 217. A list of the, accompanied by a statementof facts, 192.

Levius, Judge, IV. 468.

Lewis, Andrew, appointed major, II. 97, 98; 108. His expedition against the Shawanese Town, and his sufferings, 125, 135. Attributes his misfortunes to his guides, 136. Returns from the Cherokees with but few warriors, 189. Refuses assistance to Lieutenant Bullitt, 196. Ordered to send up the Cherokees, 201. Sent to watch

the enemy, 242. Arrives at Raystown with troops in Indian dress, 294. Is taken at Fort Duquesne and sent to Montreal, 313; 340. Appointed brigadier-general and ordered to the Southern Department, III. 294, 319. Letter to, upon his non-promotion, IV. 345. Resignation of, 347. Acts as commissioner at Fort Pitt, VI. 90. Superseded and resigns, 92.

Lewis, George, Major, sent on a mission to Canada, XI. 132. His services, 434.

Lewis, Lawrence, captain of cavalry, XI. 307. Aid to General Wayne, 308.

Lewis, Robert, his statements respecting Washington's private devotions, XII. 407.

Lewis, Stephen, XII. 240.

Lewis, Thomas, Colonel, declines being agent about western land, XII. 301.

Lewis, Warner, II. 94.

Lewis, Colonel, at the battle of Germantown, V. 466.

Lexington battle, III. 35. Officers at, ordered home, 118. Gratuity to the sufferers by the, 133. Effects of, 487. Citation from Lord Dartmouth's letter to Gage respecting, 512. The affair not approved by the British government, 520.

Leyden, in Holland, Poetical Society of, X. 102.

Liancourt, Duke de, on Lafayette's imprisonment at Olmutz, XI. 163, 489.

Light-horse. See Cavalry.

Light Infantry, organization of, VII. 135, 137. Broken up, 316.

Liguery, a French captain at Braddock's defeat, II. 473.

Lincoln, Benjamin, appointed by the Assembly of Massachusetts to command the troops destined to New York, IV. 125. To concert an expedition against Long Island, 125–129. Commended, 229, 240, 294. Ordered to Morristown, 253. His move towards New York, 266, 280. Recommended for the Continental line, 294. Arrives at Morristown with Massachusetts militia, 322. Appointed major-general in the Continental service, 329. Retreats from Boundbrook, 391. Letter to, respecting the officers appropriating to themselves the pay of the soldiers, 402. Ordered to join Schuyler, and take command of the eastern militia, 505. His influence over the militia, V. 2. To join Gates; commendation of, 2, 10, 19, 61. Joined by Stark, 30. Wounded, 115, 217. Epaulettes and sword-knots presented to, 361. Ordered to Charleston, to command the Southern Department, VI. 74, 83, 101, 191. Asks to retire from command, 220. Insufficient force under, 342. His attack upon Stono Ferry, 357. Directed to divert the enemy in order to favor the Spaniards, 474; VII. 10. Made prisoner at Charleston, 69, 102. Inquiry ordered respecting, 102. Measures for effecting his exchange, 104, 122, 193, 209, 210, 212, 227. His interview with General Phillips, 129, 193, 195, 209, 210, 212. Exchanged, 227, 230. Advised to exert his influence in Massachusetts in behalf of the army, 240, 466. Completes the crew of the Alliance, 438. Requested to join the army, VIII. 40. Instructions to, for an attack on the north end of York Island, 93, 97–99, 109. Has the immediate command of the army in its progress to the southward, 140, 150. Takes command of the troops on their march to the northward, 199. His appointment as secretary of war, 214, 215, 225. Written to about Knox's promotion, 214. Presents two standards taken at Yorktown to the Commander-in-chief, 220. His queries answered respecting a reduction of the army, 308, 319. On the half-pay establishments, 356. Authorized to concert with the Commander-in-chief a plan for the liberation of prisoners, 425, 428. Recommends Lear, IX. 155. His operations against the insurgents in Massachusetts, 234, 239. His opinion of the disfranchising act in Massachusetts, 240. Correspondence with, respecting the adoption of the Constitution, 310, 322, 334, 391; respecting the first meeting of Congress, and its members, under the Federal Constitution, and the candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, 417, 439, 468, 555. Appointed commissioner for a treaty with the southern Indians, X. 28; for a conference with the western Indians, in 1793, 314.

Lindsay, lieutenant under Captain Lee, wounded, V. 220, 221.

Linn, James, vice-president of the Council of New Jersey, XII. 236.

Lippencot, Richard, Captain, unwarrantably executes Joshua Huddy, VIII. 263. Is demanded of Sir Henry Clinton, 265. Court-martial ordered for the trial of, 291, 311. Papers respecting the trial of, forwarded, 324, 336, 363, 539. A second trial of, 336–338, 363.

Litter for stables and pens, materials to be used for, XII. 364.
Little Kenhawa, Washington's lands near the, XII. 264, 301, 318.
Little Meadows, II. 14, 15. Fort proposed at, 79. Council held at, 81.
Little Sarah, a vessel in the Delaware, in 1793, X. 355, 366, 536.
LITTLEPAGE, his difficulty with John Jay, IX. 157, 166, X. 173.
LIVINGSTON, EDWARD, XI. 119.
LIVINGSTON, HENRY B., Colonel, appointed to protect the well-affected at the east end of Long Island; retreats, IV. 128. Commended by Greene for his conduct in the action on Rhode Island, VI. 52.
LIVINGSTON, HENRY BROCKHOLST, captured; set at liberty by Sir Guy Carleton, VIII. 537.
LIVINGSTON, JAMES, colonel of a Canadian regiment, III. 250. Regiment of, garrisons Verplanck's and Stony Points, VII. 139, 525. Laconic letter to, after Arnold's flight from West Point, 213. Ordered to West Point, 222, 234. A witness at Smith's trial, 262.
LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R., cited respecting the King's proclamation, as to western lands, II. 348. A member of the committee for drafting the Declaration of Independence, III. 468. Chancellor of New York; cited respecting Putnam, V. 284. Recommends Arnold for the command at West Point, VII. 94, 95, 266. Secretary of foreign affairs, VIII. 277. Letter to, respecting the prospects of peace, 371. Declines the office of minister to France, X. 406. Disapproves the British treaty, XI. 49, 57.
LIVINGSTON, WALTER, X. 11.
LIVINGSTON, WILLIAM, brigadier-general of the New Jersey militia, ordered to send troops to New York city, III. 446. Plans the defence of the Jerseys, 450. Governor of New Jersey; written to, for troops, IV. 189. Writes about the oath of allegiance, 320. Requested to send militia to protect the Highlands, V. 89. Design against, detected, 231. Requested to send cavalry to camp, 243, 279. His opinion respecting deserters attending flags, 342. Opposes the half-pay establishment, 386. An unsuccessful attempt to capture, VI. 182. Calumniated; his exertions with Holland, 414. Written to, about the complaints of soldiers, 469. Requested to send troops against New York, 132. Is warned of an attempt to take or assassinate him, 472. Written to, about retaliation in the case of Huddy, VIII. 290.
Lloyd's Neck, expedition against, VIII. 114. See *Long Island*.
Loans, importance and necessity of, urged, VII. 289, 300, 337. Obtained from France, 379, 380. Acts of Congress for, X. 110, 208. Obtained, 161. Further, recommended, and obtained in Holland, 349, 351, 352, 414, XII. 13, 22, 33, 107. Subscriptions to, 23. Instalments on, 41.
Locks in canals, plans of substitutes for, XI. 7.
LOGAN, GEORGE, XI. 383. Memorandum of an interview with him, 384.
LOGAN, Major, at Fort Montgomery, V. 473.
Logstown, II. 44, 54. Council at, in 1753, 433. Treaty made there, 480.
LONG, Colonel, evacuates Fort Anne, contrary to orders, IV. 492.
LONGCHAMPS, assaults Marbois, and thus embarrasses Congress, IX. 121, 128.
Long Island, Wooster stationed on; three companies, raised there, are ordered to the northward, III. 75. Movements of the Tories on, 220. Congress countermands two regiments destined against the Tories of, 255. Tories on, seized, 391. Scheme against the Tories on, 397. Tories on, take up arms, 441. Committee sent to King's County on, IV. 42. Landing of the British on, 59, 61. Putnam takes command there while Greene is sick, 62, 513. Skirmishing on, 66, 68. Battle on, 68, 79, 513. Retreat from, 69, 70, 80, 102. Effects of the battle of, particularly on the militia, 72, 86. Communication with, cut off, 74. People of, generally go over to the enemy, 88. The enemy raising recruits on, 127. Expedition against, proposed and abandoned, 128. Parsons's proposed expedition to, 314, 427, 440. Duer's proposed descent on, 354. Meigs's expedition to Sag Harbour, 441. Campbell's proposal to attempt to bring prisoners on parole from, VI. 174. Plundering parties prohibited from going to, 361. Tallmadge's successful expedition to, VII. 292. Proposed expedition against the Refugees at Lloyd's Neck, VIII. 4. See SULLIVAN.
Long Island Sound, British ships pass up, IV. 74, 151, 501. Proposition to clear of ships, 90. British transports pass up, VI. 207.
LORING, JOSHUA, British commissary.

general of prisoners, IV. 252. His non-agreement with Beatty about exchange of prisoners, VI. 351. Refuses to exchange Burgoyne, VIII. 71.

Lorist's cement, experiments with, IX. 456.

Loudoun, Lord, II. 161. Succeeds Shirley; raises the Royal American Regiment, 168. Favors the maintaining of Fort Cumberland, 211. Prejudiced against Washington, 212, 215, 217. Meets the governors of the southern colonies at Philadelphia, 230. Does not put the Virginia regiment upon the same footing as the regular army, 231. Protests against the denial of his power over the Maryland troops, 233. Is succeeded by General Abercromby, 239.

Loudoun, Fort, commenced at Winchester, II. 162. Should be garrisoned, 188. The importance of, 205. Captain Mercer appointed to command at, 210. Virginia troops ordered to, 233. Head-quarters fixed at, 235. Attacks in the vicinity of, 264; 268; 275; 277. Posture of affairs at, in 1758, 285.

Loudoun, Fort, in the Cherokee country, capitulates, II. 333.

Louis, Colonel, an Indian of the Caghnawaga tribe, visits head-quarters, III. 280.

Louis the Sixteenth, King of France, sends a message to the court of London respecting the treaty of France with America, V. 363, 399, 549. Loans money to the United States, VIII. 230, 273, 525. Endeavours to check liberty, IX. 332. His character and conduct, 381; 466. Letter to, on the death of the Dauphin, X. 36 At the head of the revolution, 104, 106. Accepts the constitution presented by the National Assembly, 209; 234. Sends a private message to the President about the advances made to Britain, 238. His choice of a council, 503. His acceptance of the constitution communicated to Congress, XII. 94.

Louisiana, Lord Dorchester's expected expedition against, X. 112.

Lovell, James, case of, referred to Congress, III. 206, 522. Proposition to exchange Governor Skene for, 269, 281, 523. Resolve of Congress concerning, 523. His imprisonment and exchange for Governor Skene, 524, IV. 23, 108, 143, 511, 512. Chairman of the committee of foreign affairs; opposes the half-pay establishment, V. 370, 454.

Lovell, general of militia, his conduct on Rhode Island, VI. 51.

Low, Major, to march troops to the landing opposite to West-Point, VII. 213.

Loyal Hanna, II. 304. Reached by Forbes's expedition, and a council of war called. 316.

Loyalists, American, recommended to be seized, III. 159. Three companies of, embodied for the defence of Boston, 162. Acts of Connecticut respecting, 228; 263. Seizure and disarming of, 273, 391, 397, 415. Civil power to take cognizance of, 382. Their arts and schemes, 396, 535. Removed by the Virginia Convention, 404. Encouraged by Tryon, 414, 440, 535. Tried and executed, 441. Howe's expectations from, 452. Confined at Litchfield, 471. Circulate reports about Schuyler, 535. Plots and conspiracies of, IV. 15, 17, 151, 152. To serve as fatigue-men, 42. Measures respecting, 44, 45. Property of, plundered, 118, 269. Should be disarmed, 223. Enemy strengthened by, 234. Attempt to cut off militia at Paramus, 423. Pardon recommended for, 447. In the British service, 519. Executed, V. 12. Taken in arms to be tried as traitors, 309. Proclamation of pardon to, by Congress, 331, 343. Treatment of, in Vermont, VI. 8. Plundering of, prohibited, 361. Two companies of, in the attack on Forts George and Anne, VII. 270. Plot of, in Stratford and Fairfield County, 423. Board established at New York for the direction of the Associated, VIII. 4, 218, 521. Inquiry ordered into the Board of Directors of the, 218, 252. Lippencot considers himself as acting under the Board of Directors, 338. Measures connected with the remuneration of them, IX. 177. See *Albany*, Butler, *King's County*, *Long Island*, *New Jersey*, and *Queen's County*.

Ludlow, G. J., a British captain, despatched to Sir Guy Carleton in behalf of Asgill, VIII. 303–305.

Ludwell, Philip, cited, II. 94.

Lutheran. See *German*.

Lutterloh, Henry Emanuel, a foreign officer, IV. 196.

Luzac, John, professor in the University of Leyden, a zealous friend of America, XI. 221.

Luzerne, minister of France, reception of, at Boston; visits head-quarters, VI. 350, 362, 364, 540. Cited respecting John Adams, 365. Consulted by Greene respecting an expe-

dition to Canada, 423. Upon the importance of the most favorable terms in the exchange of prisoners, 458. Writes to Vergennes about Miralles, 477; on the proceedings of Congress in electing a committee to make changes and reforms in the army, VII. 15. His visit to camp; his opinion of Washington, 10, 27, 28, 32. His letter to France after Lafayette's arrival, 32. A committee of Congress confers with, about supplies for the French, 47. His free correspondence solicited by the Commander-in-chief, 73. Cited about the British treatment of the southern people, 92. Sends out cruisers to meet the second division of the French fleet, 143. Writes to France about Izard's views of alarming the French, 175. Sends a letter in cipher to Count de Guichen, 198, 200. Cited about the establishment of separate departments by Congress, and respecting Samuel Adams, 400. Solicits ships to oppose Arnold, 404, 435. Solicited to desire Count de Grasse to bring land forces, VIII. 78. Visits camp, 99; 155. Favors a plan of coöperation against Charleston, 174; 263; 273. Cited respecting French officers' opinions of Washington, 277. Cited about Sir Guy Carleton's advances in regard to peace, 312; on Colonel Laurens's zeal in France, 527. His return to France, IX. 50, 57. On Washington's visiting France, 77. On the sentiments at Versailles about the powers of Congress, 183. Made a marquis; goes to the court of London; cited, X. 87. Death of, 188.

Lycian Confederacy, IX. 521.

Lyman, Major, IX. 27.

Lynch, Thomas, on a committee of Congress respecting the army, III. 123, 185. Cited as to a reconciliation, 525, 526.

M.

McAllister, Lieutenant, despatched to Congress with the standard taken at Paulus Hook, VI. 332, 333. Brevet rank and pay of captain given to, 377.

McCarty, Dennis, II. 127.

McCormick, George, XII. 287.

McDonald, Donald, a British officer, made prisoner, IV. 78. Difficulty about exchanging, on account of his rank, 106.

McDonald, captain of the enemy at Newtown, VI. 349.

McDougall, Alexander, III. 62. Appointed colonel; patriotism of, 256. Appointed brigadier-general, IV. 32 Retreats from Peekskill, 370. Letter to, about cutting off the British, 403. Ordered to fortify Fort Montgomery, 409; to introduce uniformity of discipline, 430. His position at the action on Chatterton's Hill, 528. Ordered into New Jersey, V. 64; 70. Number of his corps, 72. In the battle of Germantown, 78, 464. Recommended for a major-generalship, 85. To take command at the Highlands, 280, 283, 285. Discourages an expedition against New York, 303. Cited respecting the works at West Point, 311. To rejoin the main army, 333. Forwards information of the treaty with France, 353. Ordered to join General Gates at Hartford, VI. 96. Commands in the Highlands, 125, 131; at West Point, 276, 304. His misconception at the storming of Stony Point, 299, 303. To join Howe, VII. 79. Commended, 94. Takes command at West Point, 221; 234; 259. Appointed a delegate in Congress, 278. Appointed minister of marine, 400. At West Point, VIII. 95. Unprovided with command, 121. On a committee from the army to Congress, 551, 554. Death of, IX. 186.

McGillivray, X. 75. Visits Congress with Indians, 107. Stimulates the southern Indians to hostility, 267, 278. Death of, 335.

McHenry, James, letter to, about the prospects of peace, after the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, VIII. 344. Cited about a visit of the Commander-in-chief to Congress, 469. On a committee of Congress to make arrangements for the last audience of the Commander-in-chief, 569. Writes a memoir of Lafayette, IX. 121. On the enlargement of the powers of Congress, 122, 501. On the appointment of judicial officers, X. 56. Desires an appointment to procure the release of Lafayette, 398. On Pinkney's support of a Declaration of the General Assembly of Maryland, XI. 98 Appointed secretary of war, 107. On Washington's taking command of the Provisional army, 246, 255. His visit to Mount Vernon, 259, 261, 263, 281, 531, 532. On the rank of officers in the Provisional army, 297, 331, 318, 542. Suggests matters for consideration in relation to the war, 344, 552. On the affairs of the army, 413, 420, 532. His instructions

to General Hamilton, 417, 563. His plan in regard to officers for the twenty-four additional regiments, 427, 429. On the promotion of General Wilkinson, 440, 445. On a mission to France, 573.

McINTOSH, LACHLAN, General, appointed to command at Fort Pitt and in the west, V. 361, 382. His situation, VI. 91, 92. Head-quarters of, at Pittsburg, 154. Disappointed as to assistance, 156.

McINTOSH, WILLIAM, forwards a scheme of government for the United States, IX. 300.

MACKAY, JAMES, commands an Independent Company, II. 41. Arrives at the Great Meadows, 48. Doubts the superiority of Dinwiddie's commissions, 49. Takes the command of Fort Necessity; cited respecting its capitulation, 51, 465. Facts respecting, XII. 303.

McKAY, SAMUEL, a British captain, a prisoner, III. 352.

McKEAN, THOMAS, chosen president of Congress; forwards to the Commander-in-chief extracts from intercepted letters of Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, VIII. 112, 114, 519. Retires from Congress, 209.

MACKENZIE, ROBERT, Captain, recommended to General Amherst, II. 334. On the condition of the Massachusetts Bay; wounded at Bunker's Hill, 399. Facts respecting, IV. 129.

McKINLY, JOHN, Governor, a prisoner, V. 191.

McKonkey's Ferry, IV. 246.

MACLEAN, a British colonel, takes possession of Penobscot, VI. 307, 350.

McNEILL, JOHN, Captain, II. 190, 191, 211. Recommended for promotion, 252. His confinement of a commissary, 327.

MACPHERSON, DUNCAN, Captain, III. 146, 150. Killed and buried at Quebec, 264.

MACPHERSON, W., Major, VIII. 25, 26. His action with Simcoe, 101.

McVICKAR, JOHN, cited, X. 13.

McWHIR, WILLIAM, X. 37.

Machias, III. 58, 97.

MADISON, JAMES, on the early intentions of the Colonists to become independent, II. 497; VII. 465; VIII. 270. On the policy and objects of the different States, VIII. 334, 547. On a bill for the relief of Thomas Paine, IX. 50. On propositions for investing Congress with powers for commercial purposes, 145, 508. On paper money and a general convention, 208, 218. On a form of government, 230, 516. On the embarrassments in Congress about acting in relation to the proposed convention in 1787, 247. Correspondence with, about the Constitution, 267, 542, 547. A writer in *The Federalist*, 284. On Richard Henry Lee's objections to the Constitution, 288. On parties in Massachusetts in regard to the adoption of the Constitution, 312. A candidate for the state convention on the new Constitution, 313, 331. Cited about the convention, 369. Advocates the adoption of the new Constitution, 374, 378. On the first meeting of Congress under the new Constitution, 407, 549, 554. Should be in the Assembly, 430. Loses an election, 447. Queries sent to, by the President respecting a system of conduct, X. 4, 5, 464. Consulted about nominations to the judiciary, 26. Cited about Jefferson's appointment as secretary of state, 43; 82, 85, 95. On the power of the executive to change the place of convening Congress, 379, 552. A Democratic Society takes its name from, 443. Written to about a Farewell Address, in 1792, XII. 382. His reply, 385. His draft for one, 387.

MAGAW, ROBERT, appointed lieutenant-colonel of one of the Pennsylvania battalions, III. 315. At Philadelphia, 414. Appointed to hold Fort Washington; his reply to the summons to surrender, IV. 179. Ordered to defend the fort, 180. Surrenders, 181. Comes out of New York on parole with propositions for exchange of prisoners, VI. 435; VII. 2.

MAGILL, CHARLES, XII. 213.

Major-Generals, in the army at New York, needed, IV. 30. Appointed, 32. List of the, during the war, XII. 412.

MALCOLM, WILLIAM, Colonel, stationed at Ramapo, V. 64; 73; 388. Commanding officer at Fort Arnold, West Point, VI. 8. His regiment, being united to Spencer's, mutinies, 242. To join the main army, VII. 139. A letter from, forwarded to Arnold, 144. Opposes savages, 262. Expiration of the service of, 263.

MALMEDY, a French officer, his dissatisfaction with his rank, IV. 419, 422.

Mamaroneck, loss at, IV. 160, 526, 548.

Managers at Mount Vernon, qualifications wanted in, XII. 308. Their weekly reports, 351.

MANDRILLON, JOSEPH, author of works on America, IX. 72, 421, 450.

MANLY, WILLIAM, Commodore, cap-

tures a store-ship, III. 183; two prizes, 194; the sloop *Betsey*, despatched to Boston by Lord Dunmore, 203; two transports, 266, 271. Is appointed commodore, 267, 519. Narrowly escapes from the enemy, 287. Ordered to watch the enemy upon their evacuating Boston, 307. His success, 520.

Mansion-House Farm, XII. 310. Directions respecting the, 346, 354. A weekly report of the, 351.

Manufactures, domestic, the increase of, IX. 464, 470. On the encouragement of, XII. 69. Address to the Delaware Society for promoting, 141.

Manure, on the procuring of, from the bed of the Potomac River, XII. 274, 310. Plaster of Paris used for, 292. Buckwheat, 320, 331, 340, 342. Directions respecting, 336, 362 - 364, 370.

MARBOIS, BARBÉ, secretary of legation from France, VII. 20, 325. *Chargé d'affaires* from France, IX. 50. Leaves the United States, 130. See LONGCHAMPS.

MARCHANT, HENRY, member of Congress, recommends Gates, V. 14.

Maréchaussée, a company of cavalry, duties of, VI. 462. Put upon ordinary field duty, VII. 83.

Marine Committee, irregularities and want of system in the, VI. 228.

Marine department, established, and a minister appointed, VII. 399, 400.

Marine hospital, at the seat of government, XII. 322.

Marine operations, III. 516. See *Navy*.

Marines, not furnished from the army, III. 77. Resolves of Congress about raising two battalions of, from the army, 163, 175, 206; 260.

MARION, FRANCIS, General, VIII. 62.

Marriage, letter respecting, II. 370. Advice respecting, VIII. 486; IX. 190. Humorous remarks in connexion with, 346.

Marshal, error in the application of the title of, IX. 89.

MARSHALL, JOHN, cited in relation to Jay's treaty, XI. 32. Declines the office of attorney-general, 62. Favors Patrick Henry, 80. Declines the office of minister to France, 143, 148, 487. Consulted about persons for a surveyor-general, 148. Cited respecting the inauguration of John Adams, and the banquet given to the ex-president by the merchants of Philadelphia, 194. Appointed minister to France, 202, 208. His arrival in Europe, 224. His return, 293. Elected to Congress, 424, 425. His account of the reception of Washington at Trenton, in 1789, XII. 148.

MARSHALL, THOMAS, written to, on the affairs of Kentucky, IX. 485, X. 137.

MARSTELLER, Lieutenant, in the western expedition, recommended for the Provisional army, XI. 273.

MARTIN, JOSEPH, governor of North Carolina, III. 223. Embarks on board the British fleet for the southern States, VI. 477.

MARTIN, Colonel, wounded on Long Island, IV. 66.

MARTINDALE, LION, a naval officer; captured, III. 219, 518, 519.

Maryland, exertions made by ladies in, to favor the army, VII. 463. Accedes to the confederation, 400; XII. 237. Soil and climate, and value of land in, 325, 326. List of chief magistrates of, 418. Members of the Continental Congress from, 423. Of Congress from, during Washington's presidency, 430.

Maryland Assembly, II. 11. Votes six thousand pounds for the defence of the frontiers, and authorizes the raising of a military force, in 1755, 112. Has a temporary reconciliation with the governor, and raises money and men, in 1756, 165. Appropriates money for the *Royal Regiment*, and raises men, 168. Refuses means for supporting Fort Cumberland; denies Lord Loudoun's authority over the Maryland forces, 233 Disagrees with the governor about troops for Forbes's expedition, 289. Passes a vote of thanks to the Commander-in-chief after the capitulation at Yorktown, VIII. 210. Appoints an intendant, 254. On western inland navigation, IX. 80, 82, 91, 99, 291. Naturalizes Lafayette, 82. Agitated by the question of a paper emission, 226, 232, 234. Declaration of, respecting the President, XI. 96, 97, 98. Resolutions passed by, after the publication of the President's Farewell Address, 176.

Maryland line, in the army, attention to the raising and equipping of the, urged, IV. 386. Success in filling the, V. 399. March of, to the southward, VII. 7, 10, 15, 19, 20. Commanded by Baron de Kalb, 8, 15, 19. Countermanded from the main army, and ordered to the southward, after the battle of Camden, 186. Declension of the, VIII. 23.

Maryland militia, called out to suppress the Pennsylvania insurrection,

XII. 48. See CADWALADER, GIST, and SMALLWOOD.
MASON, GEORGE, II. 271. Facts respecting, 351. On non-importation, 354. Drafts the non-importation agreement called an Association, in 1776, 356. Probably drafts the Fairfax County Resolves, in 1774, 488. His account of the factions and doings of the Virginia convention, III. 152. Favors a taxation of the colonists, 153. On a paper emission, IX. 120. His sentiments about the Constitution, IX. 267, 271, 287, 289, 542, 544. Declines signing the Constitution, 270, 541. His opposition to it, in the Virginia convention, 356, 370, 373; X. 250; XII. 400.
Massachusetts, charter of, proposed as a model, for a colony on the Ohio River, II. 484. Furnishes one fifth of the whole army, in 1779, VI. 197. Insurrection in, and its progress, IX. 204, 207, 221, 225, 228, 234, 241, 263. Disfranchisement of citizens in, 235, 236, 240, 241, 249. Parties in, about the adoption of the Constitution, 310, 312, 329. State of the public mind there, in 1790, X. 94. Address to the governor and council of, XII. 170; to the Grand Lodge of, 200. List of the chief magistrates of, during Washington's public life, 416. Members of the Continental Congress from, 420; of Congress from, during Washington's presidency, 428.
Massachusetts Committee of Safety, III. 20, 44.
Massachusetts General Assembly, summoned by Gage, organize themselves into a Provincial Congress, and attend to the affairs of the Colony, III. 16, 44.
Massachusetts General Court, convenes at Watertown, III. 16, 44. Acts in two branches, 44. Applies for a detachment to protect the seacoast, 45, 53. Fits out vessels of marque and reprisal, and establishes a court to try captures, 154; 238; 246. Desired to furnish reinforcements for Canada, 253. Answer to an address from the, 335. Solicited to coöperate in engaging Indians, 460. Sends commissioners to the army, IV. 172. Votes an advance pay, 173. Its order that the soldiers pay for public arms, 410. Votes a gratuity to its troops after the revolt in the Pennsylvania line, VII. 356. Feelings in the, towards the Society of the Cincinnati, IX. 26. Spirit of insurrection in the, 363. Address to the, in July, 1789, XII. 158; in February, 1797, 243. See *Massachusetts Provincial Congress*.
Massachusetts Humane Society, IX. 388.
Massachusetts line, in the army, ordered to Ticonderoga, IV. 426. Delay of the, 468. Troops recruited in the, to be forwarded, without being inoculated, V. 297. Complaint of field-officers in the, VII. 453.
Massachusetts militia, ordered out, III. 184, 189. Called out, at the taking possession of Dorchester Heights, 304. To go to New York, 416. Nearly one fifth of the, drafted for New York, IV. 125. Six thousand to be raised, 227. A regiment of, arrives at Morristown, 322. One third of the western ordered to Saratoga to prevent the junction of the British, 500. Called out, to coöperate with Count d'Estaing, and dismissed, VI. 368, 409. Turn out with alacrity to oppose Clinton; dismissed, VII. 138. At West Point, 139, 147, 222. To be dismissed with thanks, 233.
Massachusetts Provincial Congress, resolves on measures of defence, and appoints General Ward commander of all its forces, III. 6, 486. Its history; its reception of the Commander-in-chief, 14, 44, 484. Government by the, ceases; and the General Court convenes, 16, 44. Despatches a vessel to England with intelligence of the Lexington battle, 35. John Hancock president of the, and Joseph Warren, president *pro tempore*, 37. Their letter to Kirkland respecting the Indians, 495. See *Massachusetts General Court*.
MASSEY, a British general, arrives at Halifax with regiments from Ireland, III. 282.
MATHEW, EDWARD, a British general, his expedition against Virginia, VI. 261, 262. Makes an excursion against Springfield, VII. 87.
MATHEWS, JOHN, in Congress, VI. 456, 496. On a committee to effect reforms and changes in the army, VII. 15. Recommended for the committee of coöperation and chosen, 34, 80. Letters of, show high party spirit in Congress, 226. Favors General Greene's appointment to the command of the southern army, 258, 277. His request respecting his wife, VII. 276, 277. Cited about the state and prospect of affairs, 277. On a committee to suppress a revolt in the Pennsylvania line, 359.
MATTHEWS, GEORGE, Colonel, wounded, and, with his regiment, captured

at Germantown, V. 466. Comes out of New York on parole with propositions for exchange of prisoners, VI. 435; VII. 2.
Matson's Ford, skirmish at, V. 185. Lafayette's retreat from, 377.
MAUBOURG, LATOUR, imprisoned with Lafayette at Olmutz, XI. 492.
MAUDUIT, VI. 34.
MAUROY, a French officer, V. 449.
MAXWELL, WILLIAM, Colonel, remonstrates against leaving Crown Point, IV. 6. General; ordered to harass the enemy after the battle at Trenton, 249. Letter to, upon a refusal of people at Elizabethtown to take the oath of allegiance, 319. Ordered to continue between Brunswic and Amboy, 471. Does not attack the enemy, 474. In the battle of Brandywine, V. 57, 58. At the battle of Germantown, 78, 464. Trial and acquittal of, 165. Favors an attack on Philadelphia, 168. Despatched to defend vessels, 362, 365. To harass the army in crossing Jersey, 386, 387, 422, 423. To hang on the enemy's left flank, 417. Left to harass the enemy, 430. At Elizabethtown, VI. 155, 176, 207, 225; 252. On the western expedition, 264; VII. 83. Resignation of, 115. Position of his brigade, at the action at Springfield, 507.
Mayo River, II. 164.
MEADE, RICHARD K., Colonel, goes to Virginia, VII. 267.
Meadows, directions respecting, XII. 362, 372. See *Great Meadows* and *Little Meadows*.
MEASE, JAMES, appointed clothier-general, IV. 323.
Measures, uniformity in, recommended, XII. 9, 25.
Medal, in commemoration of the evacuation of Boston, III. 356. Voted, 533. Other medals voted, VI. 540.
Mediation of foreign powers, VIII. 71, X. 239.
Medusa, a French frigate, escapes from Newport with Fauchet on board, XI. 68.
Medway, address to the Congregational church and society at, XII. 198.
MEEKER, JOHN, V. 219, 231.
MEIGS, RETURN JONATHAN, Lieutenant-Colonel, his spirited enterprise to Sag Harbour, IV. 441. Sword voted to, by Congress, 442; V. 211; 225. His bravery at Stony Point, VI. 538. His exertions in suppressing a mutiny, VII. 55, 56. To go to West Point, 216, 222. To move to the main army, 233.
Mémoire, &c., published by the French government, II. 22.
MERCER, GEORGE, II. 45. Appointed aid-de-camp, 110; 119. Accompanies Washington to Boston, in 1756, 132. Requests an exchange of the officers of the Virginia regiments, 280. Opens a road from Fort Cumberland to Raystown, 296. Commissioner for the Ohio Company, 482. Extract from his letter respecting lands for the Virginia troops, 485.
MERCER, HUGH, II. 507, 508. Ordered to Paulus Hook, III. 449. Concerts with Livingston the defence of the Jerseys, 450. Commended, 452; IV. 73, 75. Opposes the evacuation of New York, 92. Wounded at Princeton, and made prisoner, 259, 260. His death and character; monument to, and the education of his son, voted by Congress, 260.
MERCER, JAMES, Captain, II. 129; 205. Takes command of Fort Loudoun, 210.
MERCER, JOHN, Captain, sent to Dinwiddie, II. 117, 120. Goes on a scouting party to the Warm Spring Mountain, skirmishes at Edwards's Fort, and is killed, 142, 157, 165.
Mercer, Fort, V. 113. Reinforced, 120. See *Red Bank*.
MESMER, FREDERIC ANTHONY, reply to a letter from, on animal magnetism, IX. 72.
Messages to Congress, XII. 79.
Meteorological Tables, kept at Mount Vernon, XII. 351.
Method. See *System*.
Methodist Episcopal Church, address to the bishops of the, XII. 153.
Miami village and fort, IX. 109. Taken possession of, by the United States, XII. 66.
Michilimackinac, taken possession of, by the United States, XII. 66.
Middlebrook, head-quarters at, IV. 440.
MIDDLETON, HENRY, president of Congress, XII. 420.
MIFFLIN, THOMAS, appointed quarter-master-general, III. 68, 104. Lee cited respecting, 71. Instructions to, 332. Marches thirteen hundred men to Brooklyn, IV. 68. Visits Philadelphia to state to Congress the situation of the army, 190. Ordered to Philadelphia, 208. Marches fifteen hundred militia from Pennsylvania to Trenton, 213. Crosses the Delaware, 249, 251. Joins Washington at Trenton, 258. On confining conscientious loyalists, 321. Appointed major-general, 329. Tenders his resigna-

tion; is chosen member of the new Board of War, V. 194, 213. Ordered on a council respecting the campaign of 1778, 338, 339, 360. Rejoins the army; the consequent dissatisfaction, 371–373, 406. Inquiry into his conduct as quarter-master, 406. His agency in Conway's Cabal, 485, 486, 493, 494, 513, 515, 517; VI. 176. His disposition towards the Commander-in-chief, 492. Chosen president of Congress, VIII. 500. His address, upon the resignation of the Commander-in-chief, 570. Forwards to Washington instructions for the Pennsylvania delegates in Congress, IX. 10; 539. Applies for aid to execute the quarantine, XI. 135, 136.

Mifflin, Fort, V. 71. Forces at, 74, 76, 85 Sickness and unhealthiness of, 90. Threatened, 92, 94. Attacked by the British, 115. Reinforced, 120, 131. Measures for guarding in case of an expected surprise, 132. Attacked, 142, 143. Evacuation of, 151, 154, 173, 180. See Fleury and Smith.

Military Academy, XI. 469, XII. 30, 71.

Military code, defective as to degrees of punishment and furloughs, VII. 395.

Military power, jealousy respecting, III. 44, 51.

Military stores, supply of, for the campaign of 1777, IV. 338.

Military treatises, II. 124, III. 154.

Militia, the power of drafting, II. 280. Leave the army in consequence of the defeat at Long Island, IV. 72, 86. Not to be relied upon for a permanent defence, 72, 104, 113, 137, 204. Pernicious influence of, on regular troops, 89, 105. Wasteful habits of, 156, 203. Dissatisfied, 162. Drafting of, recommended for filling up the Continental army, V. 97. Commendation of the, 119, 120, 146, 185. Evils of calling out the, VI. 200. On increasing the standing pay of the, 244. Objections against employing, and evils from, VII. 52, 441. Commended, 86, 145. Dismission of, after the blockade of the second division of the French fleet at Brest, 178. How far valuable, 205, 206. Employment of, discountenanced, VIII. 143. To be held in readiness to put down the Pennsylvania insurgents, XII. 47. March against them, 48. The devising and establishing of a well-regulated, urged, 51, 60, 74, 80. To be called forth if necessary for the detention of vessels, 102.

Miller, Lieutenant Colonel, his exertions to suppress the mutiny in the New Jersey line, VII. 564.

Miller's Run, private difficulties with settlers on, XII. 297.

Milne, an Englishman, encourages cotton manufactures in America, IX. 470.

Mingo. See White Mingo.

Mingo Town, II. 520, 521, 522, 532.

Miniatures engravings of military characters, IX. 100.

Minisink settlement, VI. 113.

Ministers to foreign countries, on the Senate's agency in sending, X. 479. On the President's power to appoint, during the recess of Congress, XI. 131, 484, 486. List of, during Washington's administration, XII. 433.

Minot, George Richards, his History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts, IX 417, 422, XII. 297.

Mint, importance of the, XII. 24. Measures taken respecting the, 32. Coinage commenced at, 53. Further legislative provisions for the, necessary, 63.

Minute-men, the Virginia militia exercised as, III. 152. In Massachusetts, 486.

Mirabeau, Count de, IX. 147, 255. Addresses the National Assembly of France upon the death of Franklin, X. 133. Charges against, 142.

Miralles, Don Juan de, an unofficial agent of the Spanish government, VI. 186. Ordered to exert his influence with Congress against East Florida, 424, 475. Facts respecting his authority, 477. Death of, VII. 27, 30.

Mississippi River, French fortifications on the, in 1753, II. 434. Difficulties about the navigation of the, IX. 115, 119, 473. Emigration to the, 119 The navigation of, as connected with a treaty with Spain, 172, 180, 205, 215, 261, 340, 473, X. 74, 191, 426; 483. Unfounded suspicions as to the policy in regard to the, XII. 221. Settlement on the, not desirable, 303.

Mogadore, American vessel released at, X. 61.

Mohawk River, V. 37. Ravages committed there, by Indians and Tories, VII. 291, 296. Visited by the Commander-in-chief; enemy's incursion down the, in 1782, VIII. 316.

Monacatoocha, an Indian sachem, II. 24. Assists in the action with Jumonville's party, 32. Goes to gain over four tribes of Indians, 44. Visited in the tour to the Ohio, in 1753, 428, 433, 438.

Monarchical government, remarks on, IX. 189, 247.
Monckton, a British colonel, killed at Monmouth, V. 423, 429.
Money, wanted for the troops, III. 21, 167. Entire deficiency of, 104. Delay in signing, 173, 178. Borrowed for the army, 283. Scarcity of, IV. 77, V. 142, 244, VII. 9, 65, 323, 325. Want of, for secret services, VIII. 136. Solicited from France, 224. Total want of, and consequent discontents in the army, 353. See *Loans*.
Monmouth, loss of a militia guard at, IV. 326. Position of the British army at, V. 419, 424. Battle at, 421, 425, 431, 432, 552. Loss at, 428, 429, 433, 436.
Monocosy River, II. 183. The country above the, exposed to the Indians, 187.
Monongahela, battle of the. See Braddock.
Monroe, James, Major, his letter to Lord Stirling, cited, VI. 263. On the appointment of an envoy extraordinary to the court of Great Britain, X. 400, 557. Appointed minister to France, 406. His reception there, 449. Purport of letters written to, as prepared by the President, 474. His communications to the National Convention, XI. 5. Cited respecting Madame de Lafayette, 29. Instructions to, about the *Medusa*, 68. His recall from France, 130, 140–144, 163, 212, 483, 485, 519, 526. His representations in reply to complaints of the French government, 157, 488. Written to, about a letter to Gouverneur Morris, 164; 212. Remarks on his "View of the Conduct of the Executive," 228, 504.
Montagu, British captain of the ship *Mercury*, V. 27.
Montgaillard, quoted respecting Jumonville, II. 448.
Montgomery, Richard, III. 8 Brigadier-general, 23. His troubles with his troops, 132, 180. Takes Montreal; exertions of, to ally Canada to the Colonies; to enlist Canadians, 174. Complains of the want of a committee from Congress, 180. Inclined to quit the service, 209. Joins Arnold; troops under, 219, 220. The death and burial of, 248, 264. Removal of his remains to New York, 265. Behaviour of the men under, 277. Principal cause of the defeat of, 278. Succeeded by Wooster, 322.
Montgomery, Colonel, in Forbes's expedition, II. 318, 319. His successes and defeat, 333.
Montgomery, Fort, on the Hudson River, III. 469. To be put in a strong state for defence, IV. 409. River obstructed at, by a boom; taken, 416; V. 28. Captured with Fort Clinton, 91, 104, 105, 471. Vessels lost at, 92, 475. Evacuated by the British, 123, 131. Called Fort Vaughan, 131. Inquiry respecting the loss of, 280, 283, 284, 413. Inconvenience about the command there, 284. See Putnam.
Montour, Andrew, an Indian agent and interpreter, II. 42, 43, 108, 110.
Montreal, orders to General Schuyler respecting the taking of, III. 41. Preparations against, 60. Surrenders, 207. Hazen left with the command at, 361. Commissioners arrive at, 390.
Montresor, aid to Lieutenant-General Howe, IV. 105.
Montresor's Island, British troops transported to, IV. 92, 94. Unsuccessful descent upon, by an American party, 136.
Moore, James, appointed brigadier-general, and ordered to the Southern Department, III. 294, 319. Commands at the action of Moore's Creek Bridge, IV. 78.
Moore's Creek Bridge, action at, IV. 78.
Morgan, Daniel, captain of a Virginia rifle company; expeditious march of, III. 100. In Arnold's expedition, 111, Recommended to Congress, IV. 124. Colonel; ordered to take post at Van Vechten's to watch and annoy the enemy, 461. Drives the Hessian picket at Brunswic; bravery of, commended, 471. Ordered to hang on the flank of the enemy, 475. To join the Northern army, V. 29, 30, 37. Joins the main army, 74, 124. Part of his corps reinforces Greene, and the remainder prevented by want of shoes, 167. Harasses the enemy at Chesnut Hill, 181. Pursues the enemy from Philadelphia, 415. To gain the enemy's right flank, 417, 420–424. Left to harass the enemy, 428, 430. General; his victory over Colonel Tarleton, VII. 415. Escapes from Cornwallis, and crosses the Yadkin with his prisoners, 438. Thanks to, omitted, VIII. 18. Commended, X. 427. Goes against the Pennsylvania insurgents, 439. Directions to, about the army, XI. 25 Assistance of, solicited, 427; XII. 213.
Morgan, John, Dr., director of the hospital, III. 167.
Morgan, a patriotic soldier, anecdote of, VIII. 152.

MORGANS, M., Congress refuses a passport for, VIII. 296, 537.
Moroccio, Emperor of, treaty with, X. 60. Death of, 144.
Moroccio, Emperor of, (the son,) X. 144. Treaty negotiating with; presents made to, XI. 84, XII. 57, 101, 107.
MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR, III. 2. Member of Congress; on a committee to confer with the Commander-in-chief, 398. Visits camp on a committee, V. 213. Drafts instructions for Gates, 334. Cited respecting Gates's powers, 338; respecting a council of war, and keeping secrets, 339; on the affairs of the army and the half-pay establishment, 340, 370. Drafts the report in relation to the Conciliatory Bills, 344. Remarks on his three questions about the enemy's prosecuting the war, their continuing on the continent, and the impeding of their departure, VI. 80. Writes essays on the finances of the United States, 251. His appointment to meet commissioners in relation to prisoners, VIII. 216, 249, 260, 264, 277, 334. On coinage, IX. 125. Desires Washington to attend the general convention, 239. Goes to Europe, 448, 449. Cited respecting the candidate for the presidency, 451. To make inquiries about the non-fulfilment of the treaty with Great Britain and about the formation of a commercial treaty, X. 43. His appointment as minister plenipotentiary to France, 216, 503. On the politics of the King and Queen of France, 238. Directions to, concerning the French debt, and about Lafayette, 322. His recall from France, 404, 406, 416. Letter to, on political affairs, XI. 99, 165, 172, 206. Solicits the release of Lafayette, 491; XII. 91. His agency in forming the Federal Constitution, 398.
MORRIS, ROBERT, cited on local prejudices in the army, IV. 237. Member of a committee to remain in Philadelphia, 253, 256, 552. Cited on future prospects, 339; on Lee's request respecting a committee, 343. His agency at the battle of Trenton, 545. Cited upon the French treaty, and independence, V. 353. His appointment as Superintendent of Finance, and first exertions in behalf of the army, VII. 399, VIII. 66, 67, 71. Is vested with power to dispose of the specific supplies, 103. Requested to furnish information about transports for the army for Virginia, 122. On a committee to consult for the campaign of 1782, 142. Requested to aid in obtaining vessels for the transportation of troops, and to procure stores and money, 148; to furnish Lafayette with a conveyance to France, 207. His circulars to the States as financier, 227. Persuades Thomas Paine to revive "The Crisis," 345. On three months' pay to the army, 436. Cited respecting Tench Tilghman, IX. 169. Purchases lands, X. 151.
MORRIS, ROBERT HUNTER, governor of Pennsylvania, II. 79. Differs with the Pennsylvania Assembly; has no power to sanction bills taxing the Proprietaries' estates, 122. Commissions Franklin to superintend the building of forts on the Pennsylvania frontiers, 123.
MORRIS, ROGER, aid to General Braddock, II. 83. Wounded at Braddock's defeat, 86, 88, 471.
MORRIS, General, IV. 42.
MORRIS, Major, wounded in the skirmish near Chesnut Hill, V. 181.
Morrisania, expedition against, VII. 356, 357, 385, 392, 393, 415. See DELANCEY and HULL.
Morris's House near Haerlem, situation of; head-quarters at, IV. 93.
Morristown, head-quarters of the American army, IV. 264. Becomes again the head-quarters, 482. New Jersey troops moved to, VII. 406.
Moses Creek, near Fort Edward, Northern army moves to, IV. 503.
MOULTRIE, WILLIAM, Colonel, commands on Sullivan's Island, IV. 27. General, V. 453. Proposition to exchange, for Lord Rawdon, VIII. 238. Governor of South Carolina, X. 366, XII. 281.
Moultrie, Fort, IV. 27.
Mount Vernon. See *Vernon*.
MOUSTIER, Count de, successor of Luzerne, arrives in America, IX. 314, 320. On the etiquette observed towards, 336, 439, 448. His visit to Mount Vernon, and travels in America, IX. 438, 448, 453. On the mode of intercourse to be pursued between him and the President, X. 11, 469. His return to France, 38, 46. Cited, 118. Minister from France to the Prussian court, 186.
MOWAT, H., Lieutenant, a British officer, burns Falmouth, III. 130. Probable cause for doing it, 522.
MOYLAN, STEPHEN, III. 166. Commissary, 257. Aid to the Commander-in-chief, 309. To command a regiment of dragoons, IV. 293. To make inquiry respecting officers, V. 315.

In the battle of Germantown, 465. Joins Tallmadge, VI. 279. To join the main army, VII. 75. In the expedition to Bull's Ferry, 116. Directions to, about an attack on York Island, 303. On the equipping and marching the dragoons of, to the southward, VIII. 2, 17.
Mud Island, importance of, V. 100, 101.
Muddy-Hole Farm, XII. 312, 316. Directions as to, 340. A weekly report respecting the, 351.
MUGFORD, Captain, killed, III. 422.
MUHLENBERG, PETER, Brigadier-General, IV. 329. The proposed resignation of, V. 317. Coöperates with Wayne against Stony Point, VI. 297, 539. His position, VIII. 510. Joins Lafayette, 515.
MUIR, JAMES, X. 393.
MUIRSON, his gallant conduct, VII. 316.
Mulberry trees, XII. 355.
Mules, XII. 314. Directions as to, 364.
MULLENS, Major, trial of, V. 13.
MURFEY, Major, at the storming of Stony Point, VI. 538.
MURRAY, WILLIAM VANS, minister in Holland, XI. 383. Nominated minister to France, 403, 404; 458.
Muscle Shoals, settlement at, disapproved by the Indians, X. 196.
MUSE, BATTAILE, XII. 272, 280.
MUSE, GEORGE, Major, II. 5, 43. Charged with cowardice; letter to, cited, 367; 465.
MUSGRAVE, a British major, III. 290.
Muskingum River, leaden plate found near the mouth of the, II. 430. Treaty there, X. 192.
Mutiny bill, of Virginia, defect in the, II. 118, 121, 224.

N.

NASH, ABNER, governor of North Carolina, VII. 284.
NASH, FRANCIS, General, ordered to Chester, V. 43. Mortally wounded at Germantown, 80, 85, 103, 466.
NASH, Colonel, is attacked by the Indians at Fort William, II. 190.
NATANIS, the last of the Norridgewock Indians, in Carleton's interest, III. 112.
Natchez, proposed expedition against, VI. 434, 435. Taken by the Spanish, 476. Rencounter at, IX. 119.
National Assembly of France, correspondence with, about their notice of the death of Franklin, X. 133, 497. Abolition of the *Noblesse* by the, 141. Intrigues and ambition in the, 142. Permits the cultivation of tobacco in France, 178, 180. A new convocation of the, 190. Their constitution accepted by the King, 209, XII. 94. Decree of the, respecting vessels, 96. See *France*.
National Guard, in France, X. 141.
National prejudices and attachments, condemned, XII. 229.
National University, XI. 1, 3, 14, 20, 22, 23, XII. 71, 322.
NAVARRO, DON DIEGO JOSEPH, governor of Havana, VI. 186. Gives instructions to Miralles, 423.
Navigation, XII. 15. See *Commerce*, and *Western Inland Navigation*.
Navy, first movements towards fitting out a, III. 77, 128, 143, 154, 172, 516. Effects little, 168, 173. Troubles with the crews of the, 187. Fitting out at Philadelphia, 226, 275. Inactivity of the, 353. Commanders of the, 517–519. Formed into a new establishment, instructions to the officers of the, 519. Poorly manned, V. 113. Suggestions for the employment of the, VI. 227, 370. Three ships of the, ordered to South Carolina, 370, 410. Department, XI. 147. Importance of a, XII. 68. See *Admiralty*, HAZELWOOD, HOPKINS, MANLY, *Marine*, and *Vessels*.
Navy Board, at Bordentown, V. 116, 117.
Necessity, Fort, commenced, II. 25. Completed, situation and construction of; why so called; battle at, 457 Terms of the capitulation, 458, 459. Articles misunderstood, 460. Villiers's account of the affair at, 461. Washington's remarks, 463. Number of men engaged, 466. One article of the capitulation not ratified by the governor, 467. See *Great Meadows*.
Negotiations, on the mode of conducting, X. 9, 469.
Negroes, in the American army, III. 219; IV. 245. Embark with the British at New York, VIII. 428, 431, 544, IX. 136. See *Slaves*.
NELSON, THOMAS, brigadier-general of the Virginia militia, raises a body of cavalry, V. 365. His volunteer corps of cavalry discontinued, VI. 34. In Congress, 203. Governor of Virginia; joins Lafayette and commands the Virginia militia at the siege of Yorktown; anecdotes of, VIII. 201, 515.
NELSON, THOMAS, X. 23.
Neutrality, IV. 321. Questions respecting the proclamation of, submit-

ted to the Cabinet, X. 533. Naval force, necessary to, XII. 66. President's measures in regard to, approved in Pennsylvania and Baltimore, 203; at Salem and Alexandria, 204; at New York, 205; at Richmond, 206; at New London, 207; at Annapolis, 20. Further remarks on, 233, 333.

NEUVILLE, M. DE, of Holland, renders services to the United States, XII. 156.

NEWFIELD, certificates and applications of, for office, VI. 15, 17. Denial of Baron Steuben's authority by, 19, 20. On an exchange of, VII. 323.

NEVILLE, PRESLEY, XII. 217.

Newark, British expedition against, VI. 452.

Newburg Addresses, and particulars connected with them, VIII. 392–406, 551.

NEWCOMB, SILAS, general of the Jersey militia, opposes the British at Billingsport, V. 84. To assist Colonel Greene at Red Bank, 88.

NEWELL, TIMOTHY, III, 532.

New England, Schuyler's anecdote respecting the impatience of the troops from, III. 191. The Commander-in-chief empowered to call out the militia of, 206. Proceedings of a committee of delegates from, at Providence, IV. 317. Disposition of, towards the Society of the Cincinnati, IX 26. Soil and climate of; emigration from, to the West, XII. 324.

NEWENHAM, SIR EDWARD, IX. 289, 308, X 309.

New Hampshire, a proposition to take three companies of, into the Continental establishment, III. 65. Regiment raised there, for Canada, 255. Gratuity to the troops of, VII. 356. Address to the Executive of, XII. 175. Chief magistrates of, 416. Members of the Continental Congress from, 421; of Congress from, during Washington's presidency, 427.

New Hampshire line, in the army, sent to Ticonderoga, IV. 323. Temporarily filled by drafting militia, 426. Delay of the, 468.

New Hampshire militia, III. 256. Under Stark, join General Lincoln at Bennington, V. 30. Ordered out, VII. 98. Constitute a part of the garrison at West Point, 139, 147, 222. To be dismissed with thanks, 233.

New Haven, British expedition against, VI. 286, 291, 350, 367.

New Jersey, resolve by the Convention of, respecting Governor Franklin. III. 446. Suspected persons in, intending to aid the British, IV. 45. Invasion of, threatened, 163. Preparations for transporting troops to, 165 Backwardness of the people in, to help the army, 212, 221, 225, 230. Resolutions of the Council of, and proceedings, in regard to the oath of allegiance, 390. Assembly of, censured in relation to a militia law, 354. Evacuated by the British, 476, 477, 482. Provisions sent to the plundered inhabitants of, 482, 483. Assembly of, regulates the price of necessaries for the army, V. 183. British troops sent into, VI. 73, 75. The legislature offers two hundred and fifty dollars bounty, 198. Ladies of, contribute for the army, VII. 90. Distresses there, maturing into complaints, 390. Addresses to the legislature of, XII. 176, 236; 394. Chief magistrates of, during Washington's public life, 417. Members of the Continental Congress from, 422; of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 429.

New Jersey line, V 75. Well filled, 309. Remonstrance of the officers of the first regiment of the, VI. 252, 354. Difficulty about officers in the reduction of, VII 335. Mutiny in, and measures adopted in consequence thereof, 380, 381, 385, 386, 560. Moved to Morristown, 406. Lord George Germain cited, respecting the revolt in the, VIII. 520.

New Jersey militia, ordered to New York, III. 313. Return home without their pay, 366; 374. To join the army at New York, 416. Desertion of Preston's party of, IV. 288 Their character and conduct; laws recommended for the, 296. Turn out with great spirit, 482 Nearly all dismissed, 483. Three thousand ordered to reinforce the army, V. 54. Great effects from, 95. Two thousand called for, VI. 368. Their spirited opposition to Knyphausen, VII. 74, 76, 86. On their incorporation with the Continental line, 79. Called out to suppress the Pennsylvania insurrection, XII. 48. See DICKINSON and FORMAN.

New levies, III. 46. Ordered to Cambridge, 83. Disposition of Governor Trumbull to retain the, 96. To reinforce the army at New York, 416.

New London, threatened, III. 96 Blockade of, expected, 353. Embarkation of troops at, 354. British expedition against, VI. 207. Address to the inhabitants of, on the subject of neutrality, XII. 207.

New Orleans, the governor of, writes to General Lee, IV. 536.
Newport, General Lee gives directions for the defence of, III. 213, 214. Supplies Captain Wallace's ships, 227. Threatened, IV. 96. Taken possession of, by the British, 220. British land at, 313. British forces at, V. 297. Evacuation of, by the British, VI. 388. Demolition of the works at, recommended, 396. French fleet arrives at. VII. 107, 108, 113, 483, 496, 505. Measures for the defence of, 127, 128. French fleet blockaded at, 131, 196, 239, 290, 403. Visited by Indians, 183, 184. Escape of a vessel from, with despatches to France, 319. Supplies arrive at, from Boston, 403. Ships sent from, to blockade Arnold in the Chesapeake, 404, 410, 413, 435, 439. Visited by the Commander-in-chief, in 1781, 410, 416, 428, 433, 446. French fleet leaves, VIII. 147, 152, 518. Fortifications at, to be destroyed, 270, 289. Address to the freemen of, XII. 189; to the members of King David's Lodge at, 190. See *Rhode Island*.
Newspapers, on the transmission of, XII. 32.
Newtown, action with the Tories and Indians at, VI. 342, 349.
New Windsor, head-quarters at, VI. 276, VII. 316.
New York, Tryon mistakes the spirit of the people of, when soliciting reinforcements, III. 223. Threatened by way of the Lakes, 455. Raises one thousand men, VI. 235, 243. Incursion upon the frontiers of, VII. 261, 269, 286. Request of, about the defence of the frontiers, 416, 429. Frontiers of, threatened by way of Canada, VIII. 42, 56, 79. Measures for the security of, 82. Politics of, IX. 186. Cedes land to the Canadian refugees, X. 65. Address to the Senate and Assembly of, XII. 161. Government of, coöperates in the support of neutrality, 206. Chief magistrates of, during Washington's public life, 417. Members of the Continental Congress from, 421; of Congress from, during the administration of Washington, 429.
New York City, reception of the Commander-in-chief at, on his way to join the army at Cambridge, III. 8. Defended by Wooster, 9. Wants powder, 10. Apprehensions for, 223, 230, 317. Under Tryon's influence, 277. Threatened by Parker, 292. Reinforced, 312, 313, 317, 354. British men-of-war sail from, 353, 355, 376. The Commander-in-chief arrives at, 354. Militia leave without their pay, 367. Return of troops at, 372 Gondolas and fire-rafts to keep the British ships from, 405. Threatened, 415. Speedy aid solicited for, 416. British ships and army arrive at, 443, 445, 463, 468. Preparations for defending, 445. Want of generals at, 451. Anecdote in proof of vigilance on the American lines there, 468. Mayor of, and other Tories seized and sent to Connecticut, 440, 471. A resolution respecting the abandonment of, IV. 8. Posture of affairs there, in July, 1776, 16. Movements against the ships at, 19. Reinforcements at, on both sides, 27. State of both armies at, and preparations for action, 34. Arrival of British ships there, 46, 48. Removal of the women and children from, 49. False report of an intention to burn, in case of a retreat, 58. Number of American troops at, and want of confidence in them, 73. Question of destroying, proposed to Congress, 74. Military stores removed from, 75, 83. Resolve of Congress against destroying, 76. Question of evacuating, and the future system of operations, discussed at large in a letter to Congress, 80. Determination of a council of war as to evacuating, 84. The sentiments of a second council of war and of Congress favor evacuating, 91. Opposition to the evacuation by Spencer, Clinton, Heath, and Mercer, 92. Sickness in the army at, 93. Disorderly retreat from, and Washington's vexation, 94, 103, 135. Set on fire, and several persons killed, 100, 109. Heath's expedition towards, 280. British fleet leaves, 442, 502. Eighteen transports arrive at, 443. Number of Americans made prisoners at, 546. Proposed expedition against, 302, 303, 310. British movements at, VI. 41, 43, 60, 67, 82, 88, 93, 95, 100. British troops detached from, to St. Augustine and Savannah, 100, 101. Intercourse with, restrained, 155, 174. British forces at, 160, 274, 372. Detachment sails from, 249, 258. Gates's proposed expedition against, 274. British fortify, 358, 367, 383, 387, 393. Difficulty of reducing, 372, 373. Ships sunk near, 387, 393. Project for burning ships in the ice at, 455. The sailing of a second detachment from, to the southward, VII. 5, 6, 16, 18, 22. Number of British troops at, in April, 1780, 6, 7, 23. Transports arrive at,

from South Carolina, 22, 25. Precautions and measures for the reduction of, 29, 46, 48, 108, 109, 109, 113, 142, 143, 169, 189, 509. British encouragement from, against Rhode Island, 119, 121, 128, 129, 131. Ill-treatment of the expedition against, 125, 176, 188. Threatened, in order to divert Clinton, 127, 129–131. Rules for their government, 149. Consent of war declared against, attending till the arrival of reinforcements, 167. Ninety ships sail from, to Europe, with invalids, 191. Embarkation at, to favor Lord Cornwallis, 264, 269, 289. Amply supplied with flour by trade, 295. Measures for an attack on the northern part of the island of, in 1779, 298, 302–309. Intercourse of, with New Jersey, to be cut off, 312. Embarkations from, 325, 337, 347. Immense traffic with, by all parties, 491. Preparations and plan for a siege of, in 1781, 407, 415. British reinforcements for Arnold sail from, 457. Combined attack on, abandoned, VIII. 13. Number of British regulars at, 25. Measures in relation to a combined attack on, 49, 51, 55, 57, 58, 62, 66, 72, 109, 120, 121, 122, 124, 130, 133, 134, 519. Detachment from, sails to the south, 61, 63. Measures for a combined attack on the north part of the island of, 97–99. Twenty vessels with Hessian troops arrive at, 127, 133. Measures for preventing intercourse with, 260, 286, 297. Correspondence and particulars concerning the evacuation of, 427, 422, 431, 490, 496. People desire to remain there, 476. The taking possession of, by the Americans, 490, 497, 499–502. Evacuation of, IX. 18, 136. Particulars of the proposed combined attack on, in 1781, 402. Objections against, for the seat of government, 549. Proceedings there in regard to the British treaty, XI. 14, 45. Address to the magistrates and inhabitants of, in 1789, XII 149; to Nicholas Cruger, chairman of a meeting of the citizens of, 205. See *Connecticut*, *New York Convention*, *North River*, Putnam, Seymour, *Staten Island*, Stirling, and Thomson.

New York Committee of Safety, is urged, and puts a stop to intercourse with the enemy, III. 357, 376. Applies for an exchange of prisoners, 366. Correspondence with, and umbrage about the command of troops, 376.

New York Convention, III. 470. Remove Tories to Connecticut, 471. Their resolve on the subject of abandoning the city, IV. 7, 9. Call out the militia for the defence of the state, 9, 44. Aided by a loan, 10. Various kinds of weapons ordered by them; send a committee to Long Island, 42. Approve the measures in regard to suspected persons, 45. Adopt measures for the removal of women and children from the city, 49. Stop clothing for the army, 269. Originate Heath's expedition towards the city, 302. See *New York Provincial Congress*.

New York Council of Safety, apologizes to the Commander-in-chief, and he replies, IV. 551.

New York line, in the army, dissatisfaction in the, for want of pay, VIII. 3.

New York militia, to join the army at New York city, III. 416. Called out, IV. 41. To reinforce Putnam, V. 11. Commended, 25. To cooperate with Count d'Estaing and dismissed, VI. 388, 409; VII. 139.

New York Provincial Congress, their proceedings upon the arrival of the Commander-in-chief and Governor Tryon, III. 3. Invite General Wooster to the aid of the city, 9. Have no intercourse with Tryon, 11. Their address to the Commander-in-chief, and his reply; influenced in their deliberations, 13. Tardy in raising men and supplies, 62. Raise troops, 75, 256, 277; 296. Proceedings of, on a scheme for seizing Tories, 307. Appoint a secret committee, 309, 470. Prohibit the exportation of pork and beef, 420. Order cattle to be driven from the seacoasts, 454. Take the name of the *Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York*, 470. See *New York Convention*.

Niagara, expedition to, proposed, VI 120, 137, 146, 160, 162, 165, 217; abandoned, 166. Taken possession of, by the United States, XII. 66.

Nicholas, John, his detection of the fraud in a letter signed, "John Langhorne," XI. 219, 220, 227, 289, 293.

Nicholson, James, Commodore, his exertions in the Chesapeake, VIII. 510, 512.

Nicola, Lewis, Colonel, at Fort Mifflin, V. 75. His proposition in regard to a "King," VIII. 300–302.

Nielson, Colonel, captures Stockton, IV. 326.

Nixon, John, Brigadier-General, IV. 32. Stationed on the Delaware, 218. Ordered to Albany, 475. Stationed at Constitution Island, VI. 276.

Noailles, Marquis de, informs the British ministry of the French treaty, V. 379, 549. Puts a prohibition on Lafayette, VI. 545.
Noailles, Viscount de, V. 445, VII. 341. Performs the march from Providence to the North River on foot, to encourage the troops, VIII. 82. A commissioner for settling the terms of capitulation at Yorktown, 184, 532. Proscribed in France and flees to America, X. 341.
Nobility, incompatible with the principles of the American Constitution, IX. 14. Abolition of, in France, X. 141.
Non-importation, advisable, II. 351. Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly; Washington's directions to his London agent respecting, 356.
Norfolk, III. 204. Destroyed, 276.
Norridgewock, III. 165.
North, Lord, III. 224, 310. His Conciliatory Bills and speech, V. 318, 319, 328, 330, 331, 390. Fears for the effects of them, 325, 326, 331. Impressions by them should be counteracted, 328, 332. Great expectations from them, 341. Treatment of them by Congress, and in Rhode Island, 343, 344. His views at different stages of the American war, VI. 246, 531.
North, Colonel, appointed adjutant-general of the Provisional army, XI. 299, 301, 330.
North Carolina, unsuccessful expedition against, under General Clinton, III. 223. Troops of, move to the southward, VI. 408, 415, 487. Reception and adoption of the Constitution in, IX. 286, 288, 309, 390, 550, X. 39, 67, XII. 7, 88, 157. Addresses to the governor and council of, 157, 195; to the Assembly of, 238. Soil and climate of, 325. Governors of, during Washington's public life, 418. Members of the Continental Congress from, 424; of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 431.
Northeastern Boundary. See *Eastern Boundary*.
Northern Department, under General Schuyler, forces in the, III. 43. Number of troops to be increased in the, 443. Troops ordered there from Boston, 455, 461. Sickness and disaffection in the, IV. 6, 12, 47. Army of the, cannot be formed by a mixture of troops, 316. Impartiality towards the, 427, 428. Washington declines appointing a commander of the, in the place of Schuyler, V. 13, 14. Army of the, retreats to Saratoga, 23. See Clinton, Gates, and Schuyler.
North River, communication of the, important, III. 76, 317. Fortifications upon, 375. British vessels sail up the, 462, 468, 469, IV. 16. Engagement between the ships and galleys on the, 29. Ships attacked by fire-vessels and pass down the, 54, 55. Indefensible against the passing of British ships, 82, 164. American forces cross the, 172, 174. Thirty flat-boats pass up the, undiscovered, 175. Importance of the, 178. On the obstruction of the, 300. Troops to be posted on the mountains west of the, 398. British shipping sent up the, April, 1777, 403. Directions for examining and putting it and the passes of the Highlands in a state of defence, 414-416. Obstructed by a boom and cables, 416, 434. Preparations on, to oppose Howe, 476. Vessels and craft on, ordered to New Windsor and Fishkill, 493. British expedition up the, V. 104, 129, 130. Importance of the, 176, 179, 296. Order to obstruct the, 177, 178. Fortifications erected on the, 224, 296. Importance of the communication across, to the army and the French fleet, VI. 60, 87. Measures for securing, 60, 64, 67, 70, 87. British expedition up the, to King's Ferry, 130, 131, 269. See Clinton.
Northwestern Boundary. Difficulties respecting the, X. 151.
Northwestern Territory. See St. Clair.
Norwalk, burnt by the British, VI. 292, 293, 350, 367.
Norwich, threatened, III. 96. Troops embark at, for New York, 314, 332.
Nourse, Joseph, secretary of the Board of War, V. 393.
Nova Scotia, expedition against, discouraged, III. 58. Secret mission of Willard and Child to; proclamations of the governor of, cited, 169, 272. Petition from, 335. No relief given to, 336.
Number Four, Charlestown, in New Hampshire, III. 251.

O.

Oath of allegiance, required to be taken, IV. 297. Complained of, 298. Value of, 311. Should be imposed by the States, 312. People of Elizabethtown refuse to take the, 319. Required of the officers in the American army, and administered, V. 352, 552. Difficulties about the, in Woodford's brigade, 366. The form of it, 367.
Oats, price of, XII. 294. Cultivation

Ontario, Fort, taken possession of, XI. 159.
Ontario, Lake, on the purchase of a vessel there, XI. 160.
Orangeburg District, inhabitants of, disapprove the British treaty, XII. 212.
Orderly Book, extracts from, II. 100; respecting discipline, 149; profaneness, 167; Washington's taking command of the army; the condemnation of Callender, and the burning of the effigy of the Pope, III. 144, 490; the mode and qualifications for enlistments, 154; Colonels Whitcomb and Brewer's honorable conduct, 161; gaming and cowardice, 206; the defence of Boston after the evacuation, 328; a riotous behaviour in the army, and legal modes of relief, 372; the observance of a fast, 392; the execution of Hickey, 441; an attack on New York city, 446, 448; chaplains, 456; the declaration of Independence, 458; Lee's success in South Carolina, IV. 15; jealousies and divisions, 26; fatigue duty on Sundays, profaneness, and swearing, 28; the report that Howe has made propositions of peace, and an expected attack, 52; the landing of the British on Long Island, 60; the skirmish at Haerlem, 99; plundering, and bravery, 119; Major Henly, 137; contending with cavalry, and a bounty for captured troopers, 153; the burning of the houses at White Plains, 160; appropriating plunder to scouting parties, and condemning private plunder, 238; public worship on week days when interrupted on the Lord's day, V. 88; offering a reward for a substitute for shoes, 167. On the treaty with France, 355; upon going into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, 523, 524; the arrival of the French forces, in 1780, VII. 119; the mutiny in the Jersey line, 565; Duke de Lauzun's march, and the American army after the attempted attack on York Island, VIII. 96; Rochambeau's march and junction with the American army, 100; the disposition of New York troops under Hamilton, 117; divine service, after the capitulation at Yorktown, 189; the celebration of the anniversary of the treaty of alliance with France, 381; the Commander-in-chief's visit to Congress at Princeton, 474; the Newburg Addresses, 558, 565; cessation of hostilities, 567. Illustrative of Washington's religious opinions and habits, XII. 400, 401. Names of the aids-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief, taken from the, 415.
O'Riley, a Hessian captain, IV. 418.
Orme, Robert, aid to General Braddock, Washington's correspondence with, about joining Braddock's family, II. 68–72, 84. Wounded; cited respecting Braddock's defeat, 86, 88, 471.
Orphan children, annual donation for the education of, X. 393.
Osgood, Samuel, a member of the Board of the Treasury Department, X. 11.
Osgood, captain of one of three New Hampshire companies on Connecticut River, at Coos, III. 65.
Oswald, Richard, empowered to treat on peace, VIII. 371.
Oswald, Colonel, IX. 377.
Oswego, enemy taking post at, and fortifying, VIII. 316, 319. Failure of an expedition against, 385. Taken possession of, by the United States, XII. 66.
Otis, James, III. 20.
Otto, L. W., *Chargé d'Affaires* from France, IX. 150.
Ozen, XII. 314. Hints respecting, 364.
Oyster shells to be bought, XII. 338.

P.

Paca, William, appointed district judge, X. 56, 66.
Paine, Elijah, senator from Vermont, XI. 174, XII. 237.
Paine, Thomas, author of "The Crisis," VIII. 345. His remarks on the period of *seven years*, 346. Measures for the relief of, IX. 49. Transmits the key of the Bastille to the President; his iron bridge, X. 104, 139. Republication of his "Rights of Man," 159; its extensive circulation in Europe, 232.
Palatines, from Holland, inquiries respecting, II. 382. Plan for importing, with a view to settle lands on the Ohio, 383. See *Emigrant servants*.
Palfrey, William, biographical notice of, III. 158. Aid to the Commander-in-chief, 309. Appointed paymaster-general, 351.
Paper money, emission of, II. 338. Consented to and ordered by Congress, III. 6. Emitted by Virginia, 153. Will not procure intelligence respecting the enemy, VI. 53. Depreciation of, to one-fourth or one-fifth of its nominal value, 55. Diminution of the value of, 127, 162, 211, 229, 315, 330–332, 394, 471. Private letter of

294, 536. Despatches forwarded to the Commander-in-chief respecting the negotiations for, 325, 327, 331, 540. Prospect of, affected by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, 344, 349, 359. Commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty of, 371, 372. Arrival of the *Preliminary Articles* of, 402, 406, 542. Official accounts of, received, 416, 542. Commendation of, IX. 139. Measures for perpetuating with foreign powers, recommended, XII. 31. See *War*.

Peace establishment, requests made and memoirs presented for a, VIII. 417, 468, 482, 485. Necessity of a proper, 443, 450. The objects to be had in view, IX. 25.

Peach trees, XII. 369, 373.

PEACHEY, WILLIAM, Captain, sent to Dinwiddie, II. 146. Details a conversation about Washington, 254. Opens Braddock's road, 298, 299.

Pearsall's Fort, on the South Branch, II. 208, 209. Troops posted at, 293.

Peas, brought from England, XI. 129. Hints about, XII. 370, 380.

Pedigrees of the Washington family, I. 552.

Peekskill, importance of, IV. 359, 362, 413. Troops ordered to, 361, 362. Successful expedition of the British against, 369. McDougall's retreat from, 370. Willett's skirmish, and the embarkation of the British at, 371. Eastern troops ordered to, 413. Troops ordered from, to New Jersey, 463, 464. Ten pieces of artillery ordered from, 488; V. 9; 12. Buildings burnt there by the British, 104. See PARSONS and PUTNAM.

PENDLETON, EDMUND, chosen to the first General Congress by the Williamsburg Convention, II. 396. Drafts Washington's will, III. 4; VI. 392. Chairman of the Virginia Convention for the adoption of the new Constitution, IX. 370, 373; 548. His nomination for the judiciary, X. 27, 58, 59. On the treasury department, 369. On the Pennsylvania insurrection, and a tribute to the Indians, XI. 10.

PENET, with Pliarne, furnishes supplies for the American army, III. 198, IV. 145. Receives the title and rank of aid-de-camp, 145.

PENN, RICHARD, examined before the House of Lords, in 1775, respecting Independence, II. 498.

Pennsylvania, Washington's influence there, in 1755, II. 109. Disaffection in, IV. 223. Inactivity of, V. 95, 96. Disaffection and internal distraction of, 120, 146, 300. Chief dependence of the army on, for flour, VII. 62. Makes a half-pay establishment, 166. Proposes to reward Washington, IX. 10. Address to the State Society of the Cincinnati of, XII. 142; to the president and executive council of, 143; to the president and faculty of the University of, 146; to the represen tatives of, 165, 242; to the Senate of, 239. The general receptacle of foreigners, 324. List of the chief magistrates of, during Washington's public life, 417. Members of the Continental Congress from, 422; of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 429.

Pennsylvania Assembly, II. 11; 13; 109. Insists that the Proprietaries' estates shall be taxed for the common defence, in 1755, II. 122. Votes money and organizes a voluntary militia, 123. Coöperation of, requested, 289.

Pennsylvania Association, a volunteer company of militia, dissatisfied and returning home, IV. 37.

Pennsylvania Board of War, their misunderstanding with Washington about the appointment of officers, IV. 374.

Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, prepares to obstruct the Delaware at Billingsport, III. 427. Forwards the associated militia, 458.

Pennsylvania insurrection, preliminary steps for suppressing, X. 291. Proceedings of the executive respecting it, 292, 297, 305, 526. Proclamations, 295, 297, 427, 532. General opinion of it, 429, 437. Army, joined by the President, marches to suppress it, 438, 439, 442, 448. The army left by the President, 446. Further particulars of the operations against, 448, 454. Expense and advantages of suppressing the, XI. 10, 11. Proclamation granting pardon to persons engaged in it, 44. Historical account of it, XII. 45. Proclamations of August, 1794, 47, 125; of September, 48, 129. Indemnification for losses by it, recommended, 50. Reflections drawn from it, 50, 60. Pardons granted, 60, 134. Regretted, 209–211.

Pennsylvania line, in the army, difficulty in the, from the promotion of an officer, VII. 188. Marched to West Point, 234. Mutiny in, 348, 357–367, 397. Reject overtures of the enemy; accommodation with, 359, 362, 382, 386, 387, 405. Their mode of releasing themselves from enlistments, 387, 398, 405. Ordered to the southward, 434, 436, 451, 465, 472, 473. March

to the southern army, VIII. 2, 16, 17, 22. Causes of the mutiny in the, 17, 520. Difficulty in the, 25. Mutiny in the, at Philadelphia, in 1783, 454–459.

Pennsylvania militia, organized against the French, II. 123. Dissatisfaction of the, IV. 37. Fifteen hundred reinforce the army at Trenton, 213. One half of the, called out, 262. Turn out with spirit, 422. Ordered to join the army, V. 44, 45. Recommended to hold themselves in readiness, 54. Called out, 95. Their bravery at Matson's Ford, 185. The quota of, never kept up, 301. Fifteen hundred called for, to coöperate with Count d'Estaing, VI. 366. Ordered out to suppress the insurrection, XII. 48.

Penobscot, expedition to, in 1779, VI. 307, 350, 540. Application from Massachusetts for an expedition against, and objections to it, VII. 20; 408 Proposed expedition against, by Rochambeau, VIII. 8, 10. Number of troops at, 276. Vaudreuil's proposed expedition to, 329. Removal of the British troops from, 497, 544. Refugees desirous of settling at, 521.

Pensions, provided in Virginia, VI. 198.

PERCY, Lord, at Lexington battle, is ordered to England, III. 118. Prepares to attack Dorchester Heights, 311, 315.

PETERS, RICHARD, secretary of the first Board of War, III. 429. Member of the new Board of War, V. 194. On a committee to visit head-quarters, VIII. 142; XII. 295.

PETTIT, CHARLES, letter to, about the Constitution, IX. 411.

PEYTONEY, Captain, II. 37. Recommended for an adjutancy, 46. Wounded at Fort Necessity, 60, 458. Killed at Braddock's defeat, 87.

Philadelphia, military companies at, reviewed, III. 8. Armed vessels fitted out there, under Hopkins, 226, 275. Threatened, IV. 199, 207, 244, 282, 392. Directions to fortify, 207. To be defended, 222. Troops ordered to, V. 3, 4, 8. Threatened, 42, 44. The British army gain possession of, and begin to erect batteries, 76, 77. Expedition from, under Cornwallis, 156. Propositions for attacking, 167, 361. British army reinforced at, 173. A chain of redoubts secures, 179. Forage and provisions removed from the vicinity of, 187, 206. Provisions going into, to be intercepted and seized, 223. The British army there supplied with horses and other necessaries, 300. Transports sail from, 353, 357. Preparations for evacuating, 369, 371, 374, 376, 377, 380, 381, 387, 393, 395, 398, 403, 407. Disposition of the stores and private property found there, 393, 394, 412, 413. Evacuation of, 395, 398, 403, 407, 409, 410, 431. Arnold appointed to command at, 412. Measures for securing, 421. Spirited exertions of the ladies of, for the army, and correspondence connected therewith, VII. 89, 376, 408. Congress meets there, in 1790, X. 121. Malignant fever at, 368, 372, 375, 378, 379, 384, 387. Great mortality, 381. On charity to the needy of, 389. Proceedings there in relation to the British treaty, XI. 41. The entertainment of Washington there, upon his retiring from the presidency, 195. Public offices removed from, to Trenton, 288. Address to the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of, XII. 144; to German Lutherans in and near, 147; to the Convention of the Universal Church at, 193; to the merchants and traders of, on neutrality, 202; on the treaty with Great Britain, 211; to the clergy in and near, 245. See ARNOLD, *Delaware*, and HAZELWOOD.

PHILLIPS, WILLIAM, a British major-general, commands the Convention Troops, VI. 94. Letter to, about marching them to Charlottesville, 105. On the unsuccessful attempt to exchange the Convention Troops, 140. His improper conduct on the march, 257. Writes to Jefferson about Governor Hamilton, 317, 407. Permitted to go to New York on parole, 318, 382. His vexation at being detained at Elizabethtown, 381, 382. His conference with Magaw and others respecting an exchange of prisoners, 435, 458. Cited about a negotiation for exchanges, VII. 4. His interview with Lincoln, 122, 193, 195, 209, 210, 212. On the treatment of the Convention Troops, 124. His application for a passport for supplies, 291. Commands a detachment to coöperate with Arnold, 457, 465, VIII. 24, 514. Death of, 61.

PHILLIPS, Captain, a volunteer at the taking of General Prescott, IV. 495.

PHINNY, Colonel, III. 131, 144. Commands a regiment at Boston, 456.

PICKENS, ANDREW, General, X. 225; 279. Invited to Philadelphia to communicate information, 366.

PICKERING, TIMOTHY, Colonel, invited to become adjutant-general, IV. 371. Declines and afterwards accepts, 372, 433. Member of the Board of War,

V. 157, 194, 213. His account of the battle of Germantown, 470. Superintends the publication of Steuben's work on military tactics, VI. 177. Appointed quartermaster-general, VII. 147, 150. Directions to, about the proposed expedition to York Island, 305. His report for a peace establishment; cited respecting a military academy at West Point, VIII. 417. To meet Seneca chiefs and warriors, X. 114. His plan for improving the Indians, 129, 132. Declines the superintendence of the northern Indians, 132. Appointed commissioner for a conference with the western Indians, 314. Secretary of war, XI. 9. Obtains Fauchet's intercepted letter, 52. Secretary of state, 93. On Monroe's reply to complaints of the French government, 156, 488. Written to, about instructions to Pinckney, 163, 178, 181. List of spurious letters, and a statement of facts, sent to, 192. Correspondence with, on the appointment of generals, and the Provisional army, 257, 297, 320, 341, 344, 530, 540; on a mission to France, 572.

Pigot, a British admiral, VIII. 325.

Pike, Nicholas, IX. 174.

Pinckney, Charles, governor of South Carolina, on a treaty with Spain, and with the southern Indians, X. 73; 146; 219; 224.

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, declines the appointment of associate judge, X. 165; of secretary of war, 392; of secretary of state, XI. 61, 78. Appointed minister to France, 142, 144, 163. The instructions to, 163, 171, 173, 178, 181, 186. Joined with Marshall and Gerry, 202, 208. His appointment in the Provisional army, 258, 264, 265, 268, 283, 298, 307, 323. His arrival from France, 294, 324, 326. Is commissioned, 330, 331. Accepts, 334, 551. In a consultation as to the arrangement of the Provisional army, 346; 375; 401. Reconnoitres the seaboard and visits posts, 414; XII. 118.

Pinckney, Thomas, declines the office of district judge, X. 49, 51. His appointment to the court of London, 215; 405. Exerts himself for Lafayette, 311. His negotiations with Spain, XI. 83. Concludes a treaty; his return, 110, 201; 468.

Pine, R. E., a painter from England, his labors and success, IX. 106, 175, 282.

Pinkney, William, in the Maryland House of Delegates, XI. 98.

Pintard, Lewis, proposed as agent for prisoners to reside in New York, IV. 287.

Pistole fee, the governor's perquisite, creates uneasiness in Virginia, II. 58.

Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, his zeal and exertions for America, II. 289, III. 88.

Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, in Canada, III. 88. Returns to England, 220.

Pitt, Fort, formerly Fort Duquesne, Colonel Bouquet marches to, II. 340. Visited by Washington, in 1770, 518; V. 361, 382; VI. 90; 205, 206; 434. Threatened; in want of provisions; remonstrance of officers at, VII. 270. Assistance furnished at, for an expedition against Detroit, 342–345. Reported movements against, VIII. 25. Measures taken for the security of, 248, 275. Recommended for a post of deposit, IX. 109. See Brodhead and McIntosh.

Pittsburg, well situated for a fort, II. 6, 432, 433. Meeting of Pennsylvania insurgents at, X. 292, 293, 443.

Plantier, VI. 462.

Plaster of Paris, used as manure, XII. 292.

Plates, iron and lead, deposited in the earth by the French near the western streams, II. 430.

Pliarne. See Penet.

Ploughed Hill, taken possession of, III. 71, 73, 74, 84. Loss at, 73, 84.

Ploughing, remarks on, XII. 355, 357, 374.

Ploughs, and a mould sent for, to Europe, XII. 284, 292, 293. Value and use of drill, 290.

Pluckemin, head-quarters of the American army, IV. 258.

Plundering, common in the army near New York, IV. 118. General orders respecting, 119, 289.

Pocoson, meaning of the word, XII. 363.

Poellnitz, makes agricultural experiments, X. 68. His proposition in relation to a farm, 81.

Poland, its advance towards liberty, X. 173.

Polson, William, Captain, killed at Braddock's battle; annuity to his widow, II. 87.

Pompton, Sullivan at, IV. 483. Head-quarters at, 488.

Pomroy, Seth, declines a brigadier-generalship; facts respecting, III. 23.

Pomroy, sent as a spy through New Jersey by Reed, and reports, IV. 542.

Poor, Enoch, Colonel, despatched to Canada, III. 365. Remonstrates against a retreat from Crown Point, IV. 6. Appointed brigadier-general,

329; V. 167; 168, 275; 392. His detachment ordered against the army crossing New Jersey, 417. In the battle of Monmouth, 426, 427; VI. 261. Commands a brigade of light-infantry, VII. 135. Death of, and funeral discourse upon, 207, 208. His brigade ordered to West Point, 233.

POPE, ISAAC, Captain, wounded at Mamaronec, IV. 526.

Pope, burning the effigy of the, condemned, III. 144.

PORTER, Colonel, III. 49. Commands a Massachusetts regiment, III. 262.

Portland. See *Falmouth*.

Portrait, Washington's, taken by Pine, IX. 106; by Savage for Harvard University, X. 64; by Madame de Brehan, 117; by Robertson for the Earl of Buchan, 229; 249.

Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, threatened; Sullivan despatched to, III. 129. Resolutions passed there in regard to the British treaty, XI. 44; 49. Address to the inhabitants of, XII. 174.

Portsmouth, in Virginia, sacked by the British, VI. 261. The enemy leave, VII. 291. Arnold at, 411. British movements at, VIII. 128, 129.

Portugal, message to the Senate respecting, XII. 92. Diplomatic intercourse with; minister from, to the United States, 93. Performs friendly acts for the United States, 106. Ministers to, during Washington's administration, 434.

Post-office, XII. 9. Importance of, 25. Laws relating to, said to operate against the transmission of newspapers, 32.

Post-roads, XII. 9. Importance of, 25.

Posts, military, on the establishment of, X. 276.

Potatoes, mode of planting, IX. 324, XI. 18, XII. 295. Cultivation of, benefits the soil, 321. How and when to be planted, 342, 343.

Potomac Company, fifty shares in the, given to Washington, and appropriated, IX. 83, 108, 116, 133, 142. Business of the, withheld from the Maryland Assembly, 284. On the appropriation of fifty shares in the, XI. 3, 15, 19, 25, 473, XII. 271.

Potomac River, a project for connecting, with the west by inland navigation, IX. 30, 64, 80, 115, 172, 471. Minute inspection of the, 117, 124, 126. Operations on the, 118, 126, 307, 423, X. 338. Progress in opening the navigation of, XI. 234. Names of various fishes in the, XII. 311. Value of lands on the, 325, 326.

POTTER, JAMES, General, V. 45. His bravery at Matson's Ford, 185; 223. Desired to return to the army, 301.

POTTER, Colonel, killed at Princeton, IV. 259.

Powder, want of, III. 9, 10, 70, 128, 215. Arrival of, at Sheepscot, 129. Wanted in the American army, and solicited of the French, VII. 118, 407. Brought from France, 176. See *Ammunition* and *Bermuda Islands*.

POWELL, JEREMIAH, president of the Council of Massachusetts, V. 137, 375. Requested to cause the return of violators of parole, VI. 334.

Power, conferred by Congress on Washington, IV. 232, 254, 257, 550, 552. His mode of exercising, 233, 257, 551. See *Congress*.

POWNALL, THOMAS, his letter respecting Walpole's Grant, II. 484. Proposes to Parliament a plan for the neutrality of the Indians, V. 276. Favors American Independence in Parliament, 324.

Prayers, in the camp, II. 54.

Presbyterian Church, address to the General Assembly of the, XII. 152.

PRESCOTT, ROBERT, a British general, his treatment of Ethan Allen; is captured and imprisoned, III. 202, 207. Capture of, on Rhode Island in the night, IV. 495, 497. Proposition to exchange for General Lee, 495, 496. To be strongly guarded, 497. On the treatment of, 510. To receive the same usage as General Lee, V. 24. Proposition to exchange for Lee, 54, 263, 272, 310, 538, 539. Ordered to evacuate Rhode Island, VI. 362.

President of the United States, on the first election of, IX. 350, 358, 361, 371, 421, 430, 434–438, 440, 450, 452, 457, 460, 463, 476, 479, 488, 552, 556. Rotation in the office of, 358. Washington's acceptance and inauguration, IX. 487, 491, X. 1, 459. Proposes queries respecting the system of conduct to be pursued by him in his private intercourse, 3, 5, 17, 464. His second election and inauguration, 321, XII. 382, 390.

President's House, in New York, IX. 487. In Philadelphia, X. 119. A bill in the Legislature of Pennsylvania for erecting one, 151; XII. 334.

Presqu'Isle, settlement at, suspended, XII. 52.

Press for supplies, on the resolution of Congress to stop the, VI. 396.

PRESTON, Lieutenant-Colonel, desertion of his regiment, IV. 288.

PRICE, JAMES, a merchant of Montreal,

III. 125. Appointed deputy commissary-general in Canada, 126.
PRICE, RICHARD, on the importance of the American Revolution, IX. 90.
Prince George, Fort, Colonel Grant takes post in, II. 336.
Princeton, Lord Stirling left at, with troops, IV. 200. Preparations for an attempt on the British army at, 255, 256. Head-quarters of the British forces, 258. Surprised by the American army, 259, 262. Losses in the battle of, 262. Congress meets at, VIII. 457.
Prince William County, resolves, and request of the cadets in, that Washington would take command of them, in 1774, II. 506.
Prisoners, commissaries recommended for, III. 147, 387. Exchange of, proposed by the American Commander-in-chief, 203. Requested by the New York Committee of Safety, 366. Principles of exchanging fixed by Congress, IV. 23. Exchange of, 105, 108, 140, 147, 166, 198, 214, 227, 273, 275. Commissaryship for, recommended, 122, 235. On immediate and frequent exchanges of, 166, 529. Pay, duties, and appointment of a commissary for, 372. Letter to Congress respecting, 438. Propositions and principles for exchanging, V. 24, 136, 147, 165, 173, 210, 235, 254, 272, 334, 518. Embarrassments respecting, by the violation of a flag of truce, 253. Postponements of the meeting of commissioners respecting, 263, 272, 316, 538, 539. Extraordinary proceedings of Congress in regard to, 306, 539. The meeting of commissioners at Germantown and Newtown respecting, 316, 317, 537–539. Foreign, think themselves partially treated by General Howe, 358. On the treatment of, 519. Powers vested in the American Commander-in-chief respecting; meeting of commissioners at Amboy, April 12th, 1779, and their instructions, VI. 195, 213, 508–514. What are military, 244, 277. Beatty's and Loring's disagreement about the principles of exchanging, 351. Phillips's conference with Magaw and others, upon an exchange of, and the consequences, 435. Considerations on the States, 436. Meeting of commissioners for exchanging, at Amboy, March 9th, 1780, VII. 1–4. Impolicy of a general exchange of, 103. Meeting for exchanging at Elizabethtown, 193, 209. Greene invested with the power of exchanging, at the South, 273. Exchange of, effected; and proposals for enlarging the number, 287–289. Proposition for a general exchange of, 301, 302. Extensive exchange of, 361. On exchanging Burgoyne and others, and circumstances connected therewith, VIII. 15, 71. A meeting for exchanging, 125. Private individuals, how regarded, 126. Meeting at Elizabethtown, and instructions in relation to, 215, 244, 247, 249, 260, 271, 277, 280, 292. General regulations for, suggested to the president of Congress; recent treatment of, 218. On exchanging British military for American naval, 240, 253, 317, 327, 334, 338, 540. Commander-in-chief vested with powers for an exchange of, accompanied with a secret resolve, 243. On intercourse and traffic from New York, during a negotiation for exchanging, 260. On employing German, in the service of the United States, 271. Meeting at Tappan for a general cartel, 338, 342, 352. Spirited correspondence respecting the accounts of, 352, 531. Pardon granted to military, on the anniversary of signing the treaty with France, 381. Arrangements for the liberation of, upon receiving intelligence of peace, 425, 541. See *Convention Troops*, CORNWALLIS, and HOWE.
Prisoners, American, treatment of, III. 59, 500, IV. 276, 454, 552. Propositions to Howe for the comfort of, 287. Proposition for rescuing, 427. First taken to be first exchanged, 477. Table of, taken in the campaign of 1776, 547. Kind treatment of, after the battle of the Brandywine, V. 62. On the treatment of, 93, 149, 163, 165, 520, 536. Measures for relieving the, 175. Confined in the State-house in Philadelphia, 184. To be victualled by the Americans, 232. On regarding citizens as, 269, 538. On the exchange of inhabitants, VI. 243. Treatment of, improved under Clinton, 407. Directions to commissioners respecting, 483. Treatment of, at Quebec, and measures for effecting their exchange, VII. 179. Correspondence respecting the treatment of those taken at Charleston, 234, 552–558. Correspondence with Arbuthnot, respecting the ill-treatment of naval, 383, 384. Ill-treatment of marine, at New York, and an officer permitted to visit, on certain conditions, VIII. 146, 218, 241, 523. Befriended by Reuben Harvey, in Ireland, 453.
Prisoners, British, on the treatment of,

[illegible]

[illegible] Number of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the President authorized to [illegible] organize a [illegible]

[illegible] to the [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment of officers [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] for the [illegible]

[illegible] Officers recommended for the [illegible]

[illegible] in the provisional army of the [illegible]

[illegible] Resignation of Philadelphia, and arrangements [illegible]

[illegible] Measures for [illegible]

[illegible] Relative rank of [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment of [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment of [illegible]

[illegible] Number of [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment of [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment of [illegible]

[illegible] Appointment

Publius, a signature in *The Federalist*, writings of, commended, IX. 275, 284, 352, 419.
PULASKI, Count, a Polish officer, appointed to the command of the horse, with the rank of brigadier-general, 48. At Trenton, 233, 279. Joins Wayne, 233. Skirmishes with the enemy, 233. To assist Wayne, 250. Resignation of, 251, 276. Proposition of, to raise an independent corps, 277, 278. Commendation of, 278, 279. Ordered with his corps into New Jersey, VI. 75. Enlists prisoners and deserters, and exceeds his establishment, 85, 86. At Cole's Fort, 113. His proposition to leave the country, 123. Congress removes the difficulty about making up his full complement of men, 172. Goes to South Carolina, 173; 236. His corps incorporated with Armand's, 462.
Pumpkins, directions about, XII. 342, 347.
Punishments, inconveniences from the want of a proper gradation of, in the army, VII. 395. See *Orderly Book*.
PUTNAM, ISRAEL, appointed major-general; commands the Connecticut troops at Cambridge, III 6, 467. Stationed on Prospect Hill, 18. Opinion respecting, 270. Goes to New York; instructions to, 312, 337. Takes command while Washington visits Congress; instructions to, 397, 402. Orders to, for building fire-rafts, 405. His invention and description of *chevaux-de-frise* to obstruct the river at New York, IV. 30, 148. Sent to take the general command on Long Island, 62, 513; to fortify Philadelphia, 208. Ordered to Crosswicks, 262. Deserted by Preston's regiment, 288. Sends Major Stockton in irons to Philadelphia, 356. Commands on the North River, 434. Consulted respecting a surprise on the enemy at Kingsbridge, 435. To hold four regiments in readiness to oppose Burgoyne, 466. To call out militia to defend the Highland passes, 476, 480. Orders to, about the movement of troops, V. 4, 8. Reinforcements ordered to, 11; 23. Cautioned against an attack from Clinton, 26. His letter about Edmund Palmer, a British spy, 27. Ordered to detach troops to the main army near Philadelphia, which puts an end to a project of his own, 72, 73. On the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, 91, 471. Retreats from Peekskill, 104. Death of his wife, 105. To detach troops to the main army, 123. Number of his forces, 124. His advance to Red Hook, and return to Fishkill, 130. His wish to move towards New York, 130, 131, 161. Complains of Hamilton's letter directing him to send troops to the main army, 160. To secure the North River, 177. His excursion towards New York, and return to the Highlands, 211. Goes to Connecticut, 225, 280, 282. Inquiry into his conduct in regard to the loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, 280, 283, 284. Ordered to Connecticut to aid in the new levies, 283. To forward troops to the North River, 345, 359. Ordered to West Point, VI. 75. Commands at Danbury, 125. Left with the command of the main body of the army, 276. Commands the right wing of the army on the North River, 304. Seized with a paralysis, and never again joins the army, VII. 101, 102. Letter to, after the news of peace, respecting his half-pay, VIII. 433; 564.
PUTNAM, RUFUS, Colonel, his qualifications as an engineer, IV. 237, 489; VII. 204. Brigadier-General, X. 263. His plan of carrying on the war, 264.

Q.

Quakers, exempted from military duty in Pennsylvania, II. 123. Drafted and confined for refusing to serve, 165. Cannot be made to serve, and are released, 169, 170. Difficulty with, about a slave, IX. 158. Apprehensions of, in regard to the reception of the President elect at Philadelphia, 489. Memorialize Congress to abolish the slave-trade, X. 82, 85, 98. Desire to send a deputation to make presents at the treaty at the Lower Sandusky, 330, 335. Address to, XII. 168.
Quarantine, measures for executing the law respecting, XI. 134, 136.
Quartermaster-general, III. 21. Mifflin appointed, 68, 104. Department of the, VI. 229, 230, 492. The military authority of, considered, 337. Importance of the office of, XI. 251, 252. See GREENE, MIFFLIN, and PICKERING.
Quebec, expedition to; Schuyler consulted, III. 63, 74. Brig and letters from, taken; its weakness, 113, 118. Preparations for attacking, 219. American officers buried at, 264. Carleton's treatment of the wounded and prisoners at, 268. Blockade of, continued

876. Importance of, 294. Reinforced, and the American army retreats, 398, 401. See ARNOLD, *Canada*, and MONTGOMERY.
Queen's County, suspected persons in, IV. 44, 45.
Queen's Rangers, a regiment of loyalists, IV. 521.
Queries by the President, respecting the system of conduct to be adopted by him in his private intercourse, X. 464. Respecting a proclamation of neutrality, and the reception of a French minister, 533. Respecting the fitting out of French armed vessels in the United States, 542. Proposed to Major-generals Hamilton and Pinckney, XI. 341.
QUESADA, Governor of Florida, his invitation to foreigners to settle in that territory, X. 163–164.
Quibbletown, IV. 472.
QUINCY, JOSIAH, his plan for shutting up Boston harbour, III. 141.

R.

RADIÈRE, from France, appointed lieutenant-colonel of engineers, IV. 491; V. 177. Disapproves fortifying West Point, 294; 311; 334; VI. 430. His death, 431.
RADNOR, Earl of, his complimentary letter, XI. 210.
RAGSDALE, Major, recommended for the Provisional army, XI. 273.
RAHL, a Hessian colonel, mortally wounded at the battle of Trenton, IV. 247, 272.
Raleigh, a frigate taken by the British, VI. 90.
RAMSAY, NATHANIEL, Lieutenant-Colonel, VI. 435. Measures for effecting the exchange of, VII. 211.
RANDOLPH, BEVERLEY, governor of Virginia, X. 50, 127. Appointed commissioner for a conference with the western Indians, 314.
RANDOLPH, EDMUND, aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, III. 68. Leaves the camp, 139, 166. A member of Congress, VI. 314; IX. 116. Governor of Virginia, 219. On Washington's attendance on the Convention, 220, 243. Declines signing the Constitution, 270, 304, 541. Favors a plurality of equal heads in the government, 289. His objections to the Constitution, 296; 356. Favors its adoption, 373, 378. Appointed attorney-general, X. 27, 34, 58. On George Wythe as district judge, 60. Requested to examine laws, and suggest others, with a view to protect the Indians, 195. Urges Washington to be a candidate for a second election, 286, 512. Consulted respecting the Pennsylvania insurrection, 292, 296, 303. On the place and mode of administering the oath to the President, 322. On changing the place of the meeting of Congress, 373, 375, 384. His purpose of writing a history of the President's administration, 385. Appointed secretary of state, 403, 558. Drafts an answer to the British minister's reply to Pinckney's memorial, 406. On Democratic Societies, 443. His letter about an envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, 558. His conversation with Van Berckel, XI. 27. Consulted on the British treaty, 31. His conversation with M. Adet, 36, 41. On the treatment of Mr. Hammond, 42. Implicated by Fauchet's intercepted letter, 52. His interview with the President and cabinet respecting it; his resignation, 54, 55, 75, 76, 479. His opposition to the ratification of the British treaty, 57. Publishes an extract from his letter to the President, 85. Further particulars respecting, 89. Change of his sentiments, 91.
RANDOLPH, PEYTON, goes to England as agent for the House of Burgesses, about the pistole fee, II. 58. Is at the head of the Associators, 161. Moderator of the Williamsburg Convention, and member of the first General Congress, 396. Signs as moderator a circular letter from the delegates of the House of Burgesses, 487. President of the first Congress and of the Virginia Convention; sudden death of, III. 139, 140, XII. 420.
Rank, military, of Washington and Mackay, II. 41, 48, 49, 50. The King's orders respecting, brought by Braddock, 68. Of the provincials and King's officers, 112, 289. Difficulties about, in the American army, III. 49. On regular gradation in, 108. Mode of settling disputes about, IV. 332. Decision of a board of officers respecting, submitted to Congress, V. 141. Discontents respecting the unsettled state of, 435. Delicacy of interfering with, VI. 389. See *Commissions*, DAGWORTHY, *Foreign officers*, *Officers*, and *Promotion*.
RAVEN, an Indian warrior, II. 284.
RAWDON, Lord, commands a detachment from New York to the southward, VII. 6, 18. Writes to Leslie

about a coöperation with Lord Cornwallis, 347. His transactions in the Carolinas, 552. His letter to Major Rugely, 554. Captured by Count de Grasse, VIII. 158. Proposition to exchange for Brigadier-General Moultrie, 238.

RAWLINGS, MOSES, Colonel, IV. 182. His difficulty in enlisting troops, VI. 197. Guards British prisoners at Fort Frederic; ordered to Fort Pitt, VI. 205.

RAYNAL, Abbé, his work on the United States, IX. 386.

Raystown, road from Fort Cumberland opened to, II. 296. Camp at, 313.

READ, GEORGE, president of Delaware, requested to call out militia to protect Wilmington, V. 190.

Reading, military stores at, V. 70, 71.

Recruits, plan for raising; circular letter respecting, V. 15. Qualifications necessary in, VIII. 236.

Red Bank, troops ordered to, V. 86. Importance of, 88, 152–154, 163. Battle at, 110–115. Reinforcements ordered to, 162, 163. Evacuated, 166, 180. See GREENE and VARNUM.

REED, ESTHER, on the subscription of the Philadelphia ladies for the army, VII. 90. Death of, 408.

REED, JAMES, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 32. Unfitted for military service by the small-pox, 241.

REED, JOSEPH, Colonel, secretary to the Commander-in-chief, leaves camp and returns to Philadelphia; importance of his services as secretary, III. 136, 166, 237, 257, 285. On the reluctance of the colonists to declare independence, 347. Declines receiving a letter directed to Washington, 473. Cited respecting Captain Knight, 501. Directions to, and his remarks on the posture of affairs immediately before the battle of Trenton, IV. 241, 542. Recommended to Congress for a command of horse, 292. Resigns his office of adjutant-general, 371. His correspondence with Lee and the Commander-in-chief, 535. Declines the command of the cavalry, V. 49. Assists General Armstrong in fortifying the Schuylkill; appointed delegate to Congress, 60. Visits the camp on a committee, 213, 408. Writes to Governor Johnstone, 407. His patriotic reply when tempted by Governor Johnstone, VI. 32. Elected president of Pennsylvania, 130. His correspondence with the Commander-in-chief about Arnold's trial, 230, 247, 260, 516, 519, 524, 528. Writes respecting Lee's queries, 310, 328. Proposes to lead militia in person, 389. On a commission in the Continental line, 389–392. On the exertions of ladies for the army, VII. 89. Requested to exercise his power of declaring martial law, 99. Written to, about remarks of Arnold, 264, 296. Visits the army, to suppress the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, 359.

Reformed Dutch Church, address to the Synod of the, XII. 166.

Refugees, measures connected with the remuneration of the, IX. 177. See *Loyalists*.

Regiments, sixteen additional, appointed, IV. 271. Their disagreeable situation, VI. 242. Detail of what one ought to consist of, VII. 251.

Religion, freedom of worship in, II. 481. Toleration in, III. 89, IX. 262, XII. 152, 155, 168, 202, 404, 410. Increase of fraternal affection among the friends of, 162. Indispensable to political prosperity, 227. The essential pillar of society, 245. Opinions and habits of Washington as to, 399. See *Orderly Book*.

REMSEN, X. 42.

RENDON, DON FRANCISCO, agent in the United States from the Spanish government, VIII. 175.

Rents, considerations and directions concerning, X. 198, XII. 265, 275, 280, 302, 317. At Miller's Run, 287. At Mount Vernon, 312.

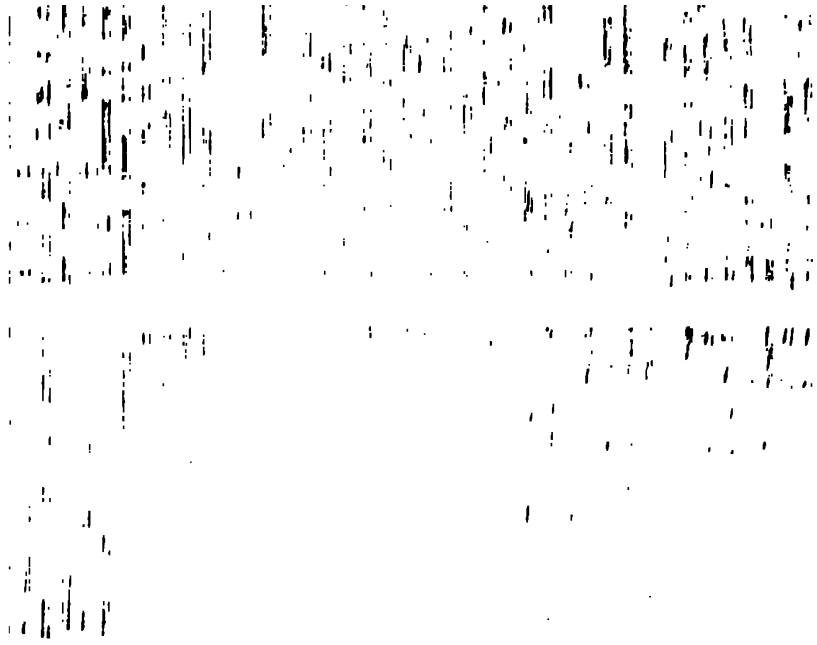
REPARTI, a French captain on the Ohio, II. 441.

Representatives, the instructing of, by their constituents, IX. 199, 209.

Representatives, House of, calls for papers in relation to the British treaty, XI. 115, 122. Proceedings in, about George Washington Lafayette, 118. Discussion in, about the treaty, 127. Resolution of, respecting the public credit, XII. 10. Approves the President's proclamation of April 29th, 1793, 43; approves his proceedings in relation to the Pennsylvania insurrection, 56. Reasons of the President for not complying with their call for papers, 112. Catalogue of the members during Washington's administration, 427–432.

Republics, correspondence respecting, VIII. 300–302. Ingratitude of, 434.

Retaliation, in the treatment of prisoners, threatened, III. 60. Partly enforced, 105, 501. Justifiable; practised on Prescott, 202. Declaration respecting, by Congress, 204. Threatened after the affair at the Cedars, IV. 2. Threatened in the case of



ROCHAMBEAU, Count de, VII. 39. His correspondence with Vergennes; with the Commander-in-chief, upon his arrival in America, sends him a copy of his instructions, and an account of his voyage, VII. 110-112, 477-506, 511. His personal interview with Washington at Hartford, 119, 172, 192, 199, 203, 207, 208, 212, 228, 250, 300, 301, 319, 322, 372, 407. Clinton's expedition against, 126-128, 132, 133, 143. Commendation of his measures, 143. Commends Heath, 155. On Lafayette's proposed expedition against New York, 171. Warned of Clinton's movements, 182. Visited by Indians, 183; his address to them, 184. Informed of Arnold's treason, 218. His disposition of his troops for the winter, 319. His opinion of Marquis de Castries, 324. Declines propositions for coöperating with the Spanish, 329, 374. Cited respecting the coming of vessels from Brest, and a change in the French ministry, 339. Offers to send land forces against Arnold, 404. Proposals to, respecting a combination of forces against Arnold, 410, 419, 425, 434, 461. Cited about movements against Arnold, and Tilly's return to Newport, 426, 428, 429, 444. His interview with Washington at Newport, 446. Consulted about an expedition against Lloyd's Neck, VIII. 3. Will furnish troops for an expedition against Penobscot, 8, 10. On an intercepted letter of the Commander-in-chief, 29. On Count de Barras and his arrival, 40, 64. Instructions to, from France, 41. His interview with Washington at Weathersfield, 40, 48, 50, 54, 59, 60-62, 64, 77, 120, 517. Displeased with Chastellux's letter to Luzerne, 60. Despatches a vessel to Count de Grasse in the West Indies; *Mémoires* of, cited respecting the proposed operation in the Chesapeake, 76. His progress toward the American army and junction with it, 81, 84, 86, 87, 96, 98-100. On his recruits, 82. Approves Lafayette's conduct in Virginia, 101. Goes to Philadelphia, 140. Loans 20,000 hard dollars for the payment of the American troops, 150. Arrives at Mount Vernon, 157. Has an interview with Count de Grasse, 162. His assistance at the siege of Yorktown, 178, 183, 516. Thanks, and two pieces of field-ordnance voted to, by Congress, 184, 237, 368. Makes his head-quarters at Williamsburg, 198. Is willing to advance Lauzun's legion to the southward, 236, 242, 258. Acknowledgments made to, by Virginia, 238. Invited to Mount Vernon, 259. Officers under, rewarded in France, 289. His interview with Washington at Philadelphia, 314, 321, 322, 326, 328. His march to Baltimore and continuance there, 322, 331. His junction with the American army on the North River, 332, 340, 345. Accompanies the French army to Providence, 365. His departure from the United States, 368. Appointed to the government of Picardy, IX. 56; 149; 359; 465; X. 38. At his country-seat near Vendôme, 208.

ROCHAMBEAU, Colonel, (son of the Count,) despatched to France, after the conference at Hartford, to make known the result, and the wants of the Americans, VII. 319. Brings despatches from France to his father, VIII. 47, 64.

ROCHEFONTAINE, a French officer, dispossessed of his quarters, VI. 450.

ROCKINGHAM, Marquis of, political effects of his death, VIII. 344, 349, 359.

RODNEY, CÆSAR, Brigadier-General, commendatory letter to, upon his leaving the service, IV. 34; 526. Commander of the Delaware militia; directions to, upon the enemy's landing near the Head of Elk, V. 46.

RODNEY, Admiral, reinforces the British fleet, VII. 239.

ROGERS, DANIEL, XII. 240.

ROGERS, ROBERT, Major, President Wheelock's statements respecting, III. 208, 244. His solicitation of a passport from the Commander-in-chief, 209. Suspected, 439. Ordered to New Hampshire, 440. Joins the British and raises troops on Long Island, IV. 128, 520. Appointed colonel; commands the Queen's Rangers; sends out enlisting orders, 521. Expedition against, 524, 526.

Rollers used, XII. 332.

Roman Catholics, address to, XII. 177.

ROSS, JAMES, senator in Congress, consulted about the sale of western lands, XII. 317.

ROSS, Major, a British commissioner at Yorktown, VIII. 532.

Rotheram plough, commended, XII. 284.

ROUERIE, Marquis de la. See ARMAND.

Roxbury Neck, troops at, III. 18, 39, 54.

Royal American Regiment, raised, II. 168; 189. Employed in Forbes's expedition, 289.

RUDULPH, JOHN, Captain, VI. 333, Brevet rank and pay of captain given to, 377.
RUGGLES, TIMOTHY, Brigadier-General, commands the Loyal American Associators, III. 162.
RUMSEY, JAMES, is engaged in constructing a steamboat, IX. 104, X. 139. Dies suddenly in London, 139; XII. 279.
RUSH, BENJAMIN, sent to take care of American prisoners after the battle of the Brandywine, V. 63. Brings charges against Dr. Shippen, 292.
RUSSELL, BENJAMIN, his letter concerning the President's visit to Boston, X. 491.
RUSSELL, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands at Fort Mifflin after Smith is wounded, V. 155. At Germantown, 468.
Russia, Empress of, proposes to act as mediatress for a general peace, VIII. 71. Her request for an Indian vocabulary, IX. 165, 195, 213, 241, 249, 301, 306.
Russian troops, promised to the British, but not furnished, V. 159.
RUTHERFORD, ROBERT, Lieutenant, defeated, II. 167.
RUTLEDGE, EDWARD, member of the first Board of War, III. 429. On a committee of Congress to hold a conference with Lord Howe, IV. 88. Urges a combined attack on Charleston, VIII. 174. Declines the appointment of associate judge, X. 165. Recommended for the Provisional army, XI. 322.
RUTLEDGE, JOHN, governor of South Carolina, requested to coöperate in the reduction of St. Augustine, IV. 366; VI. 201; VII. 201. Vehemently opposes the release of Cornwallis from parole, VIII. 334. Appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court, X. 51. Resignation of, 164. Appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court, XI. 33.
Rye, price of, in Virginia, XII. 294.
Ryswick, treaty of, referred to, II. 430.

S.

Saddlers, price of, VI. 80.
Safe conduct granted to the baggage, surgeons, and medicines for the Hessian prisoners, IV. 268.
SAFFORD, SAMUEL, Lieutenant-Colonel, VII. 270.
Sag Harbour, Meigs's expedition to, IV. 441.
St. Augustine, weakness and importance of, III. 205. Plan for reducing, IV. 366.
ST. CLAIR, ARTHUR, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 32. Major-general, 329. Performs the duties of adjutant-general, 372. At Ticonderoga, 484. Takes upon himself the responsibility for the loss of Ticonderoga, 491, 492. Should justify himself, 499. Inquiry into the conduct of, V. 23, 25, 61, 86. To be consulted, 71, 157; 163. Uneasy about the delay of his trial, 365. Despatched to Elizabethtown, VI. 452. A commissioner for exchange of prisoners, 483. Effects of his suspension after the loss of Ticonderoga, VII. 152. Ordered to the command at West Point, 222, 223, 544, 545. To move troops to the main army, 233. Aids against the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, 362–365, 375. Ordered to aid Lafayette with troops in the expedition against Arnold, 423; to march the Pennsylvania line to the southward, VII. 436; to send the recruits for the Pennsylvania line against Cornwallis, VIII. 161. Detached to the southward; instructions to, 193, 198; IX. 127. Governor of the Northwestern Territory, X. 91; 122, 125. Expedition of, against the western Indians, 142, 154. His defeat, 222, 225. Inquiry respecting the failure of the expedition of, ordered, 228. Resigns his command, 248. Permitted to go to Pennsylvania on private business, 261. President of Congress, XII. 420.
ST. CLAIR, SIR JOHN, II. 129. Quartermaster of Forbes's army, 282. Despatches Washington to the Virginia Council to represent the wants of the troops, 285. Wounded at Braddock's defeat, 471.
St. Croix River, commissioners meet for determining the, XII. 66.
St. Domingo. See *Hispaniola*.
St. Eustatia, surprised, and recaptured by France, VIII. 225.
ST. JOHN, HECTOR. See CRÈVECŒUR.
St. John's, III. 41. Preparations against, 60. Americans land near, and are driven back, 110. Invested, 132. Surrenders, 165. Prisoners taken at, IV. 548.
St. John's Island, descent upon, by Broughton and Sellman, III. 193.
St. Lucia, V. 550, VI. 60.
ST. OUARY, a French volunteer, made prisoner, V. 184.
ST. PIERRE, LEGARDEUR DE, commander of the Fort at Le Bœuf, II.

441. Uses artifice to detain the Indians, 443.
St. Simon, Marquis de, commander of troops from the West Indies, VIII. 156, 523. Commended for his assistance in the siege at Yorktown, 178. Leaves the Chesapeake with his troops, 197. Writes on the business of the Society of Cincinnati, IX. 129.
St. Vincent's, Fort, capitulation of, VI. 316.
Salem, address to the inhabitants of, XII. 204.
Salt springs, discovered in the western country, II. 377.
Saltonstall, Dudley, a naval captain, summoned before Congress, III. 353.
Sandusky, Lower, Indian treaty at, X. 328, 335.
Saratoga, militia ordered to rendezvous at, IV. 500. Northern army retires to, V. 23. See Burgoyne.
Sargent, Paul Dudley, Colonel, at Boston, III. 456.
Sartine, French minister of marine, resignation of, VII. 324, 339.
Savage, Edward, takes a portrait of Washington for Harvard College, X. 64.
Savannah, British expedition against, VI. 101, 191. Americans and French attack, are repulsed, and raise the siege of, 400, 409, 410, 415. Address to the Hebrew congregation of, XII. 185; to the mayor and aldermen of, 197.
Sayre, Stephen, letters of, found by General Howe, III. 186. Is committed to the Tower, bailed, and acquitted, 242.
Scammell, Alexander, Colonel, his resignation of the office of adjutant-general; takes command of his regiment, VII. 314, 321, 347. Ordered to disperse a party of refugees at Fort Lee, VIII. 46, 47; 90.
Schoharie, destruction of, VII. 271, 286. Destruction of grain at, 286.
Schuyler, Philip, appointed major-general, III. 6; 8. Appointed to the command of the New York department, 11. Orders to, respecting St. John's and Montreal, 41. His discouragements, 60, 62, 132. Leaves Crown Point, 85. Sick, and leaves the army, 119. Importance of his expedition, 134. His conduct in regard to Wooster, approved, 143. On the state and impatience of his troops, 191. Purposes to retire from the army, 191, 209, 243. Visited by Caghnawaga Indians, 245. His proposition for reinforcements laid before a council of war at Cambridge, 249. Continues in the service, 250. False charges against him and others, 396, 535. Despatches Colonel Dayton to secure Sir John Johnson, 410. Advised to make an alliance with Indians, 417, 419. Orders to, after the defeat of General Thompson, 436. To employ Indians, IV. 24. To keep Burgoyne and Carleton at bay, 156. To send troops to New Jersey, 192. Leaves Philadelphia to resume the command of the Northern Department, 453. Has small forces to oppose Burgoyne, 486. Inability to grant his requests, 488, 491. On the evacuation of Fort Anne, and his inability to oppose the enemy, 492. On the evacuation and condition of Fort George, 494. Impedes Burgoyne's march, V. 2. Is superseded; his patriotism and unwearied services, 14. Has the command of the northern army at the time of the battle of Bennington, 15. His conduct in the Northern Department inquired into, 23, 25, 244 Commissioner of Indian affairs, 273. His trial and acquittal, VI. 84, 145. On the Canada expedition of 1778–9, 114, 145. Requested to command the northern army, 153. Resignation of, 167. Takes his seat in Congress, 378, 409. On proceedings in Congress about an inquiry into Greene's conduct, VII. 5. On a committee to effect reforms and changes in the army, 15. On a committee of coöperation in regard to the American and French forces, 34, 47, 50, 80. Questions to, respecting operations against the enemy, 48. Effects of his suspension after the loss of Ticonderoga, 152. On the appointment of a minister of war, 460. On the understanding between the leaders of Vermont and British officers, and the independence of that State, VIII. 42, 43. His success against an attempt made to seize him, 129. Is furnished with a guard, 129, 231. His sentiments as to the conduct to be pursued towards the Indians, after the war, 477; IX. 15; 42. Written to, by Washington, at the time of entering upon the presidency, X. 2.
Schuyler, Fort, V. 3. Reinforced, siege raised, 37, 38. Provisions ordered to, 265; 286; VI. 236. Importance of; provisions thrown into, VII. 64, 65, 82, 262, 280, 282. Troops ordered to, 131. Well garrisoned, 271. Abandoned, VIII. 56, 57. Visited by the Commander-in-chief, 467, 469, 488. Formerly Fort Stanwix, 488. Indian treaty at, IX. 448.

Schuylkill, redoubts on the, V. 60. Enemy's redoubt at the mouth of, attacked, 90.
SCOLLAY, JOHN, III. 531.
SCOLLAY, WILLIAM, XI. 42.
Scotch Highlanders, III. 409, 411. Taken in transports, 432, 439. Make good settlers, XII. 304.
Scotch Plains, question about occupying, considered, IV. 304.
SCOTT, CHARLES, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 373. Detached to hang on the flank of the enemy, 475. Favors an attack on Philadelphia, V. 168. To gall the enemy's left flank and rear, 417, 423. Stationed at Bedford; officers under, threaten to resign, VI. 102. Recruits in Virginia; ordered to Carolina, 261, 262. Check against the liberation of, VIII. 240.
SCOTT, JOHN MORIN, general of militia, leads a division of Heath's army toward New York, IV. 280, 308.
SCULL, PETER, brigade-major, his qualifications for the office of adjutant-general, V. 158.
Scythes, militia ordered to arm themselves with, IV. 42.
SEAGROVE, JAMES, charged with a negotiation in Florida respecting fugitive slaves, X. 162. His despatches to the President, 265, 267, 278, 291.
Seamen, act passed by Congress for the relief of, and agents appointed, XII. 67. See *Marines*.
SEARS, ISAAC, Captain, III. 226. Despatched to Connecticut for volunteers to secure New York, 232. Temporary adjutant-general to collect volunteers in Connecticut, 295.
Seeds from Europe, XII. 284, 286, 292, 355. Should be procured in season, 290. On sowing and planting, 291. Should never be put into the hold of a vessel, 332. Sowed, 380.
SÉGUR, Count de, V. 445, 447. Visits the Commander-in-chief, VIII. 358. French minister at the court of St. Petersburg, X. 103.
SÉGUR, Marquis de, succeeds Montbarrey in the French ministry, VII. 429. His letter on Lafayette's appointment as field-marshal after the capitulation at Yorktown, VIII. 226.
Seizures, evil consequences of, V. 209.
SELMAN, Captain. See BROUGHTON.
Senate of the United States, organization of the, IX. 491. Proceedings in, respecting titles, X. 20. Conference of a committee of, with the President, on the mode of communication in the formation of treaties and appointments to office, 25, 484. On the agency it ought to have in judging of the expediency of sending ministers abroad, 479. Proceedings of, in relation to Jay's treaty, XI. 32. Ratifies the Spanish treaty, 112. Approves the President's proclamation of Neutrality, XII. 43; their approbation of his conduct in relation to the Pennsylvania insurgents, 54. Message to the, respecting the British treaty; their conditional ratification of it, 58, 90. Messages to, about Indian hostilities, 79; Indian treaties, 81; the eastern boundary, 83; the treaty with the Creek Indians, 84, 86, 108; the Cherokee Indians, 87; transmitting questions relative to Algiers, 95.
SENF, Colonel, XI. 431, 433.
Servants. See *Emigrant Servants*.
Seven years, Paine's remarks on the period of, VIII. 346.
SEYMOUR, THOMAS, Colonel, arrives at New York with light-horse from Connecticut, III. 453. Commended, 454, 465. Returns home, IV. 3.
SHAACH, Captain, held as a subject for retaliation, IX. 197.
SHARPE, HORATIO, governor of Maryland, II. 59. Appointed Commander-in-chief against the French, 64. Requests Washington to return to the service, 65. Favors Dagworthy, 112, 128. Is reconciled with the Assembly, and builds Fort Frederic, 165. His difference with the Assembly, in 1757, 233. His military rank, 310. Commands at Fort Cumberland, 313, 316.
Shawanese Town, its situation; unsuccessful expedition against, II. 125, 135.
SHEE, JOHN, Colonel, III. 414.
Sheep, the policy of increasing the number of, IX. 455, X. 50. Price of, XII. 294. Number of, at Mount Vernon, 314. On folding, 363. Feeding, 368, 373.
SHEFFIELD, Lord, writes Observations on the Commerce of the American States, XI. 11.
SHELBURNE, Earl, appointed first lord of the treasury, VIII. 344, 359.
SHELDON, ELISHA, appointed commander of a regiment of dragoons, IV. 249, 293. Condition of his horses, V. 315. Skirmish of, at Pound Ridge, VI. 287; VII. 134; 149; 168. Reinforced with Connecticut regiments, 181. Put under the command of Greene, 234. His connexion with the capture of André, 235, 522–524, 528. Dismounted dragoons of, detached on an expedition to Long Island, 293.

His cantonment at Northampton, in Massachusetts, 330 - 332. To form a junction with Waterbury, in a proposed attack on Delancey's corps, VIII. 88, 93, 95, 97. Legion of, put under Heath's command, 136.

Shenandoah River, increase in the value of lands at the, XII. 313.

SHERBURNE, HENRY, aid to Sullivan; his bravery applauded; killed at Germantown, V. 466.

SHERMAN, ROGER, member of the first Board of War, III. 429. On a committee of Congress to go to the camp, IV. 117. On the agency of the Senate in sending ministers abroad, X. 481.

SHINGISS, King of the Delaware Indians, at the council at Logstown, II. 433; 438.

SHIPPEN, WILLIAM, to inoculate the troops, IV. 311. Director-general, charged with mal-practice and neglect, V. 292.

Ships. See *Vessels*.

SHIRLEY, WILLIAM, Governor, introduction to, and opinion of, II. 74; 76; 79; 93; 98; 112. Commander of his Majesty's forces in America, 113; 115; 117; 120; 128. Visited by Washington in Boston, 130, 132. Decides against Dagworthy's claim, 133. Gone to England, 229.

SHIRLEY, W., secretary, shot at Braddock's battle, II. 471.

Shoes, deplorable want of, in the army, V. 71, 77, 126, 167, 199, 225, 329. Price of, VI. 80.

SHORT, WILLIAM, negotiates a loan at Amsterdam, X. 161; 191; 278.

SHREVE, ISRAEL, Colonel, VII. 335. His exertions to suppress the revolt in the Jersey line, 381, 561 - 464. In the action at Springfield, 507.

SHULDHAM, a British admiral, III. 220. Arrives at Boston, 222, 225.

SIÈYES, President of the National Assembly of France, X. 133, 497.

SILLIMAN, G. SELLECK, general of the Connecticut militia, pursues the British on their return from Danbury, IV. 405.

SIMCOE, a British colonel, his engagement with Macpherson, VIII. 101.

SIMITIÈRE, his likenesses of military characters, IX. 100.

SIMPSON, negotiating a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco, XI. 84.

SINCLAIR, SIR JOHN, letter to, respecting the soil and agriculture of various parts of the United States, XII. 323.

SINCLAIR, ROBERT, XII. 303.

SKENE, PHILIP, Governor, proposition to exchange for Lovell, III. 269, 524. Exchanged; biographical sketch of, 524, IV. 23. See LOVELL.

SKINNER, ABRAHAM, deputy-commissary of prisoners, goes to Elizabethtown to effect an exchange of prisoners, receives directions, VII. 194, 209. Despatched to Congress; instructions to, about citizens who are prisoners, VIII. 126.

SKINNER, CORTLAND, general of New Jersey, with his corps adheres to the British, IV. 326. Appointed brigadier-general to enlist Loyalists, 522; V. 64; 174.

Slavery, captives sold into, II. 137. Opinions and exertions respecting, IX. 159, 163. Laws for the abolition of, XII. 326.

Slaves, Dinwiddie's apprehensions from, II. 154. Trade in, condemned, 494, 495. Not enlisted, III. 218. Questionable policy of arming, VI. 204. Project for raising a regiment of, VIII. 323. Lafayette on the emancipation of, 414, IX. 163. Proceedings in Congress in regard to the trade in, X. 82, 85, 94, 98. Measures in regard to fugitive, to Florida, 163. Proceedings in the South Carolina legislature about the importation of, 224, 225. From Georgia cross the Spanish line, XII. 181. See *Negroes*.

Smallpox, in Boston, III. 177. Reported as to Howe's design to send it into the American camp, 188, 195. In the army at Ticonderoga, IV. 12; at Morristown, 311. Troops inoculated with the, 311, 314, 362. Establishments for inoculating with the, 364, 376. Destructiveness of, to an army, 390. Inoculation for, in Virginia, prohibited by law, V. 22.

SMALLWOOD, WILLIAM, Colonel, arrives with his battalion at New York, IV. 41. In the action at White Plains, 528. General, and despatched to take command of the Maryland western shore militia, V. 52; 53. Coming forward with militia, 66; 70. Joins the main army, 75. In the battle of Germantown, 78. Opposes an attack on Philadelphia, 168. To take post at Wilmington, 190, 191, 196. Desired to return Dr. Boyes's manuscripts, 223. His advance towards Elizabethtown, VI. 176. Appointed major-general, VII. 308. His misunderstanding with Steuben, about command, 360.

SMITH, JOSHUA HETT, his connexion with Arnold's treason; his arrest and trial, VII. 214, 216, 220, 221, 261, 529, 533, 536, 540.

SMITH, ROBERT, Captain, does not ac-

[illegible] of the Board of War, V. 388. Qualifications of, for military judges, X. 58.

Sherman, Stephen, Lieutenant-Colonel, VI. 74. Commands one Mass. Brigade, 85, 87, 90, 105, 109, 110. Wounded, 110. Speech voted to, by Congress, 115; 226.

Sherman, William, chief justice of New York, sent to governor Clinton's residence, but not permitted to land, VIII. 5, 32. A request for a passport for, VIII. 388. To accompany Gladstone, 488.

Sherman, William S., Lieutenant-Colonel, VIII. 32. Mission of, to the commissioners at Hillsborough, 205, 207. Acting commissary-general of prisoners, 305. One of the commissioners to inspect the embarkations at New York, 485, 505. On the choice of persons to remain in New York, 495; X. 102. Nominated for the Provisional army, 205, 209, 265.

Shirley, a British colonel at Lexington battle, II. 495. Ordered to England, III. 102.

Shoven, G. W., on the Illuminati and Masonic lodges, XI. 206, 207.

Shuckow, Shawanese, a captain of Shelbridge Indians, visits the camp, VII. 202.

Shurvel Court-House, skirmish at, IV. 200. Howe advances to, and returns, 402, 409.

Sicily, III. 420. Prisoners taken at, IV. 549.

Sieges, his *Histoire des Troubles de l'Amérique Anglaise*, commended, VIII. 135.

Sound. *See Long Island Sound.*

Sourland Hills, IV. 463.

South Branch, Captain Waggener ordered to build and garrison two forts on the, II. 125. Forts on the, to be evacuated, 209. Attack on the inhabitants there, 247. Another attack, 252.

South Carolina, enemy driven out of, VI. 349. British proposed expedition to, 357, 358, 426, 476. Defenceless condition of, 411. Washington elected member of the Agricultural Society of, IX. 155. Address to the people of, XII. 126; to the House of Representatives of, 237. Soil and climate of, 325. Governors of, during Washington's public life, 419. Members of the Continental Congress from, 425; of Congress during Washington's administration, 431.

Southern Military Department, formed, III. 284. Measures for filling the, after Lord Cornwallis's successes, VII. 206, 434. Sufferings and distresses of the, 205, 209. *See* Gates and Greene.

Southern States, importance of relieving, VI. 249. British expedition proposed against, 356, 358, 426, 476. Distressed situation of the, VII. 285, 434. On the defence of the, VIII. 22. Jealous of the eastern States, X. 92. Particulars of the President's tour through the, 140, 142, 144, 146, 157, 167, 170, 175, 189, 193.

South Haven, capture and destruction of the fort at, VII. 292–294, 315.

Spaight, Richard D., governor of North Carolina, XI. 256.

Spain, tardiness of, in confirming American independence, VI. 187, 424. Mediation of, rejected by England, 238, 343. Declares war against England, and the effects thereof in America, 341, 366. On the British acknowledgment of American independence, 453. Enterprise of, against the Floridas, and suggestions for a cooperation with, VII. 322–324, 327. Assents to the treaty of peace; hesitates and recognises a charge d'affaires from the United States, VIII. 413. The King of, sends presents to Mount Vernon, IX. 153. On the formation of a treaty with, 173, 189, 205, 215, X. 73, 360. Convention of, with England, 139. Encourages the settlement of foreigners in Florida, 162. Interference of, with the Indians, 257, 278. Negotiations with; treaty, XI. 83, 84, 110, 112. XII. 67, 92, 98, 99, 100, 103, 106. Ministers to, during Washington's administration, 433.

Speaking, public, hints respecting, IX. 289.

Spears, used as a defence against horse, IV. 461.

Specific supplies, the plan of, inoperative; disposition of the, VIII. 103. Disadvantages of, IX. 210. *See* Commutation.

Speeches to Congress by the President, XII. 1.

Spencer, Joseph, General, leaves the army; appointed brigadier-general; consents to take rank after Putnam, III. 23, 34; 108. Appointed major-general, IV. 32. Opposes the evacuation of New York, 92. Ordered to New England, 218. Resignation of, V. 266.

Spencer, Oliver, Colonel, VI. 236. His troops mutiny, 262. Engaged in the western expedition, 264. Incorporation of the regiment of, VII. 282.

Spies, employed on various occasions, IV. 217, 263. Executed, 521, V. 27; 220. One taken with a bullet con-

taining a letter, 131. Hard money wanted for, VI. 39, 53, 376. In New York city, 40, 255, 278, 354, 473. Hard money received and sent to, 53, 255, 278, 460. The mode of their getting and communicating information, 255, 278, 280, 354, 460, 473. Employed in Canada, 308. Cautions and instructions about employing, 323, 346, 472. Sent into New York, attend to personal interests, 424, 473. Effect produced upon, by Arnold's escape to New York, VII. 260, 281. Letter respecting one who is suspected, 279. Trial and execution of those sent with overtures to the Pennsylvania line, 359, 362, 365, 367, 472. A spy employed in the detection of a plot among the Tories, 424. Directions for, in New York, VIII. 30. In Cornwallis's camp, 141, 152. See ANDRÉ.

SPOTSWOOD, ALEXANDER, Colonel, an officer at the siege of Carthagena, in 1741, II. 421.

SPOTSWOOD, ALEXANDER, a member of an independent company, in 1775, II. 507. A colonel, 508. Solicits a commission in the army, 509. Letter to, about planting corn and other vegetables, IX. 323; about the alien and sedition laws, XI. 345.

SPOTSWOOD, ROBERT, Captain, goes with a party towards Fort Duquesne, II. 237. Is cut off and killed, 252.

Springfield, in Massachusetts, a laboratory at, IV. 322. Express sent to, for ammunition, 488.

Springfield, in New Jersey, British excursion to, VII. 74–79. Burnt; action near, 85–87, 506.

SPROUT, Colonel, non-commissioned officers under, present a complaint of grievances, VII. 388; 564; VIII. 90.

Stables, directions as to, XII. 364.

STACEY, Lieutenant-Colonel, taken at Cherry Valley, VII. 211.

Stages, the use of, commended, IX. 394.

Stamp Act, opinion of the consequences of the, II. 343, 344.

Standing army, jealousy of a, IV. 115, 116, V. 328.

STANTON, JOHN, sent out of New York with a flag of truce and ordered back, IV. 357.

STANWIX, JOHN, Colonel, commands Royal Americans on the Pennsylvania frontiers, in 1757, II. 238, 265. His character; his disposition and military relation to Washington, 243, 244. Correspondence with, about Major Smith and his scheme for reducing the enemy, 273. Made brigadier-general, 275. Builds Fort Stanwix, 276.

Stanwix, Fort, built, II. 276. Importance of the post where it stood, III. 418. To be secured, 419, 442. The taking possession of, does not give umbrage to the Indians, IV. 24. See *Schuyler*.

STARK, JOHN, General, remonstrates against the retreat from Crown Point, IV. 6; V. 30. Defeats the enemy near Bennington, 42; 532. Virtually denies the jurisdiction of New York over Vermont, and sends suspected persons to General Gates, VI. 8. Written to, respecting Butler's command, 38, 39. Ordered to join Sullivan, 93; VII. 83. Sent to New Hampshire, to collect and forward drafts and levies, 96–98. Brigade of, ordered to West Point, 232, 236. Leads a foraging party to White Plains, 295, 308; 307; 336. Asks to retire for a time, 346. Position of his brigade in the action of Springfield, 507. Recommended to collect troops in Vermont, VIII. 80. To take command of all the troops at the northward; cited about the Green Mountain Boys, 83.

State, Department of, X. 11, 41. Secretaries of, XII 432. See JAY.

State debts, excitement concerning the assumption of, X. 94, 98, 371.

Staten Island, III. 443, 446. The British throw up works at the passes of, 450. Treachery of the Tories of, 451. Howe occupies, 452, 463. Propositions for attacking the British on, IV. 20. Movements of the British troops there, 39. British encamp on, after leaving New Jersey, 477. Expedition against, under Sullivan, V. 47. Proposed expedition against, January, 1780, VI. 441–448. British troops on, prepared to take advantage of the revolt in the Jersey line, VII. 389, 390. See DICKINSON.

Statue of Washington, voted by Congress, I. 396, VIII. 472. Voted by Virginia, and executed by Houdon, I. 397, 432, IX. 51, 131–133, 185. Voted by North Carolina, and executed by Canova, I. 397. Statue by Chantry, at Boston, I. 397.

Steamboat, Rumsey engaged in constructing one in London, IX. 104, X. 139, XII. 279.

STEPHEN, ADAM, Captain, joins the Ohio expedition, in 1754, II. 6. Receives a major's commission, 45. Is lieutenant-colonel, 97. Commands at Fort Cumberland, 101. Ordered to repair to Winchester, 110; 112; 115. Desires to go to the Creeks and Cherokees, 119; 121. Left with the command of the forces while Washington

visits Boston, 139; 138. Is wounded, 154, 156. Despatched to South Carolina and returns, 233, 235, 238. Ordered to, 234; 291. Troops put under, for the protection of the frontiers, 349. Brigadier-general, IV. 282; 310. Appointed major-general, 339; V. 44. In the battle of the Brandywine, 58. His account of the battle of Germantown, 78, 467. Dismissed, 172.

Shrewsbury, Hugh, III. 315. Appointed colonel of a rifle regiment, 444. Death of, IV. 124.

Shrimpton, a British brigadier-general, wounded in the excursion to Springfield, VII. 76.

Shuldham, Frederick William, Baron, circumstances and testimonials connected with his coming to America, and his arrival; biographical facts respecting, V. 213, 536. Arrives at camp, 264, 539. Undertakes the office of inspector-general; his merits and expectations, 348, 449, 539. In the council of war at Valley Forge, 389. Appointed inspector-general, 351. Visits Congress on business, 469. Wishes to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line, VI. 15, 19–21. Repairs to Rhode Island, 21; 147. His work on military tactics, 177, 193. Inadequacy of his compensation, 335. Presents a memorial to Congress respecting the army, for the campaign of 1780, 464, VII. 9; 94. Cited, 255. Ordered to the south to join Greene, 272, 276, 285. His services essential in Virginia, where he had been left to command, 275, 317, 318, 361, 404, 419. His misunderstanding with Smallwood about command, 360; 404. Directions to, about the expedition against Arnold, in Virginia, 420; 452. His junction with Lafayette, VIII. 16–18, 515. Disagreeably involved with Virginia, 175. The bearer of a letter from Count de Bieniewsky, 256. His queries and conduct as inspector-general, 315. Consulted respecting a peace establishment, 417. His journey to Canada about the western posts, 459, 461–465, 470. Letter to, on the day of the resignation of the Commander-in-chief, 503. His purpose of a settlement with Congress, IX. 23, 276. On a peace establishment, 25. Inquires concerning his *Will*, XI. 92.

Stevens, Isaac, Captain, captured by the Algerines, X. 15.

Stevens, Lieutenant-Colonel, takes possession of Rochefontaine's quarters, VI. 450.

Stewart, Robert, II. 338, 339.

Stewart, Walter, Colonel, VI. 444, 445. Renders valuable services at the time of the revolt in the Pennsylvania line, VII. 349, 351.

Stewart, Captain, has charge of Braddock after the latter was mortally wounded at the battle of the Monongahela, II. 476.

Stewart, Major, at the storming of Stony Point, VI. 282, 532.

Stiles, Ezra, president of Yale College, VIII. 45.

Stirling, Lord, III. 238. Posts respecting, 235. General, commands at New York, 318. Captured, IV. 69, 71, 514. His letter after the battle of Long Island, 68, 71, 515. Exchanged, 105, 142. Left with troops at Princeton, 269, 282. Circular letter to, at the Delaware, 317. Appointed major-general, 339. Reinforces Maxwell, 372. Skirmishes with the enemy, 475. Detached to Peekskill, 508. Planner of the expedition to Monmouth, 536. His division ordered towards Philadelphia, V. 3, 4. In the battle of the Brandywine, 58, 462. Favors an attack on Philadelphia, 168. At a council of war at Valley Forge, 389. Commands the left wing at the battle of Monmouth, 495. President of the court-martial for the trial of General Lee, 435, 557. His connexion with Conway's Cabal, 492, 516. To take the command in the Jerseys, VI. 75. Aids Major Lee in his expedition against Paulus Hook, 326. His expedition against Staten Island, 443–448. Frames orders for his division, and is commended, 478. Directions to, respecting recruits for the New Jersey line, 490. Left with the command near Dobbs's Ferry, VIII. 105. Ordered to Albany, 342. Death of, and letter thereupon to his lady, 375, 415.

Stobo, Robert, Captain, claims land, II. 365. Is a hostage by capitulation, 452. Conveyed to Quebec and sent to England, 468.

Stock, Jerusalem artichoke as food for, XII. 290. Price of, 294. At Mount Vernon, 314. Directions respecting, 357, 369, 370. See *Cattle*.

Stockton, Richard, Major, and his party captured, IV. 326. His treatment, 356, V. 176, 520.

Stoddert, Benjamin, X. 310.

Stone, John H., governor of Maryland, XI. 97. Cited as to transmitting resolutions, 176; XII. 237.

Stone, Thomas, letter to, on a paper money emission in Maryland, in 1787, IX. 231.

Stonington, in Connecticut, attacked, III. 96
Stono Ferry, attack upon, VI. 357.
Stony Point, taken and fortified by the British, VI. 269, 272, 274, 287. Measures to get information respecting, 280, 282, 288. Capture of, by Wayne, and its evacuation, 297, 298 – 304, 349, 537. Troops engaged at, rewarded, 303, 540. British land at, 302. Evacuation of, 327, 393; VII. 81. To be evacuated in case of an attack on West Point, 222.
STRANG, DANIEL, tried and condemned as a spy, IV. 521.
STRINGER, SAMUEL, IV. 47.
STRONG, CALEB, senator to Congress, IX. 463; X. 480; XII. 428.
STUART, DAVID, IX. 271. Information asked of, X. 17. Citations from, 82, 94. A commissioner of the Federal District, 424.
Succasony Plains, IV. 483.
Suffolk, burned by the British, VI. 261.
Sulgrave, Manor of, granted to Lawrence Washington, I. 545. Pedigree of the Washington family of, 552.
SULLIVAN, JOHN, appointed brigadier-general, III. 23. Arrives at camp, 25. Stationed at Winter Hill, 54. Despatched to Portsmouth, 129. Instructions to, 145. Proceeds with troops to New York, 312, 333. Ordered to Canada, 371. Arrives at the Sorel River and takes the command, 420, 421. His flattering account of affairs, 422, 423. Takes posts low down the country, 423. Desires the command in Canada, 425. His military qualifications, 426. Stops at Isle-aux-Noix for orders, 442. Superseded by Gates; tenders and withdraws his resignation, IV. 4. Appointed major-general, 32. Commands at Long Island, during Greene's sickness, 60, 62. Captured there, and gives an account of the battle, 71, 517. Sent by Lord Howe with a message to Congress, 71. Proposition for exchanging, 77. Returns to Lord Howe with the answer of Congress, 87. Joins the army on the Delaware, 241. Thinks himself slighted, 364. Posted at Sourland Hills, 463. Letter conveyed to, in a canteen, 468. Advances from Rocky Hill to Brunswic, 472; to Pompton, 483. Declines serving under Ducoudray, 490. Resolve of Congress respecting, 491. His division ordered towards Philadelphia, V. 3, 4, 7, 11, 42; to join the main army, 43, 47. His expedition to Staten Island, 47. Inquiry into his conduct, 52, 53, 62. His conduct at the battle of the Brandywine, 58, 61, 62, 108, 456. His account of the battle of Germantown, 78, 80, 463. Disapproves an attack on Philadelphia, 168. Sent to take command of the troops in Rhode Island, 266. Cited about the dispersion of handbills from the British, 343. Ordered to call out militia at the time of Count d'Estaing's arrival, VI. 6. His expedition against Rhode Island and Newport, 10, 11. New arrangement of his troops, 22. Has an interview with Count d'Estaing, 24. Defeat of his enterprise, 24, 29 – 31, 41, 43, 50. His impolitic general orders, 47, 48. Number of troops under, 48. Retires to Providence, 73. Appointed commander of the western expedition against the Indians, 189, 190, 260. Directions to, 264; 275; 282; 283. His action at Newtown, 342, 349. His great success, 356, 381, 384, 387. An express despatched to, 369. His resignation; cited respecting the faction in Congress against the Commander-in-chief, 421. Chosen member of Congress, VII. 297. Suggests the expediency of removing the French fleet from Newport to Boston, 300. On a committee to subdue the revolt in the Pennsylvania line, 359. Cited respecting a financier and the choice of a minister of war, 399.
Sullivan's Island, British repulsed at, IV. 26, 27.
SUMPTER, THOMAS, General, brilliant action of, VII. 360; 555.
Supreme Court, proposed nominations to the, X. 27. Circular to the judges of the, upon their appointment, 35. To communicate information on the defects of the judicial system, 86. Questions submitted to, concerning treaties and vessels, 359, 542. Justices of, during Washington's administration, XII. 433. See *Judiciary*.
Surgeons, advance of the pay of, III. 456. Unfitness and ill-conduct of the, IV. 116. Resolution of Congress respecting, 117.
Surveying Tour over the Alleganies, extracts from, II. 416.
Suspected persons, apprehension and disposition of, IV. 8, 40, 44, VI. 8. See GREENE and *Loyalists*.
Susquehanna River, price of lands on the, XII. 325.
SUTHERLAND, ALEXANDER, British captain of the *Vulture* sloop of war, VII. 525, 528. His letter to Arnold, in André's handwriting, 529, 536.

Swallow, an Indian warrior, killed at Turtle Creek, II. 239.
Swearing. See *Orderly Book.*
Sweden, King of, prohibits the wearing of the order of the Cincinnati, IX. 56. His death, X. 241.
Sword, made at Sollingen, and forwarded to the President, XI. 169.
Sydney, John C., a supreme judge of New Jersey, transmits complaints, VI. 499.
Symmons, John, British captain of the *Cerberus*, menaces Falmouth, III. 149.
Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, address to the, XII. 166.
System, in the army, IV. 430. In agriculture, XII. 300, 359, 363, 367.

T.

Taft, presents to the family of, X. 46.
Talbot, Captain, mortally wounded at the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, VII. 351.
Talliaferro, Colonel, his threshing machine, X. 392.
Talleyrand-Périgord, his arrival in America, X. 411, 412, 436. Facts respecting, 412. His management of affairs with Gerry, XI. 395; 402.
Tallmadge, Benjamin, major of dragoons; letters to, in regard to spies, VI. 278, 354, 460. Loses his papers, 284. His enterprise against Fort St. George, at South Haven, VII. 292–294, 315, 316. Arnold's letter to, about André, 524. Remonstrates with Jameson against sending a letter to Arnold, 530. Takes charge of André, 531, 535. His attempted expedition against Refugees at Lloyd's Neck, on Long Island, VIII. 3. Directions to, about certain spies in New York, 30. Sends a party and captures a privateer in Long Island Sound, 385–387. Recommended for the Provisional army, XI. 272. His efficiency in the revolution, 291; 295.
Tanacharison. See Half-King.
Tappan Sea, vessels there, III. 468.
Tar, extracted from coal, IX. 455.
Tarleton, a British colonel, has a skirmish with Sheldon, near Bedford, and burns houses, VI. 286. Victory over, VII. 415; 555; VIII. 5.
Tash, Colonel, despatched to the Highlands, IV. 154.
Taxation of the Colonies, a favorite scheme of Dinwiddie, II. 63, 153. Probable consequences of, 64. Washington's views of, 389, 391.
Taxation, urged by George Mason in the Virginia Assembly, III. 153.
Taylor, John, XI. 271.
Taylor, Richard, X. 115.
Telfair, Edward, governor of Georgia, X. 113, 114. Information sent to, 271, 293. Address to, XII. 199; 419; 425.
Tenants. See *Rents.*
Ten Broeck, Abraham, general of militia, to station troops at different posts on Hudson's River, III. 469.
Tennessee, John Sevier, governor of, XII. 419. Members of Congress from, during Washington's administration, 432.
Tennessee Company, encourages a settlement at Muscle Shoals, which is disapproved by the Indians, X. 196.
Tents, want of, on Long Island, IV. 68.
Ternant, John, Colonel, a French officer of engineers, V. 299. Chosen inspector, 348. Exchanged; sent to Colonel Armand with orders, VIII. 238. Minister plenipotentiary from France, X. 178, 187, 189–191. Money, arms, and ammunition, furnished to, for Hispaniola, 194. His recall, 346–348.
Ternay, Chevalier de, commands the French fleet, VII. 32; 41. Declines attempting to pass Sandy Hook, 117, 118. Condition of the men under, 118. Averse to entering the harbour of New York, 142. Prefers Boston to Delaware for the rendezvous of the second French squadron, 154. On the employment of the American frigates, 145, 154. His interview with Washington at Hartford, 172, 199, 207, 208, 212, 228, 250, 300, 301, 319, 322, 372. Asks reinforcements of Count de Guichen, 198, 199. Cited, 199, 241. Detains Greene's regiment; cited respecting Arnold, 241. Death of, 330, 340.
Thanksgiving, December 18th, 1777, V. 275, 524. In the army upon the treaty with France, 356. After the capitulation at Yorktown, VIII. 207. November 26th, 1789, XII. 119. January 1st, 1795, 132.
Thayer, Simeon, Major, commands at Fort Mifflin, V. 155. Commands a detachment at Paramus, VI. 451.
Thomas, John, General, stationed at Roxbury, III. 18. Appointed brigadier-general, 23; accepts, 49. Appointed major-general, and supersedes Wooster in Canada, 332, 333. Ordered to take a stand as low as possible down the river, 401. Has the small-pox, 408. His death, 490.
Thomas, Captain, attempts to fire ships in Hudson's River, IV. 54.

THOMAS, author of "Jumonville," a poem referred to, II. 450.
THOMPSON, WILLIAM, Colonel, commands the Pennsylvania battalion of riflemen, III. 101. Assists to drive the enemy from Lechmere's point, 157. Should not be sent to command in Virginia, 309. Appointed brigadier-general, and takes the command at New York, 315, 319. Detached to Canada, 373. Arrives at Albany, 380. At the head of the army in Canada, 420. Defeated and taken at the Three Rivers, 432. A prisoner, IV. 31. Propositions to exchange, 199, 206, V. 358. Exchanged, VI. 288.
THOMPSON, Colonel, willing to engage in a scheme against Nova Scotia, III. 272.
THOMPSON, Lieutenant-Colonel, his skirmish near White Plains, VI. 467, 468.
THOMPSON, Captain-Lieutenant, killed at Springfield, VII. 508.
THOMSON, CHARLES, secretary of Congress; cited about the original commission of the Commander-in-chief, IX. 17. His mission from Congress to the President elect, 491, X. 1, 459. Retires from office, 16. Declines the appointment of commissioner to an Indian conference, 314.
THORNTON, PRESLY P., Colonel, extra aid to Washington, V. 22.
THORNTON PRESLY, XI. 415.
Three Rivers, a party intrenching at, III. 424. Defeat and capture of Thompson there, 432.
Threshing machines, X. 68, 382.
THROOP, Major, aids in suppressing the revolt in the New Jersey line, VII. 561.
THURSTON, CHARLES M., X. 425; XII. 213.
TICHENOR, ISAAC, senator in Congress from Vermont, XI. 174, XII. 237.
TICKNOR, GEORGE, cited on Lafayette's imprisonment at Olmutz, XI. 492.
Ticonderoga, Schuyler ordered to, III. 41. Taken, 61, 510. Military stores to be drawn from, 61. Measures for holding, 62. Fortification opposite to, suggested, 418. Troops ordered to, from Boston, 455. Schuyler advised to occupy and keep Burgoyne and Carleton at bay, IV. 156. Impatience of the troops at, 279. Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops ordered to, and countermanded, 323, 361. Threatened by Burgoyne, 476, 478, 486. Provisions thrown into, 479. Evacuation of, 485, 486, 488, 492, 493. Council of war held at, before the evacuation, 499. Prisoners taken at, 548. Evacuation of, and of Mount Independence, inquired into, V. 9, 22, 25. Effects of the evacuation, 9, 17, 22. See *Northern Department*, ST. CLAIR, and SCHUYLER.
TILGHMAN, JAMES, II. 382; IX. 168, 196.
TILGHMAN, TENCH, VIII. 34. Facts respecting his service in the army, 38. Despatched to Congress with the intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis, 184. Presented with a horse and sword, 185; IX. 95. Death of; facts respecting, 168, 187.
TILGHMAN, WILLIAM, written to, about a manager, XII. 308.
TILLY, a French naval officer, commands ships sent to blockade Arnold in the Chesapeake, VII. 404, 413, 414, 418, 435. His partial success, and return to Newport, 414, 426, 439.
Tioga, VI. 265, 281, 282.
Titles, discussion in Congress respecting, X. 20.
Tobacco, remitted to England, II. 232. The principal product of the Mount Vernon plantations, 329. The trade in, to France, IX. 193, 413. The cultivation of, permitted in France, X. 178, 180. Directions to agents in England respecting, XII. 251, 260. The preparation of, 257. Disapprobation of the sales of, 258, 261. Prices of, 258, 261. Principal object of cultivation in Virginia, 293. Directions about cultivating, 337, 341, 344, 346.
Toleration. See *Religion*.
TOM, an Indian captain, promises to go to the Tuscaroras, II. 170.
TONYN, governor of Florida, III. 205.
Tories. See *Loyalists*.
TOUSARD, LEWIS, a French officer in the family of Lafayette, loses an arm at the action on Rhode Island, is promoted and pensioned, VI. 71.
TOWNSHEND, a British minister, his instructions to Sir Guy Carleton, VIII. 297, 325.
TRACY, negotiates an exchange of prisoners, IV. 28.
Trade, importance of the American, to Great Britain, IX. 123; 356; 501. Suffers from cruisers and agents, XII. 73, 96, 117. Compensation asked for losses in, 105. See *Commerce*, *France*, and *Great Britain*.
Travelling, remarks on, II. 361.
Treasury, affairs of the, administered by a Board of Commissioners, X. 11. The appointment of Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the, 11. Inquiry into the management of the department, 370, 397, 554. Names of secretaries of the, XII. 432.

Treaties, with the Indians at Lancaster, in 1744, II. 14. The definitive, in 1763, 338. At Logstown, 480. At the German Flats, III. 408. With the St. John's and Micmac Indians, IV. 38. With the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, IX. 76, 79. With the western Indians, 105. Infraction of the treaty with Great Britain, 179, 182, 185, 187, 247. At Fort Schuyler, in 1788, 448. On the President's mode of communicating with the Senate respecting, X. 25, 26, 484. Hints respecting, 175. With the Cherokee Indians, XII. 23, 57, 87. With the Six Nations, 23, 82. Provisional, with the western Indians, 56. With the Creek Indians, 57, 84–87. Recognised by the Emperor of Morocco, 57. With Great Britain; and a non-compliance with a call for papers, 58, 90, 91, 112, 221. Principles in regard to, 81. With the Wyandots, 82. At Galphinston, 86. With Spain, 98, 99, 221. See *British Treaty*, *France*, *Indians*, JAY, *Prussia*, and *Spain*.

Trees, engine for taking up, II. 341. To be saved, XII. 341, 358.

TRENT, WILLIAM, Captain, appointed, in 1754, to raise a company and proceed to the Ohio, II. 1. Absent at the time of his company's capitulation, 6; 14. His men discharged from Washington's detachment, and disperse contrary to orders, 16, 20. Ordered to be tried by a court-martial, 46. Sent as agent to the Indians on the Ohio, in 1753, 430.

Trenton, light-horse sent to, to winter and to protect the country, IV. 206. Preparations for an attack on, 241, 542. Action at, 246, 541. Preparations for following up the advantage, 249, 253, 255. Number of troops taken at, 252, 548. Skirmishing at, 258. Exertions of ladies there, in behalf of the army, VII. 90. Public offices removed to, from Philadelphia, XI. 288. Reception of the President elect there, in 1789, XII. 148. Address to the ladies of, 150.

Tripoli, negotiations for a treaty with, X. 62, XII. 68.

TRUEMAN, ALEXANDER, Major, sent as a messenger of peace to the Indians, and murdered, X. 260, 279.

TRUMBULL, JOHN, X. 104. His merits as an artist, 208, 232. Secretary to John Jay, in London, 409, XI. 105; 441. Suggests plans of defence, 442, 444. A commissioner in relation to the British treaty, XII. 67.

TRUMBULL, JONATHAN, governor of Connecticut, patriotism and virtues of, III. 31. Correspondence with, 96, 98, 138. Enlists men for the army, 300. On the alarm caused by the retreat of the army from Canada, 466. Strenuous exertions and promptness of, commended, IV. 89. Cited respecting Major Rogers, 128. Prohibits the plundering of Tories on Long Island, VI. 360. Written to, about the interference of Connecticut, VII. 33; VIII. 212. Favors retaliation, 292. His address to the Assembly of Connecticut declining a reëlection, IX. 4, 5; 41.

TRUMBULL, JONATHAN, Junior, accepts the offer of the secretaryship of the Commander-in-chief, VIII. 14. Cited respecting his father's address, IX. 6. Desired to attend the meeting of the Cincinnati, 35. On the choice of a President, 438, 452; X. 356. On the power of the Executive to change the place of meeting of Congress, 375; XI. 190. On a third election of Washington to the Presidency, 444.

TRUMBULL, JOSEPH, recommended as a commissary-general for the American army, III. 21. Recovering from sickness, 139 Dissatisfied with his pay; commended, 414. Chosen member of the new Board of War, V. 194.

Truro parish, vestrymen of, XII. 400.

TRYON, WILLIAM, governor of New York, returns from England; consequent embarrassments of the Provincial Congress; how regarded by it, III. 8, 11. His motions watched, 9, 11, 29. Has no intercourse with the Provincial Congress, 11. Mistakes the disposition of the people, 283. Communicates full information of the proceedings of Congress to General Howe, 226. His influence over New York city, 277. At the head of the Tories, 398. Encourages the disaffected, 414. Communicates to Howe the state of New York, 452. Commander of an expedition to Danbury, IV. 404. Encourages the Loyalists, 519. Publishes the Conciliatory Bills, V. 318; sends them to Washington, and asks him to circulate them in the army, 332, 336, 342 Letter to, enclosing a resolve of Congress respecting pardon to Tories, 342, 343, 345. At the storming of Fort Montgomery, 475. Expedition of, against New Haven and other places, and proclamation, VI. 291–294, 350.

Tryon County, Tories in, III. 263. Expedition against, 409–411.

TUCKER, Captain, takes a transport bound to Boston, III. 281.

Tunis, the Bashaw of, his terms for peace not to be complied with, X. 62; XII. 68.
TUPPER, BENJAMIN, Colonel, commands galleys on the North River, IV. 29.
TURNER, THOMAS, recommended for a captaincy of horse in the Provisional army, XI. 421, 425, 435.
TURNER, a British lieutenant, proposed as a substitute in the case of Asgill, VIII. 303, IX. 197.
Turnips, a way of raising, IX. 324. When to be sown, XII. 342.
Turtle Bay, a British ship anchors in, IV. 74. British troops land at, 94.
Turtle Creek, Baker's skirmish at, II. 238. Colonel Bouquet's battle at, 340.
Tuscarora, VI. 205, 224.

U.

UCAHULA, an Indian, the exploit of, II. 283.
UDELL, erroneously written by historians for Woodhull, IV. 71.
Union Farm, particulars respecting the, XII. 311, 316. Directions as to crops and operations thereon for the year 1800, 368. Clover lots; pasture ground on the, 370. Fencing, 371. Meadows, 372. Crops for 1801, 373; for 1802 and 1803; rotation of crops, 374.
Union of the States, its importance, XII. 166, 218, 393. Liable to be assailed, 218. Advantages from, 219. In danger from geographical discriminations, 221. A caution against weakening it by the mode of selling public lands, 270.
United Brethren, address to the directors of the Society of the, XII. 160.
United States, prospects of the, in 1780, VII. 159, 197, 229. Confederation of the, completed, 456. A government for the whole indispensable to their union, XII. 222.
University. See *National University*.
Utrecht, the treaty of, referred to, II. 11, 13, 430.

V.

Vacancies in the army, Hancock cited respecting the power of filling, IV. 21. The States authorized to fill, 393.
Vagrants, in Virginia, impressed in the French war, II. 219.
Valentine's Hill, head-quarters at, IV. 155. Skirmish at, 280.
VALLANCEY, Lieutenant, V. 144, 145.
Valley Forge, head-quarters, and encampment of the army at, V. 192, 195, 329, 522. Sufferings and mutiny at, for want of provisions, clothes, and shoes, 193, 197, 239-242, 252, 290, 329, 388. Sufferings for want of forage and wagons, 240, 253, 290. Council called at, to plan the campaign of 1778, 337, 338, 360, 371. Celebration there on receiving news of the treaty with France, 355. Council of war at, respecting movements against the enemy, 410.
VAN BERCKEL, P. J., XI. 26-29.
VANBRAAM, JACOB, recommended for promotion, II. 5. Commended, 37, 45. French interpreter in the mission to the Ohio, in 1753, 38, 432. Claims land, 365. A hostage at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, 458. His misinterpretation of the articles of capitulation, 460. Excepted in a vote of thanks, 465. Conveyed to Quebec and sent to England, 468.
VAN BUREN, Captain, IV. 54.
VANCE, JOHN, Captain, his dismission and the consequences, V. 377.
VANDERKEMP, FRANCIS ADRIAN, welcomed to America, IX. 368.
VANDYKE, Colonel, commands volunteer loyalists, IV. 523.
VAN POLANEN, minister from the United Netherlands, XI. 157, 488.
VAN RENSSELAER, Brigadier-General, VII. 131. His success against the Indians, 281.
VAN SCHAICK, III. 378. Regiment of, ordered to join General McDougall, V. 291, 292. Ordered from Fishkill to join the main army, 303, 310; VII. 56, 82; VIII. 68.
VAN STAPHORST, NICHOLAS, money deposited with, for Madame de Lafayette, X. 315, 326.
VAN WART, ISAAC, one of the captors of Major André, VII. 220, 236, 529.
VARICK, RICHARD, Lieutenant-Colonel, aid to Arnold, but unacquainted with his treasonable designs, VII. 217, 220, 533. Trial, acquittal, and commendation of, 267. Superintends the copying of Washington's papers, IX. 2.
VARNUM, JAMES MITCHELL, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 329. Ordered towards Peekskill, 478; V. 83. Detached to Red Bank, 131, 136; 143. Cited respecting the wants of the troops, 193. Describes the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge, 240. Suggests the raising of a battalion of negroes in Rhode Island, 245; 392. Detached to join Sullivan in Rhode Island, VI. 8, 11. Delegate to the

meeting of the Cincinnati Society, IX. 27; 520.
Vass's Fort, II. 190–192. Surprised, 196; 249.
VAUDREUIL, gives tokens of recognizance to the Indians, upon the surrender of Canada, VII. 183.
VAUDREUIL, Marquis de, arrives with a fleet, VIII. 328, 330. His intentions against Penobscot, 329.
VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN, IX. 90.
VAUGHAN, JOHN, a British general, V. 64. His expedition up the North River, 129, 130; 475. His expedition against Verplanck's Point, VI. 269.
VAUGHAN, JOHN, IX. 287, 289; 354.
VAUGHAN, SAMUEL, IX. 147. His return to England, 281.
VELISTRE, a French officer taken at Turtle Creek, II. 230.
Venango, on the Allegany River, II. 439. Troops ordered to, VI. 205.
VERGENNES, Count de, his remark on the battle of Germantown, V. 470. Cited respecting Luzerne's meeting the Massachusetts Council, VI. 364. Writes to Luzerne, condemning an attempt to alarm the French ministry, VIII. 76, 379, 380. Cited, 242, 379, 380. His correspondence and interviews with Lafayette while in France, in 1779 and 1780, 477. Commends Lafayette for his conduct in Virginia, VIII. 202. On the necessity of exertions by the Americans, and the improbability of peace, 229. On the anticipated effects of the proceedings in England in favor of peace upon America, and opposing a separate peace, 294, 295. Penetrates the designs of the British cabinet in regard to a separate peace, 298. Intercedes for Captain Asgill, 361, 363, 549. His letters to Lafayette, in 1781, 525.
Vermont does not acknowledge the jurisdiction of New York, VI. 7, 8. Leaders in, hold correspondence with the British commanders in Canada, VII. 284, VIII. 42. Sets up a government of its own, 43, 520. Stark cited respecting the people of, 83. On the jurisdiction of, and the negotiations with the enemy, 220, 232. Madison's account of the views of Congress about the Independence of, 334, 547. On Chittenden's remonstrance, 382. Its admission to the Union, IX. 250, X. 91, 139. Custom-house office in, proposed, 194. Reply to an address of the Council and General Assembly of, XI. 174, XII. 237. Governors of, 416. Members of Congress from, during the Presidency of Washington, 428.
Vernon, Mount, II. 420. Inherited and named by Lawrence Washington, 422. Left to George Washington by his brother's will, 427. A plan of, IX. 281. A project for leasing, XI. 108, 338. Soil at, XII. 286, 310 Description of a manager wanted at, 306. Project of leasing, communicated to Arthur Young, with a minute description of it, 309. Its geographical position, 310. Under the care of G. A. Washington, 336. A view of the work at, in 1789, and directions, 340.
Verplanck's Point, British land troops at, V. 86, 88. Cannonaded, captured, and fortified by the British, VI. 269, 272, 274, 287. Evacuation of, 327, 393; VII. 81; 215, 217. To be evacuated in case of an attack on West Point, 222.
Vessels, shipwrecked and captured, III. 150, 183, 194, 203, 266, 271, 422, 432, 439. On the disposition of captured, 154, 155, 282, 287, 370. Two American, repel an attack, 421. Captured, IV. 25, VI. 384, VII. 156. On Bushnell's project for the destruction of, IX. 134. On the King of England's orders respecting neutral, X. 406, 408. On compensation for British, captured by French privateers, 419, 421. See *Navy*, *Privateers*, and *Prizes*.
Vetches, shipped from England for seed, XI. 129; XII. 320, 330.
VILLIERS, a French officer, and brother of Jumonville, commands at the battle of the Great Meadows, II. 458. Extract from his account of the battle, 461; remarks upon it, 463.
VIONENIL, Baron de, commands a French detachment against Arnold, VII. 426, 445, 464; 500. Commands the French line near Dobbs's Ferry, VIII. 105. Skirmishes near York, 168. Attacks the redoubts at Yorktown, 179. Letter to, upon his leaving the country with the command of the French army, and his reply, 365–366.
Virginia, population of, in 1756, II. 154. Feelings in, about independence, III. 347. Levies of, sent to the southward, VI. 247. British expedition against, 261. Undertakes the destruction of Detroit, VII. 341–345. Relinquishes her claim to the land west of the Ohio, 400. State of the public mind in, X. 94. Internal navigation of, XII. 278. Little attention to farming in; general mode of cultivation, 293. Prices of products in, 294. Soil and climate of, 325. Chief magistrates of, during Washington's

public life, 418. Members of the Continental Congress from, 424; of Congress during Washington's administration, 430.
Virginia Baptists, address to the, XII. 154.
Virginia Convention, at Williamsburg in 1774, chooses delegates to the first Congress, II. 396. At Richmond in 1775, chooses delegates to the second Congress, and passes resolutions for defence, 405. Preparations of the, for war, III. 127. Votes thanks to Washington for his fidelity in Congress, 139. Ordinance of the, for raising, organizing, and exercising troops, and appointing officers, 151. Mason's account of the factions and doings of the; changes the word *enact* into *ordain*, 152. Removes Tories and stores from the counties of Princess Anne and Norfolk; manufactures ammunition, 404. See *Virginia Legislature*.
Virginia House of Burgesses, makes grants, and approves the governor's instructions for the Ohio expedition in 1754; its votes after the action at the Great Meadows, II. 4, 12, 64, 218, 465, 466. Differs with the governor about the pistole fee, 58. Votes money and men, in 1755, and rewards the officers under Braddock, 97, 220. Passes laws to enforce military discipline, is dissolved by the governor, 113, 223. Favors a chain of forts on the frontiers, 135, 149, 166, 198, 220. Raises money and augments the military forces in 1756, 139, 147, 149, 220. Is incensed against the Virginia regiment, 141. Authorizes the impressment of vagrants, 219. Makes grants for 1757, 239. Raises money and men in 1758; organizes a new regiment, and puts all the Virginia forces under his Majesty's commander-in-chief in America, 275, 286. Confers the power to draft militia, 280. Washington's election to the, 297. Its vote of thanks to him upon his taking his seat, 327. Is called in 1763, on account of a memorial respecting the paper emission, 338. Passes resolves respecting the rights of the colonies, 355. Is dissolved, holds a private meeting, and unanimously assents to a non-importation agreement called an *Association*, 356. Its proceedings in regard to the Boston Port Bill, 486, 487, XII. 400.
Virginia Legislature, offers a bounty for enlistments, and pensions, VI. 198. Votes to present four horses to the Commander-in-chief, 202. Improved character of the, VIII. 306. Repeals the impost law, 372, 403. On a gratuity to Thomas Paine, IX. 50. Votes a statue of Washington and busts of Lafayette, 51, 132, 133, 185. Address to a committee of the, at Mount Vernon, 53. Reception of Washington by the, 71. On the western inland navigation, 80, 82, 91, 99, 291. Naturalizes Lafayette and his heirs, 82. Gift of shares in the Potomac and James River Companies, 83, 109, 116, 133, 142. Project in, for issuing paper money, 120. On the Assessment Bill, 137. Propositions in the, for giving power to Congress for commercial purposes, 145, 507. Votes of the, respecting paper money, military certificates, and a revision of the federal system, 206, 209, 211. Appointment of Washington, to attend the convention at Philadelphia for revising the Constitution, 208, 212, 218, 219, 222, 228. Gives instructions for a general convention, 247. Meeting of the, after the formation of the Constitution, 273. Refers the Constitution to a convention, 275, 276. Requests the President's agency as to a woollen manufactory, X. 127. Its proceedings in relation to the navigation of the Potomac, XI. 6; the President's appropriations for a university, 24; to the general administration, 388. Addresses to the, XII. 189, 236. Grants charters to the Dismal Swamp Company, 267. Passes laws in relation to slavery, 326.
Virginia line, obstacles in the way of filling up the, IV. 390. Evils of the frequent resignation and change of officers in it, V. 313, 321. Great deficiency in the, 381, 389, 399. March of, to the southward, VI. 411, 416, 417, 487.
Virginia militia, could not be ordered on the Ohio expedition in 1754, II. 4. Impressment of, authorized, 9. Ordered out, and drafted, in 1756, 145, 220. Cabals in, 147. Remarks on the, 160, 191–195. Under bad laws, 195, 225. Orders to the, V. 72. Join the army, 84. Called out to suppress the Pennsylvania insurrection, XII. 48.
Virginia regiment, facts connected with its formation in 1754, II. 1, 4, 27, 219, 265. See *Ohio Expedition*. Washington promoted to the command of, 41; 48. Its advance to Gist's house, and retreat to Fort Necessity, 51, 456.

See *Necessity*. Is reduced to independent companies, and the colonel resigns, 64, 67, 68. Their conduct at Braddock's defeat in 1755; their reward, 87, 97, 470. Washington's reappointment to the command of it, 94, 97, 98. Augmented and incorporated into a regiment of sixteen companies, 97, 98, 220, 223. Military discipline in the, 104, 113, 130, 149, 167. Neglect of its commissary, 109, 115. Disobedience of orders in it, 112, 115. See DAGWORTHY. The provisions of, not to be furnished to the Maryland or Carolina companies, 114, 127. Negligence in recruiting for the, 115. Trained to the method of Indian fighting, 121, 125, 130. How far aided by Pennsylvania, 122, 125, 131. Address to its officers, in 1756, 123. Measures for raising men for the, 134, 135, 140, 188, 220. Augmentation of, voted; a plan recommended for their organization, 139, 149, 220. Must act defensively, 150. Wages of, 160, 173, 174. Inconveniences and complaints about payment and clothes, 173, 213, 215. Under bad military regulations, 185, 188, 223. Facts respecting, antecedent to the campaign of 1757, 219. See LOUDOUN. Remodelled; a detachment sent to South Carolina, 235. Scattered state of, in 1758, 279; 327. Their numbers at the battle of the Great Meadows, 466. Lands for, on the Great Kenhawa, X. 220. See *Virginia troops*.

Virginia regiment, the new, raised in 1758, for one campaign, II. 275, 286. Officers of the, 281. Pay compared with the first Virginia regiment's, 286.

Virginia regiment, the thirteenth, embarrassments with, because conditionally raised beyond the Allegany, V. 244. Desertions from, 245.

Virginia troops, ordered from Fort Cumberland to Fort Loudoun, in 1757, II. 233. Their total strength, 263. United to his Majesty's troops in 1758, and put under his commander-in-chief, 275. Washington's resignation, and the address of the officers thereupon, 327, 477. Entitled to lands, 358, 359, 360. Lands granted to, 485. See *Virginia regiment*.

Volunteers in the army, discouraged, IV. 388. Proposition for, in Virginia, 390. Question about, as prisoners, V. 184. On the employment of, 330, 432, VII. 90.

VRIGNY, a French officer, V. 129.

W.

WADE, NATHANIEL, Colonel, the command at West Point devolves on, after Arnold's escape to the enemy, 212.

WADSWORTH, JEREMIAH, commended, V. 159. Contractor for supplying the French army; difficulty with a deputy of, VIII. 360; IX. 200.

WAGGONER, THOMAS, Captain, II. 5, 29, 108, 121. Ordered to build and garrison forts on the South Branch, 125. Pursues a party of the enemy, 148; 260.

WAINWOOD, discovers Church's letter in characters, III. 115, 503.

WALCOTT, WILLIAM, Lieutenant-Colonel, Howe's commissioner in relation to prisoners; offers Colonel Harrison an objectionable paper; remarks on his conduct, IV. 380, 556. Howe's letter respecting, 557. See WOLCOTT.

WALKER, BENJAMIN, Colonel, XI. 92, 183.

WALKER, JOHN, sent to head-quarters from Virginia, and employed as an extra aid-de-camp, IV. 329.

WALKER, JOHN, a British captain, confined in Concord gaol, IV. 332, 333.

WALKER, Captain, position of, at the action at Springfield, VII. 507.

WALLACE, SIR JAMES, passes up the North River, V. 130.

WALLACE, WILLIAM, X. 230.

WALLACE, a British captain, III. 115, 503. His descent on Connanicut Island, 197. Derives supplies from Newport, 227.

WALLOP, Captain, a British prisoner, endeavours to effect an exchange for himself and Colonel Laurens, VII. 257.

WALPOLE, HORACE, cited, II. 39, 40.

WALPOLE, THOMAS, a banker in London, at the head of the Proprietors of Walpole's Grant, II. 485.

Walpole's Grant, extent and bounds of, II. 356. Interferes with the Virginia regiment's claims, 358, 360, 485. Ohio Company connected with the company of, 483. History of, 483. Abandoned, 485.

WALTON, GEORGE, on a committee of Congress to remain in Philadelphia, IV. 253, 552. Written to, after the battle at Trenton, 256.

War, proclaimed in presence of the Virginia forces, II. 181. Office of, recommended and instituted, III. 420, 428. Influence of a small circumstance in, IV. 395. Appointment of a minister of, VII. 399, 400, 460,

VIII. 39, 60, 214. On the prosecution of the, after Cornwallis's surrender, 230, 254. Improbability of an excursive, 258. Measures for prosecuting, 284. Causes of the prolongation of, 410. Condemned and lamented, IX. 113, 160, 182, 348, 380. Inexpediency of intermeddling with the European, 294, 295, 399, X. 331, 333, 337. Proclamation of neutrality in regard to the European, 337, 385, 535. Importance of being at all times prepared for, XII. 8, 38, 393. Manufactures pertaining to, should be encouraged, 69. Condemned, 203. Names of Secretaries of, 432. See *Peace*.

War and Ordnance, Board of, instruction and duties of the, III. 420, 428; persons chosen for the, 429. New Board of, proposed, out of Congress, V. 99; organized, 194.

War, Continental Articles of, the army backward about signing them, III. 98. Refusal of Wooster's troops to sign, 120. Translated into French and sent to Canada, 250. Revised and new modelled, IV. 117. Defective in regard to punishments and furloughs, VII. 395.

WARD, ARTEMAS, General, commander of the troops at Cambridge, III. 6, 487. Asks permission to resign, 329. Resignation of, accepted, 389. Remains longer in the service, and ordered to detach three regiments to Canada; troops under him, 455, 456. Regiment of, left to the direction of the Commander-in-chief and ordered to New York, IV. 26.

WARD, HENRY, secretary of Rhode Island, III. 115. His letter about Dr. Church, 503.

WARD, SAMUEL, Major, his account of the action at Red Bank, V. 112.

WARD, Ensign, capitulates to the French at the Fork of the Ohio, in 1754, II. 6, 11.

WARNER, SETH, Colonel, marches to the aid of Arnold, III. 250. Commands a company of Green Mountain Boys in 1775, V. 293. On the treatment and exchange of the officers of his regiment, VII. 179, 180. Incorporation of the regiment of, 262. Absent at the time of the capitulation of Fort George, 270.

WARREN, JAMES, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, III. 15; 20. Paymaster-general, his resignation, 350, 351; IX. 139; X. 7.

WARREN, JOSEPH, III. 20. President *pro tempore* of the Provincial Congress; killed at Bunker's Hill, 37, 512. His letter respecting the capture of Ticonderoga copied and sent to England, 510. Congress resolves to erect a monument to his memory, and provide for his children, 512.

WARREN, MERCY, Mrs., letter to her, I. 457. Cited respecting Hancock's election as president of Congress, III. 37.

WARVILLE, BRISSOT DE, visits Mount Vernon, IX. 448, X. 72.

Washington arms, I. 542.

WASHINGTON, AUGUSTINE, father of George Washington, II. 421.

WASHINGTON, AUGUSTINE, brother of George Washington, II. 91. Active member of the Ohio Company, 479.

WASHINGTON, BUSHROD, nephew of George Washington, II. 75. Counselled as to studies and conduct, VIII. 372, IX. 52. His plan of a patriotic society, 199, 209. Letter to, in favor of the Federal Constitution and about public speaking, 277; 285. His account of the early proceedings of the Virginia convention on the Constitution, 378. On an appointment of, as district attorney, X. 24. Addressed about the publication of the letter signed *John Langhorne*, XI. 289, 293, 387. Appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court, 386.

WASHINGTON, FRANCES, letters to, after the death of her husband G. A. Washington, X. 319, 325.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE, his birth, I. 3. Early education, and fondness for mathematical studies and athletic amusements, 6. A project for his entering the British navy as a midshipman, 10. Becomes a practical surveyor, 14. Continues in that pursuit for three years, 15. Appointed adjutant of one of the districts in Virginia, 16. His voyage to Barbadoes with his brother, 17. Sent by the governor of Virginia on a mission to the French beyond the Allegany Mountains, 24. Meets Indians on the Ohio River, 26. Interviews with the French commander, 29. Perilous adventures, 31. Returns and reports to the governor, 35. Appointed to the command of troops to repel the invasion of the frontiers, 36. Marches to the Allegany mountains, 43. Skirmishes with a party of French under Jumonville, 46. Joined by parties of Indians, 52. Battle of the Great Meadows, 55. Resigns his commission, 60. Engages in the expedition under General Braddock, 61. Battle of the Monongahela, 65. Appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia

forces, 72. Endeavours to reform the discipline of the army, 75. Visits General Shirley at Boston on the affairs of his command, 77. Returns to his head-quarters at Williamsburg, 79. Testimonies of confidence in his character and ability, 81. Occurrences of the campaign, 85. Presents a memorial to the Earl of Loudoun on the state of military affairs in Virginia, 87. Commands the Virginia troops in the expedition against Fort Duquesne under General Forbes, 92. Marches to Fort Cumberland, and acts in concert with Colonel Bouquet, 93. Joins the main army at Raystown, 99. Commands the advanced division in the march, 100. Fort Duquesne taken, 101. He returns to Virginia, resigns his commission, and retires to private life, 102. His marriage, 105. Chosen a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 106. His pursuits and habits as a planter, 109. A vestryman in the church, and active in parish affairs, 114. His opinion of the Stamp Act, 116. Joins heartily in the measures of opposition to the British government, 117. Performs a tour to the Ohio and Kenhawa Rivers, 120. Part taken by him in the Virginia legislature in defending the rights of the colonies, 122. His opinions on this subject, 126. A delegate to the Virginia Conventions, 129, 134. A member of the first Continental Congress, 129; and of the second Congress, 136. Appointed Commander-in-chief of the Continental army, 138. Repairs to Cambridge and takes the command, 143. State of the army, 144. His intercourse with Congress, 148. Corresponds with General Gage, 152. Sends an expedition to Quebec, 154. Holds a council of war respecting an assault on Boston, 156. Organization of a new Continental army, 158. He causes armed vessels to be equipped and sent to cruise against the enemy, 159. Condition of the army, 162. His arrangement of his private affairs, 165. His opinion respecting an accommodation with England, 171. Evacuation of Boston, 174. Marches the army to New York, and repairs in person to Congress, 176. His views in regard to the state of the country, 177. Declaration of Independence, 181. Refuses to receive letters from the British general and admiral unless directed to him in his official character, 184. Battle of Long Island, 190; impression made by it on the army and the public, 194. New York evacuated, 198. Army stationed on Haerlem Heights, 200. Its new organization, 203. Marches to White Plains, 209. Battle of Chatterton's Hill, 210. Army crosses the Hudson, 213. Capture of Fort Washington, 214. Retreats through New Jersey, and crosses the Delaware at Trenton, 216. Invested with dictatorial powers by Congress, 224. Battle of Trenton, 227; Battle of Princeton, 231. Winter-quarters established at Morristown, 233. Preparations for the next campaign, 238. His views respecting the exchange of prisoners, 240. Military operations in New Jersey, 245. Crosses the Delaware and encamps near Germantown, 247. His first interview with Lafayette, 249. Battle of the Brandywine, 252. New powers conferred on him by Congress, 255. Battle of Germantown, 257. Encampment at Valley Forge, 264. Spurious letters ascribed to him, 265. Conway's cabal, 266. Sufferings of the army at Valley Forge, 276. Comparative strength of the British and American armies, 290. Evacuation of Philadelphia, 291. Battle of Monmouth, 295. Arrest and trial of General Lee, 300. Arrival of a French fleet under Count d'Estaing, and plans for combined operations, 301. Cantonments of the army, 306. Exchange of prisoners, 307. His anxiety in regard to the divisions in Congress, 308. Project of an expedition to Canada disapproved by him, 311. His interviews with a committee of Congress and plans for the next campaign, 316. Sends an expedition against the Indians under General Sullivan, 320. The storming of Stony Point, 324. His interview with the French minister, and plans for cooperating with Count d'Estaing, 329. Effects of the depreciation of the currency, 332. A French fleet arrives at Newport with troops under Count de Rochambeau, 336. Interview between Washington and the French commander at Hartford, 339. The treason of Arnold, 339. Plans of attacking New York, 345. Mutiny of the Pennsylvania line and New Jersey troops, 346. Washington's agency in procuring supplies from France, 348. He detaches Lafayette to Virginia, 353. Visits Count de Rochambeau at Newport, 354. Interview between the American and French commanders at Weathersfield,

358. Plan of operations, 359. Junction of the two armies, 361. Intelligence from Count de Grasse, 363. The combined armies cross the Hudson and march to Virginia, 365. Siege of Yorktown, 367. The American army returns to Hudson's River, 371. Preparations for another campaign, 373. Affair of Captain Asgill, 378. State of the army, 380. Proposal to Washington to assume supreme power, and his reply, 381. Negotiations for peace, 383. French troops leave the United States, 384. Dissatisfaction of the army, 385. Newburg Addresses, 387. Peace proclaimed in camp, 392. His sentiments concerning the civil government of the Union, 393. His circular letter to the States, 394. Makes a tour to the northward, 395. Repairs to Congress, 396. An equestrian statue of him in bronze voted by Congress, 396. Remarks on the statues of him executed by Houdon, Canova, and Chantrey, 397, 422. His Farewell Address to the army, 398. The British evacuate New York, 399. He resigns his commission and retires to private life, 402. Declines receiving any compensation for his public services, 405. His feelings on being relieved from the burden of office, 406. Devotes himself to agriculture, 408. Makes a tour to the western country, 408. His extensive plans for internal navigation, 409. Receives a visit from the Marquis de Lafayette, 412. Refuses to accept a donation from the State of Virginia, 414. His liberal acts for the encouragement of education, 415. Favors the Countess of Huntington's plan for civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, 417. His operations in farming and horticulture, 418. His habits at Mount Vernon, 421. Houdon's statue of him erected by the State of Virginia, 422. His sentiments respecting the condition of the country and the defects of the confederacy, 423. Takes part in the first steps towards effecting a reform, 428. Appointed a delegate from Virginia to a general convention, 430. His reasons for wishing to decline, 430. Society of the Cincinnati, 431. He accepts the appointment as delegate, 433. Attends the convention, is chosen its president, and affixes his name to the new Constitution, 435. His opinion of the Constitution, 436. It is adopted by the people, 438. Washington chosen the first President of the United States, 439. His journey to the seat of government, 441. Takes the oath of office, 443. His Inaugural Speech, 444. Manner of conducting his agricultural affairs while President, 445. Rules for receiving visiters and entertaining company, 447. Illness, 448. Death of his mother, 449. Departments of government organized, 451. His opinion of the Supreme Court, 453. His practice in the appointments to office, 454. Journey to the eastern States, 456. Letter from Mrs. Washington, 457. Visits Rhode Island and Mount Vernon, 464. His policy respecting Indians, 467. Approves a national bank, 469. His tour to the southern States, 470. Rejects the apportionment bill, 471. Regrets the collision of parties, 473. Endeavours to reconcile the dissensions between Hamilton and Jefferson, 475. Elected President for a second term, 479. Takes the oath of office, 482. Relations between the United States and France, 483. Proclamation of neutrality, 485. Genet's conduct as minister from France, 488. Washington's opinion of Democratic Societies, and on the subject of instructing representatives, 490. Recommends measures of defence to Congress, 492. His character by Mr. Fox, 493. Lord Erskine's letter to him, 495. He appoints Mr. Jay as an envoy extraordinary to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, 496. Measures adopted for suppressing the insurrection in Pennsylvania, 498. British treaty confirmed by the Senate, and ratified by the signature of the President, 502. Resignation of Mr. Randolph, 507. Washington refuses to furnish papers to the House of Representatives in relation to the British treaty, 510. Captivity of Lafayette and means used by Washington to procure his liberation, 511. Difficulties with France in relation to the British treaty, 513. Washington's Farewell Address, 515. His last speech to Congress, 516. Inauguration of his successor, 517. Testimony of respect shown to him by the citizens of Philadelphia, 517. He retires to Mount Vernon, 518. Remarks on Mr. Jefferson's conduct towards him, 519. Preparations for war, 524. He is appointed Commander-in-chief of the Provisional army of the United States, 526. Organization and arrangement of the army, 527. His last illness and death, 528, 529,

555. Particulars concerning his early life, II. 411. His agricultural pursuits, XII. 336. His religious opinions and habits, 399.
WASHINGTON GEORGE AUGUSTINE, nephew of George Washington, desire of, to enter the service, VI. 425; IX. 130. Married, 145. Major; sickness of, X. 186, 191, 237, 265, 289. His death, 319; XII. 263. Manager at Mount Vernon, during the first part of Washington's presidency, 300, 336.
WASHINGTON, GEORGE S., and LAWRENCE, nephews of George Washington, at school at Alexandria; letters to, IX. 365, 410, 479. Placed with Dr. Craik, 484. Directions respecting the studies of, X. 30, 37; 122; XII. 339.
WASHINGTON, HARRIOT, a niece of the President; advice to, X. 201.
WASHINGTON, SIR HENRY, sustains the siege of Worcester against Cromwell's army, I. 543. Distinguished in an assault on Bristol, 544.
WASHINGTON, JAMES, XI. 392, 393.
WASHINGTON, JOHN AUGUSTINE, brother of George Washington, II. 75; 80; III. 5, 127. His plan of raising 2000 volunteers, discouraged, V. 432.
WASHINGTON, JOSEPH, an eminent lawyer of Gray's Inn, I. 542.
WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE, mayor of Northampton, and proprietor of Sulgrave, I. 545.
WASHINGTON, SIR LAWRENCE, of Garsdon, I. 546.
WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE, of Mount Vernon, procures a midshipman's warrant for his brother; a member of the House of Burgesses, II. 220, 222; 415. Biographical notice of, 421. Writes from Barbadoes, 422; from Bermuda; dies at Mount Vernon, 423. A member of the Ohio Company, 479. His project for settling the Ohio Company's lands with Germans; advocates religious freedom, 481.
WASHINGTON, LAWRENCE. See WASHINGTON, GEORGE S.
WASHINGTON, LUND, superintends the private affairs of General Washington during the revolution, III. 170. Correspondence with him, 196, 339, 384. Letter to, intercepted and published, VIII. 20 – 22, 27 – 30. Furnishes the enemy with refreshments, 31 – 34.
WASHINGTON, MARTHA, wife of George Washington, I. 105. Letter from her to Mrs. Warren, 457. Letter to, III. 2; 128; 168. Arrives at camp; supposed to be in danger at Mount Vernon, 196. Has the small-pox, 404. At Valley Forge, V. 268. Returns to Mount Vernon, 400 Reported present to, from the Queen of France, VI. 74. Death of her mother and brother, XII. 270. House-keeper wanted to relieve, 274. Her religious character, 407, 408.
WASHINGTON, MARY, mother of George Washington, II. 86; 93. Visited by her son, IX. 20, 254, 376. Death of, I. 449; X. 81.
WASHINGTON, RICHARD, a merchant of London, II. 229, 331.
WASHINGTON, ROBERT, I. 545.
WASHINGTON, SIR WILLIAM, I. 545.
WASHINGTON, WILLIAM, Colonel, VII. 360, X. 126. Brigadier-general in the Provisional army, XI. 323; 375; 415.
Washington City, jealousies respecting; location of the public buildings at, XII. 334. See *Federal City*.
Washington College, XI. 4, 173.
Washington family, genealogy of the, I. 547 – 554. Particulars respecting the, X. 339, XI. 392, 393.
Washington, Fort, on Hudson's River, to be retained as long as possible, IV. 155. Threatened, 163. Inadvisable to hazard the men and stores at, 164. Preparations for besieging, 165. Surrendered to the British, 177, 180 – 182, 188. Loss at, 183, 188, 547. Evacuated by the British, V. 382. Particulars of the surrender of, in 1776, recapitulated, VI. 328. Projected attack on, VII 308. Particulars respecting the loss of, IX. 100.
WATERBURY, DAVID, Brigadier-General, exchanged, VII 288. Directions to, in anticipation of a proposed attack on Delancey's corps at Morrisania, VIII. 88, 92, 95, 97, 99. Marches to Horseneck, 99; to Morrisania, 110. Brigade of, put under the command of Heath, 136, 138.
WATERS, Captain, III. 281.
Watertown, Massachusetts Provincial Congress at, III. 14, 44, 485.
WATSON, BROOK, cited on the situation of affairs in Canada, III. 142. His ill treatment of Colonel Allen; becomes lord mayor of London, 143.
Watson, Fort, reduction of, VIII. 62.
WAYNE, ANTHONY, appointed brigadier-general, IV. 329. Returns from Ticonderoga, 416. His bravery at Brunswic, 471. In the battle of the Brandywine, V. 58, 61, 462. Follows the enemy on the rear, 65, 70. At the battle of Germantown, 78, 464 – 466. Procures clothing, 156. Trial and acquittal of, 165, 166; 168. To

secure the cattle and forage; crosses into Jersey; skirmishes with the enemy, 232-234, 250. Instructions to, at the evacuation of Philadelphia, 411. Despatched to harass the enemy, 423. Bravery of, at the battle of Monmouth, 426, 427. Consulted respecting an assault upon Stony Point, VI. 282, 283, 287, 296. His expedition against Stony Point, 297, 298, 537. Wounded, 298, 539. Pecuniary rewards and medals to the corps of, 303, 540. Writes respecting officers whom he omitted in his report, 320; VII. 42. His expedition to Bull's Ferry, 115. Charge against, respecting a promotion in the Pennsylvania line, 187, 188. Directions to, upon the proposed expedition against York Island, 304; upon going into winter-quarters, 310; 336. His exertions to suppress the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, 348, 356-361, 387. On attempts of the enemy to draw away the Pennsylvania line, 359. On the escape of the troops of the Pennsylvania line from their enlistments, and their impatience for their liberty, 387, 388. His march with the first detachment of the Pennsylvania line to the southward, 436, 472, 473, VIII. 61, 63. His junction with Lafayette, 86. Cited respecting the action at Green Spring, 118. Appointed to the command of the western expedition, X. 244, 248. To drill his troops with reference to the service, 257, 261. Equipments for the troops of, 282. Remarks on his plan for carrying on the war, 293, 298. Disposition of the army under, for winter, 303. Pay not to be sent to the army of, 427. The success of the army under, XI. 10, 11. Makes a provisional treaty with the Indians northwest of the Ohio River, XII. 56.

WEARE, MESHECH, president of New Hampshire, VII. 96.

WEBB, SAMUEL B., III. 331. Colonel; his unfortunate expedition and captivity, V. 210. Measures for effecting the exchange of, VI. 353, VII. 211. His regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Huntington, at the action at Springfield, 507.

WEBB, Captain, recommended to assist General Heath, VII. 17.

Webb's Ferry, V. 90.

WEBSTER, NOAH, letter to, concerning the campaign of 1781, IX. 402.

WEEDON, GEORGE, II. 507. A general in the continental army, 508, IV. 329, V. 313. His retirement from service; a proposition for his restoration, VII 68. With Virginia militia, stationed near Gloucester, VIII. 168.

Weights, uniformity in, recommended XII. 9, 25.

WEISER, CONRAD, II. 244.

WELCH, WAKELIN, a merchant in London, XII. 282.

WEMP, Major, visits camp with Seneca Indians, V. 414.

WESSYNGTON, JOHN DE, prior of Durham, I. 541.

WESSYNGTON, WILLIAM DE, I. 540.

WEST, BENJAMIN, IX. 186, X. 104.

WEST, SAMUEL, deciphers Church's letter, III. 504.

Western, Fort, on the Kennebec River, III. 112.

Western inland navigation, advantages and importance of, and suggestions respecting, IX. 30, 59, 80, 115, 119, 172, 261, 291, 423, 445, 470. Objections to, considered, 61. Maryland Assembly visited respecting, 82. Questions in relation to, 302.

Western insurrection. See *Pennsylvania insurrection*.

Western lands, the interest of New York in the settlement of the, and the consequences, X. 156. Propriety of appropriating the fund from, to the reduction of the public debt, XII. 16.

Western posts, retention of, by the British after the peace, IX. 54, 69, 80, 118, 128, 138, 163, 194. Reason assigned for the retention of, 179, 182, 184. Held by Great Britain, X. 64. Dissatisfaction in consequence of the detention of, 192; 348. Must be surrendered, 435. Execution of the treaty in reference to the, XI. 132. Taken possession of, and repaired, XII. 66; 83.

Western Territory, line of conduct proper to be pursued in the settlement of the, VIII. 478. Party feeling in Congress respecting it, 547. Plan adopted for the government of the, IX. 47. Political situation of the, 63. Distribution of troops recommended for the, 109. Military men propose settling there, 320. See *Connecticut Reserve*.

Westfield, excursion of the British army to, IV. 474, 475.

West Indies, remarks about the trade to the, IX. 454, X. 92, XI. 32, 113. An agent sent to the, XII. 67. Trade there suffers from French cruisers and agents, 73.

West Point, on the building of a fort at, V. 178, 224. Progress of the fortifications at, 311. Head-quarters at; works built there, VI. 304. Frequen-

ey of fires at, 467. Its importance; preparations at, to oppose the enemy, VII. 74, 84, 88. Security of, 94, 96. Garrison of, at the time of Arnold's taking the command there, 139. Measures for the security of, 212–216, 220, 222, 233. Distresses of the troops at, 374. Knox ordered to take the command at, VIII. 339, 457. Recommendation of a military school at, 417. Arsenal and magazines built at, 457; 503.

WHARTON, JOHN, of the Navy Board, V. 116.

WHARTON, SAMUEL, proprietor of Walpole's Grant, cited, II. 485.

WHARTON, THOMAS, president of Pennsylvania, requested to order out militia, and to fill up the line, V. 95–97.

Wheat, on the sale and weight of, XII. 259, 272. Beans and Indian corn good preparation for, 293. Price of, 294. On sowing, 337, 379, 390. At Mount Vernon, 347.

WHEATLEY, PHILLIS, an African poetess, III. 268. Letter to, and facts respecting, 297.

WHEELOCK, ELEAZER, cited respecting Major Rogers, III. 208, 244; respecting Deane, VI. 122.

WHIPPLE, ABRAHAM, captain of two small armed vessels to protect Rhode Island; cruises to intercept a packet; his conditional engagement and voyage to get powder from Bermuda, III. 77. Unsuccessful, 135. Summoned before Congress, 353.

WHITCOMB, JOHN, Colonel, honorable conduct of, III. 161. Takes post on Long Island in Boston harbour, and annoys the British fleet, 432. Commands a regiment at Boston, 456. Appointed brigadier-general; to relieve Ward at Boston, 422.

WHITE, ALEXANDER, XII. 334.

WHITE, ROBERT, XII. 213.

WHITE, WILLIAM, consulted about charity, X. 389. His letter respecting Washington's religious opinions and habits, XII. 408.

WHITE, Major, aid to Sullivan, killed at Germantown, V. 466.

White Horse tavern, V. 66, 70.

WHITE MINGO, an Indian chief, his speech to Washington in 1770, II. 518. Reply to it, 519.

White Plains, and Chatterton's Hill, the scene of an engagement, IV. 152, 524, 526. Movements of the British in the neighbourhood of, 157, 162, 524. Decision of a council of officers at, 168. Loss at, 160, 527, 547. Court-house and private houses burned at, 160. Conduct of the militia at, 528. Camp at, changed, 529. American army encamps at, VI. 10. Inhabitants of, pillaged, 73. Skirmish near, 468.

WHITING, ANTHONY, manager at Mount Vernon, XII. 308, 354.

WIGGLESWORTH, EDWARD, Colonel, ordered to assist M'Dougall in a court of inquiry, V. 230, 283.

WILKINSON, JAMES, describes the capture of General Lee, IV. 535. Aid to General Gates; despatched to Congress to communicate intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender, V. 114. His qualifications for the office of adjutant-general, 158. Resigns the secretaryship of the Board of War, 393. His connexion with Conway's cabal, 501, 516; IX. 238; X. 258; 260; 265. Charges of, against General Wayne, XI. 133; 134; 353; 375. Recommended for promotion, 439–441.

Will, Washington's, I. 569. Extracts from it, X. 231; concerning education in America and a university, XI. 3.

WILLARD, AARON, sent on a secret mission to Nova Scotia; instructions to, III. 169. Returns and reports, 170, 260.

WILLARD, JOSEPH, corresponding secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, VII. 459. President of Harvard University, X. 64.

WILLETT, MARINUS, Lieutenant-Colonel, skirmish of, at Peekskill, IV. 371. His project for burning British ships at New York, VI. 455. Letter to, about getting intelligence, 472; VII. 261. His conduct at the reduction of the regiments, 278. His unsuccessful expedition against Oswego, VIII. 385. Orders to, in relation to the reception of posts in New York, 472. Declines the appointment of brigadier-general against the Indians, X. 263.

William and Mary College, VIII. 195. The appointment of Washington as chancellor of, IX. 328, 361.

WILLIAM HENRY, the Prince, instructions for the apprehension of, VIII. 261.

WILLIAMS, DAVID, one of the captors of Major André, VII. 220, 236, 529.

WILLIAMS, OTHO H., Colonel, recommended for a brigadier-generalship, VIII. 216.

WILLIAMS, SAMUEL, consul at Hamburg, XI. 156.

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, member of Congress, V. 14.

Williamsburg, convention at, in 1774,

II. 396. Dunmore's removal of powder from, 507.
WILLIAMSON, HUGH, IX. 104, XII. 267.
Wills's Creek. See *Cumberland.*
Wilmington, proposition to Count de Grasse, and measures taken for an expedition against, VIII. 186, 187, 190. British retire from, 216.
WILSON, JAMES, member of the first Board of War, III. 429. His speech about the Constitution, IX. 271. An associate justice of the Supreme Court, proposes a digest of laws, X. 215.
Winchester, the head-quarters of the Virginia troops after Braddock's defeat, II. 98, 112. Fort at, recommended, 156. Fort Loudoun commenced at, 162. Exposed in consequence of Dinwiddie's order to remove the garrison, 205.
Winlaw's mill, for separating the grain from the heads of corn, XII. 294.
WITHERSPOON, JOHN, in Congress, makes exertions for supplying the army, VI. 448. On a committee in regard to the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, VII. 359. His application for papers for Bowie, IX. 29, 102. Written to, about lands, XII. 264.
WOEDTKE, Baron de, appointed brigadier-general; dies at Lake George, IV. 6.
WOLCOTT, OLIVER, Brigadier-General, to march the Connecticut militia to New York, IV. 35. Opposes the half-pay system, V. 370. With militia, at Horseneck, VI. 306. Governor of Connecticut; signer of the Declaration of Independence, XI. 107.
WOLCOTT, OLIVER, Junior, comptroller, X. 166; 368. Secretary of the Treasury, XI. 16. His conduct in relation to Fauchet's intercepted letter, 52, 55. On the department to which vessels of war belong, 147; 199. See WALCOTT.
WOLFE, JAMES, General, his remark to young Fairfax at Quebec, II. 53.
Womanhood, advice to one entering upon, X. 201.
WOOD, JAMES, Colonel, his bravery at Germantown, V. 468. Requested to continue his charge of the convention troops, VII. 244, 245. General, XI. 149. Consulted as to his qualifications for surveyor-general, XI. 168.
WOODBRIDGE, Colonel assists in routing the enemy at Lechmere's Point, III. 157.
WOODFORD, WILLIAM, appointed colonel, III. 151. Appointed brigadier-general, IV. 329. Urged to accept, 347. Wounded at the battle of the Brandywine, V. 59, 85; 168; 313. Officers under, opposed to taking the oath of allegiance, 367. At the battle of Monmouth, 427. Directions to, on marching Virginia troops to the southward, VI. 417; 425. Disagrees with Weedon about rank, VII. 68.
WOODHULL, NATHANIEL, General, taken prisoner on Long Island, IV. 71, 142. Dies of his wounds; biographical and military facts respecting, 142.
Wool, price of, XII. 294.
Woollen manufactories, recommended, X. 50. Agency in establishing, declined by the President, 127.
WOOSTER, DAVID, General, commander of the Connecticut forces on the shores of Long Island Sound; marches towards New York city, III. 9. Appointed brigadier-general, 23. Stationed at Haerlem; protects Long Island, 75. Returns to Haerlem; embarks with his troops for Albany, 77. Character and notice of, 119. His troops will not be separated from him, 120. Injudiciously grants furloughs, 246. Sends no assistance to Arnold, 261. Is superseded, 322. Recalled from Canada; commissioners' account of the army under, 411. Demands inquiry into his conduct; resigns; appointed major-general of the Connecticut militia, 412. Waits on Congress, 430. Movement of, towards New York, IV. 280. Retreats from New Rochelle; ordered towards Kingsbridge; detains Stanton, 357. Engages the British on their retreat from Danbury, mortally wounded, 405, 406; X. 6.
WOOSTER, MARY, the widow of General Wooster, X. 6.
Worship, public, attendance on, enjoined, IV. 436. The assessment bill of Virginia, in relation to, IX. 136. See *Orderly Book* and *Religion.*
WYCOMBE, son of the Marquis of Lansdown, visits the President, X. 203. Visits Charleston, 224.
Wyoming, VI. 185, 186. Place of rendezvous for the western expedition, 260, 265. Change of troops at, VII. 346.
WYTHE, GEORGE, X. 58.

Y.

Yale College, confers the degree of doctor of laws on General Washington, VIII. 45.
Yankee Club, in Ireland, IX. 13.

YATES, Lieutenant, dies of wounds he receives after his surrender, IV. 310, 556.
York, in Pennsylvania, removal of stores and prisoners from, V. 41, 48. Congress adjourn to, 69.
Yorktown, taken possession of, by Lord Cornwallis, VIII. 129. American and French forces arrive at, and invest, 169. Progress of the siege at, 173, 177, 178. Enemy's redoubts assaulted and carried, 179; 181. Capitulation at, 530 – 536.
Youghiogany River, explored and described, II. 21.
YOUNG, ARTHUR, sends the "Annals of Agriculture" to Washington; requests made to, XII. 284, 286, 292, 294, 309. His "Annals" commended, 286, 292, 294.
YRUJO, M. DE, Spanish minister, his visit to Mount Vernon, XI. 134.

Z.

ZEISBERGER, DAVID, IX. 364.

END OF VOL. XII.

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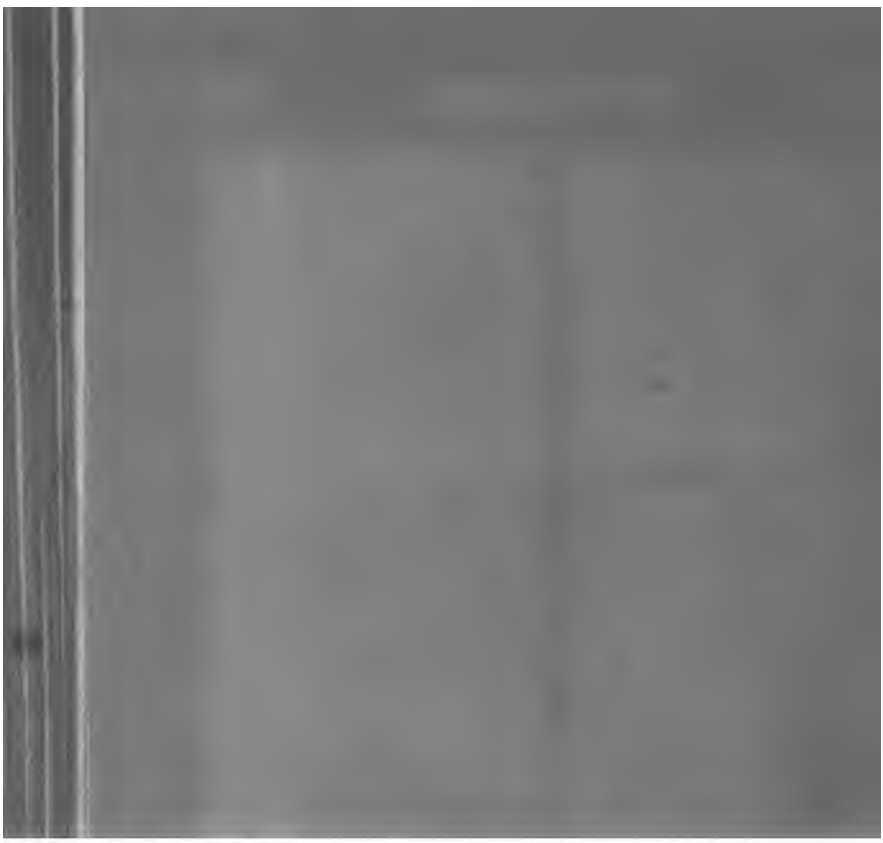

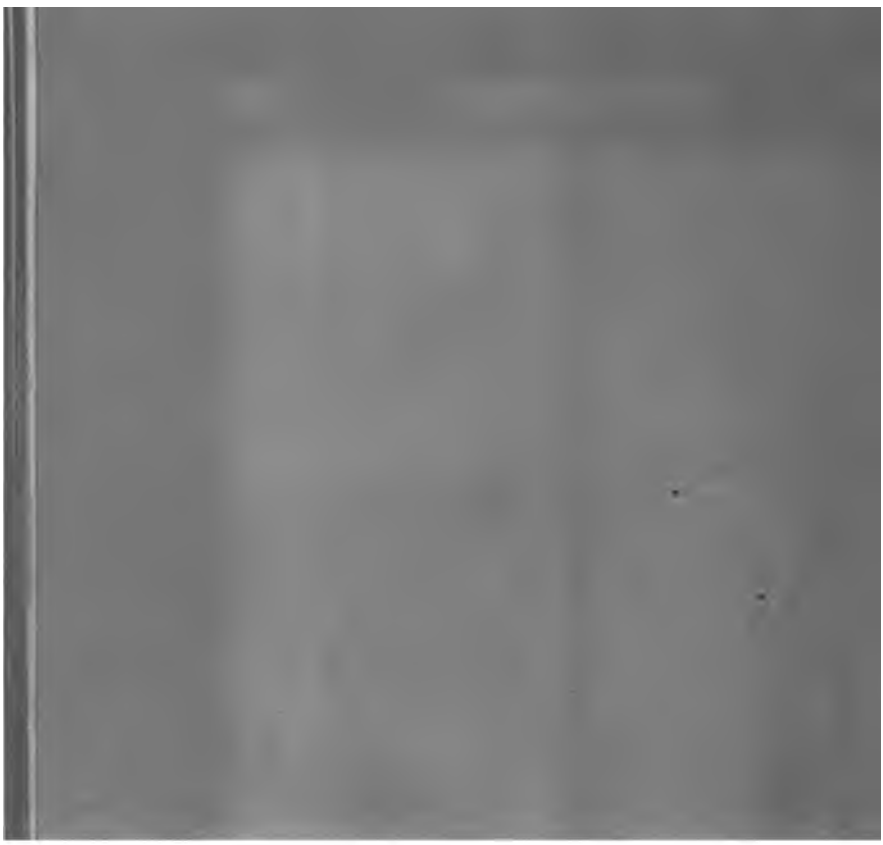
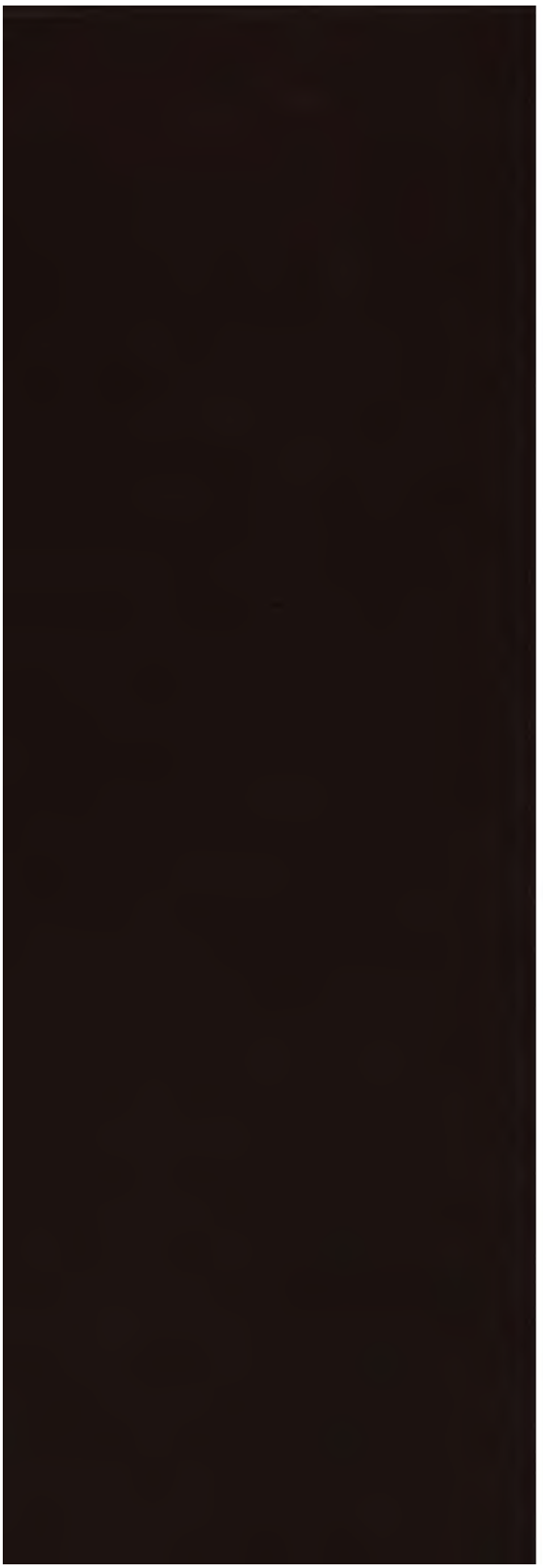
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